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The American Catholic quarterly review

ANNEX



LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem. quia malum est homini ut eum
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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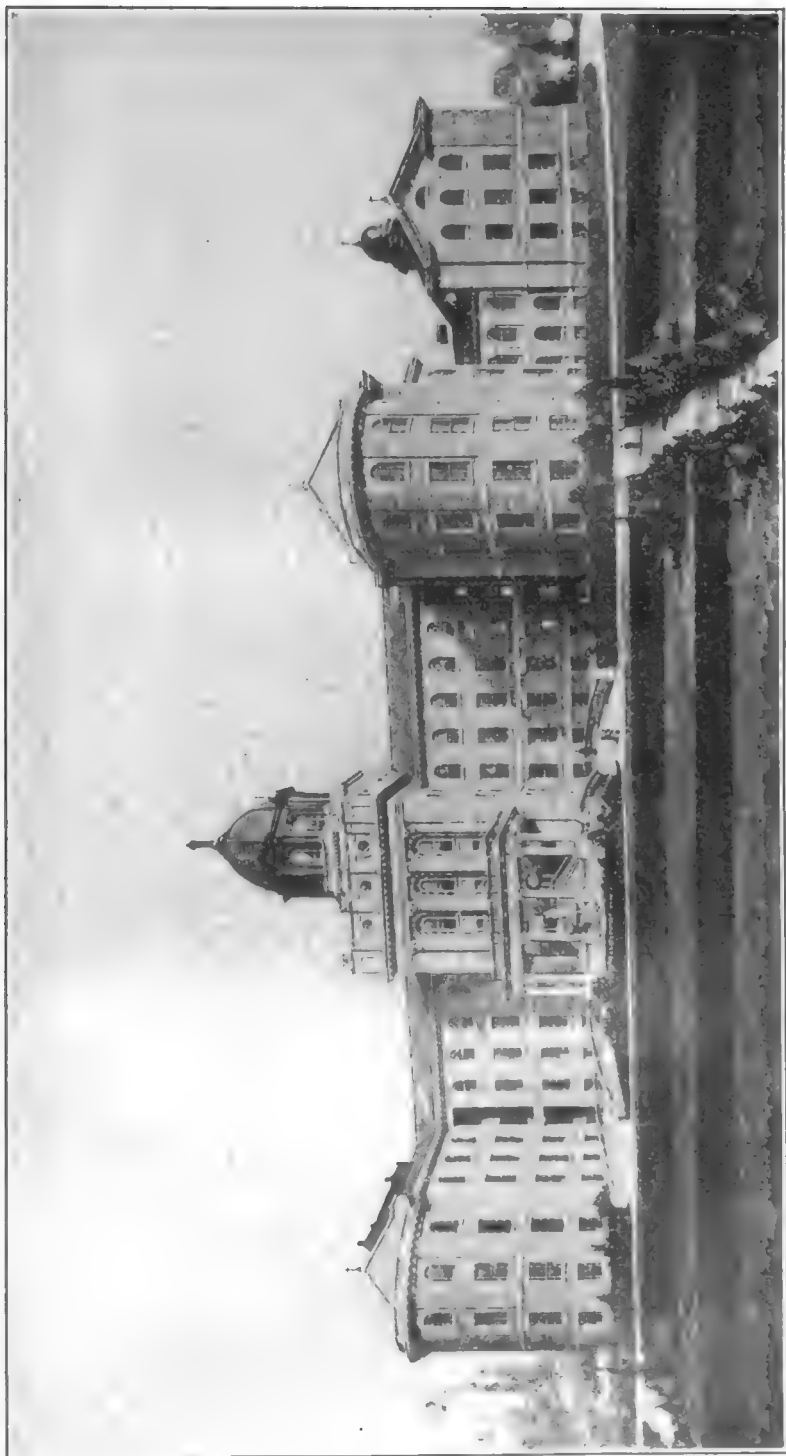
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(Excerpt from *Statutory*, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLII.—JANUARY, 1917—NO. 165

A LOVE OF THE LITURGY.

ALL of us lead an intellectual life, more or less deep, more or less extended. Novel or news of the day, editorial or essay, it is safe to assume, absorb a certain amount of our time and interest. Now in this daily enjoyment of mental pleasures, how many of us ever give a thought to the beauties contained in the liturgy of the Church? Francis Thompson tells us that "Ritual is poetry addressed to the eye." Many people, especially if they had just attended some great function of public worship, worthily carried out, would unhesitatingly subscribe to this sentiment. Most of us are sensitive to the music of the chanted portions of the Mass or of some great hymn, such as the *Te Deum*, especially when well rendered on a noble organ in its appropriate setting of cathedral walls. But how many realize that there is another beauty, that of the written word, voicing every emotion of the heart, every petition the creature should make to his Creator in the course of the changing year?

Let us open the Missal at the Mass for Easter Sunday, the greatest feast the Church celebrates, mindful as she is of the words of St. Paul, "If Christ be not risen again, your faith is vain." What do we find selected from the Scriptures as the appropriate verse for the gradual of the great solemnity? "This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. Give praise to

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the Lord, for He is good: for His mercy endureth for ever. Alleluia, alleluia. Christ our Passover is sacrificed." To the words of King David are added the Alleluia, the Jewish cry of joyful triumph, then, from the New Testament the fact that calls forth the chant of thanksgiving, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed." Are not the selections well chosen? Read the secret for the same feast: "Receive, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the offerings of Thine exulting Church; and having given her cause for so great a joy, grant her, as fruit perpetual gladness." Could the spirit of the day be better shown? In fact, if we look over the prayers assigned to the various seasons, we cannot fail to be struck with the appropriateness of each of them; always the main thought of the day emphasized, then its relation to the effect upon ourselves. Those who from the earliest days have been composing these prayers must have been steeped in the spiritual life, in knowledge of the Bible.

In the renaissance of Catholic literature taking place in our days we find many writers who appreciate this beauty to the full and who indeed owe to their knowledge of the liturgy much of their poetic imagery. In this connection the mind naturally reverts to Francis Thompson. Not only does the action of the Mass and other liturgical services of the Church inspire some of his most beautiful lines, to the thought underlying the prayers is due much of his best and strongest writing, in prose as well as in verse. He seems to have been saturated in its lore, and it comes freely and naturally to his mind as he writes his views of men or life. Whether it is his inner life as scholar or poet, nature as he saw her in lovely rural England, or the sordid setting of his early sufferings in London slums, he never fails to connect it all with the Man-God, often in the words consecrated by centuries of use in His Tabernacle. We know from what he tells us in one of his shorter poems that it was as natural and easy to picture Christ on the Thames as on Genesareth. In "A Corymbus for Autumn" he says:

"All nature sacerdotal seems, and thou.
The calm hour strikes on yon golden gong,
In tones of floating and mellow light
A spreading summons to even-song:
See how there
The cowed night
Kneels on the Eastern sanctuary stair."

And again in the "Orient Ode":

"Lo, in the sanctuaried East,
Day, a dedicated priest

In all his robes pontifical exprest,
Lifteth slowly, lifteth sweetly,
From out its Orient tabernacle drawn,
Yon orbéd sacrament confest
Which sprinkles benediction through the dawn;
And when the grave procession's ceased,
The earth with due illustrious rite
Blessed—ere the frail fingers featly
Of twilight, violet-cassocked acolyte
His sacerdotal stoles unvest—
Sets, for high close of the mysterious feast,
The sun in august exposition meetly
Within the flaming monstrance of the West.
O salutaris hostia,
Quae coeli pandis ostium!"

Monsignor Benson had the poet's feeling for the beauty of action and sound and word to be found in the services of the Church. In "By What Authority" we have that wonderful description of "the glorious Mass of Easter Day." The passage is too long to quote, but let us read the introduction to the description of the Credo: "So from step to step the liturgy moved on with its sonorous and exultant tramp, and the crowding thoughts forgot themselves and watched as the splendid heralds went by; the triumphant trumpets of 'Gloria in excelsis' had long died away; the proclamation of the names and titles of the Prince had been made. . . . Then His first achievement had been declared; 'Per quem omnia facta sunt.' And the wonderful ending: 'Then was recounted the tale of those victories that looked so bitterly like failures, and the people held their breath and whispered it, too; then in rising step after step His last conquests were told; how the Black Knight was overthrown, his castle stormed and his prison burst, and the story of the triumph of the return and of the Coronation and the Enthronement at the Father's Right Hand on High.'" Such a vision is vouchsafed to but few of us as we rise to profess our faith at the Credo; but a faint shadow of it might be perceived if we would really let the mind dwell on the picture ever so little.

Réné Bazin, too, is among those who feel the power of the liturgy. In "The Barrier" he shows us Marie at prayer in the Trinità at Rome. She has been through a period of great struggle and her heart and soul are sore. He tells us "She prayed, she read the liturgical prayers for the feast of the day . . . and she stopped for a long time at these words of the Gradual: 'The eyes of all hope in Thee, O Lord: and Thou givest them meet in due season.'

... What a profound knowledge of souls he had who put them there for all centuries, for times past and for those to come, the answer that even happiness needs since it asks for a continuance of favors."

It sometimes happens that those outside the fold have a greater appreciation than ourselves of the beauties of many of the prayers of the Church, even those not strictly speaking liturgical. A non-Catholic who was asked not long ago what he considered the most beautiful poem he knew, answered, "The Litany of the Blessed Virgin!" Had he been acquainted with our liturgical prayers, not only such parts of the Mass as we are considering, but those used on other solemn occasions, as, for example, in the blessing of the new fire and of the water on Holy Saturday, he would probably have found a larger field for his admiration. Secular literature has long made use of the "Nunc Dimittis" to touch our hearts in its scenes of pathos; but centuries before liturgical scholars had seen its beauty and it was incorporated in the Mass for the feast of the Purification, where it occurs twice—in the blessing of the candles and again as the "tract" of the day. It forms a part of other Masses also.

No allusion is here made to the harmony between the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and feast days, nor of the great hymns and sequences of the Church. Any adequate account of these last would fill a volume in itself, but the subject has been frequently treated and by recent writers. This article proposes to deal only with the changeable portions of the Mass, to call attention to the care with which the texts of Holy Scripture are chosen and the beauty and appropriateness with which the prayers are composed to suit the feast. They are models of condensed thought and will well repay the few minutes spent in considering them. A reasonable use of them might give us the stimulus of variety, to many so necessary an element in meditation or prayer. Are we familiar, for instance, with any of the Collects—those collections of all the petitions we might appropriately make for the needs of our own lives as well as for those of others near and dear to us? Do we know what the Gradual is and how it got its name? Does the logical sequence of thought binding together the Introit, the Secret, the Communion verse, the Postcommunion prayers appeal to our minds?

See how beautifully this group of prayers hinges together in the Mass for Christmas Eve. The Introit begins—and the same words from the book of Exodus are repeated in the Gradual: "This day you shall know that the Lord will come and save us: and in the morning you shall see His glory." The "Prayer" or Collect

as we generally call it is as follows: "O God, Who year by year makest us to look forward in joy of heart to the festival of the Birth of Thine only begotten Son, grant that, even as we now gladly welcome Him for our Redeemer, so we may trustfully go forth to meet Him when He shall one day return as our Judge." The Offertory has these words from the twenty-third Psalm: "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in." The prophet of the Nativity is called upon for the Communion verse: "The glory of the Lord shall be revealed; and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God." The note of expectation and hope struck in the Introit is continued with increasing vigor in the Offertory and the Communion verses, while the Postcommunion prayer binds these thoughts naturally centering around the Nativity with a practical petition for its application to ourselves: "Vouchsafe unto us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to begin a new life with this festival of the Nativity of Thine only begotten Son, Who, in these mysteries, feeds us with the meat and drink of that life which is eternal."

The same familiarity with Holy Writ is shown by the framers of the Masses for Christmas Day. With what care they seem to have chosen the texts that emphasize the spirit of joy at the coming of the Saviour and to have written the prayers that correspond so well. Read, for instance, the Postcommunion for the first or midnight Mass: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, that we who, in joy of heart, keep with threefold celebration of the holy Mysteries, the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, may, by worthiness of life, deserve to rejoice with Him for evermore." That easy transition of the mind from natural to spiritual phenomena so characteristic of the writers of the Middle Ages is noticeable in those who compiled these early liturgies. Here, for instance, the reference to the Light of the World is illustrated in the Introit of the second Mass, at break of day: "A light shall shine upon us this day, for the Lord is born to us; and He shall be called Wonderful, God, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the world to come." How naturally the Collect continues the idea: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that we, upon whom is poured forth the new light of Thy Word made flesh, may show forth in our actions that which by faith shineth in our minds." The Gradual presents the same thought in these words: "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; the Lord is God and He hath shone upon us."

Notice the sequence of thought in the Mass for the feast of the Holy Innocents. In the Introit the compiler gives us a verse from the eighth Psalm: "Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings, O

God, Thou hast perfected praise because of Thy enemies." Then we have the prayer composed in the same spirit: "O God, Whose praise the Innocent Martyrs did this day, not by speaking, but by dying, confess, mortify in us all the evils of vice; that Thy Faith, which our tongues profess, our lives also may by their actions confess." The Communion verse is perhaps the saddest with a purely human sadness to be found in Scripture: "A voice in Rama was heard, lamentation and mourning; Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted because they are not." To the beauty of these prayers add a remembrance of what art has done for the subject; think of the lovely tiny martyrs as Ghirlandaio pictured them in the "Innocenti" in Florence. How close one comes to them and to that mediæval spirit that could evolve so beautiful a name for a foundling asylum as the "Hospital for the Innocent!"

Among the "Occasional Prayers" to be found in the Missal, the same human tenderness can be observed in the Collect, Secret and Postcommunion for "our friends and those dear to us." There is the Postcommunion to be recited when the Mass is offered for such an intention: "Having tasted of Thy divine mysteries, O Lord, we beseech Thee that this saving sacrifice may likewise avail to assure prosperity and peace to them, for love of whom we have offered it up to Thy divine majesty." Have we ever read the Mass for the sick? In his "Sacramentary," the precursor of our "missal" of to-day, Pope Gelasius put together those beautiful petitions for the restoration to health of a loved one. He wrote them more than fourteen hundred years ago, yet it would hardly be possible to improve on them to-day. In the Secret he prays: "O God, at a sign from Whom the moments of our life slip by, receive the prayers and offerings of Thy servants who are sick, and upon whom we implore Thee to have mercy; and may we, who now fear for them because in danger, be gladdened by their return to health." And in the Postcommunion: "O God, the true support of man in his weakness, show forth in these Thy servants, who are sick, how mighty is the succor Thou canst give; and may it soon be theirs, in virtue of that same strong and merciful help of Thine, to come, restored to health, to worship Thee with us in Thy holy church." There is another set of prayers for those near to death from which we copy the Collect: "Almighty and merciful God, Who upon mankind hast bestowed both the means of salvation and the gift of eternal life, look down with favor upon Thy servant who is sick unto death, and cherish the soul which Thou hast created; so that in the hour of his going forth he may be found worthy to be presented by the hand of Thy holy Angels, spotless from sin to Thee, his Creator." How natural that there should

be a "Mass for Pilgrims and Travelers;" here the Secret ends with this petition, "that it may be given to us to rejoice in their having, by Thy merciful help, both gained the object of their journey and safely returned therefrom." Examples might be multiplied to show how almost every condition and circumstance of life are remembered by those who, as the Church grew, contributed their share to her liturgy.

Nor are those who have passed into life eternal forgotten. As a natural consequence of that threefold membership of the Church—universal indeed in so wide a sense—we find a Collect, a Secret and a Postcommunion prayer in which the living and the dead are linked together in her liturgy as they are in our hearts. How comprehensive is the Secret. "O God, to whom only is known the number of the elect to be placed in everlasting bliss, grant, we beseech Thee, that by the intercession of all Thy Saints, the Book of blessed predestination may ever retain the names both of all those whom we have had commended to our prayers and of all the faithful in general."

From early ages there has been a commemoration of "All the Faithful Departed," though it was not until the close of the tenth century that the feast of All Souls' Day was fixed for the day following All Saints. In this Mass there are several Collects, which vary to suit the condition of the persons prayed for. The one "for all the faithful departed" is the prayer so familiar to us all: "O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the Faithful, grant unto the souls of Thy servants and handmaids the remission of all their sins; that through our pious supplications they may obtain that pardon which they have always desired." A beautiful prayer that we might with profit make equally familiar is "for those who rest in the Churchyard:" "O God, of whose mercy it is that the souls of Thy faithful people do rest in peace, graciously grant unto Thy servants and handmaids and unto all that here and everywhere rest in Christ the forgiveness of their sins; that absolved from every offense, they may everlastingly rejoice with Thee." Notice the wide charity that remembers those that "everywhere rest in Christ," though the prayer is specifically for those of one parish only.

The Introit and Gradual, which are the same in all Masses for the dead, begin with the petition so well known to us all: "Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord; and let perpetual light shine upon them." The tract, after a petition for absolution for all the faithful departed, begs that they may "enjoy the bliss of everlasting light." The sequence is the "Dies Irae," which has won the praise of men of all faiths and ages since Thomas of Celano first added it to the

intellectual and spiritual treasures of the Church. The average modern mind is probably not so deeply in sympathy with its solemn grandeur as the more contemplative spirit of the thirteenth century, which produced it. Goethe, however, used it in *Faust* and Scott in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," and so recent a critic as Professor Saintsbury calls it "the greatest of all hymns and one of the greatest of all poems."

The Offertory emphasizes the promise of life eternal as found in the Old Testament: "O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep pit; deliver them from the jaws of the lion, lest they fall into darkness and the black gulf swallow them up. Rather, let Thy standard-bearer, blessed Michael, lead them into that holy light, which of old Thou didst promise to Abraham and to his seed. Behold, O Lord, we offer Thee this sacrifice of prayer and praise; do Thou receive it on behalf of the souls of those whose memory we this day recall; make them, O Lord, to pass from death unto life: the which of old Thou didst promise to Abraham and to his seed." The Postcommunion repeats part of the introit and gradual after this introductory prayer: "May light everlasting shine upon them, O Lord: for ever with Thy Saints, because Thou art gracious." It is quite remarkable how the thoughts of light and rest dominate these prayers, even a casual reading of them will show the recurrence of the idea, while we have the opposite picture shown in the offertory just quoted. The final prayer, to be said at a burial as the body is being borne out of the church, seems worthy of being memorized: "Into Paradise may the Angels lead thee; at thy coming, may the Martyrs receive thee and bring thee into the holy city of Jerusalem. May the choir of angels receive thee, and with Lazarus, himself once poor, mayest thou have everlasting rest."

Sometimes when we are unable to fix our thoughts on what we would like to recommend to the "Giver of all good gifts," these prayers from the storehouse of the Church, written by those who, mayhap, thought more deeply than ourselves, might voice our own half-formed aspirations or suggest others that might be better.

A recent writer in the *Catholic World*, Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C., in words for which we should be grateful tells us of "the moral harm done by literature which is weak in intelligent understanding of the actual experience of life or in personal conviction." He says that "the results are that there has been a weakening of character amongst the reading public at large; whilst among those who are attracted to stronger mental fare there has been a widespread revolt against the hitherto accepted Christian life." Per-

haps this is true in a way of our prayers; it may be that they are weak in intelligent understanding and that they would be strengthened by a judicious use of the liturgy. That Huysmans realized the value of the liturgical prayers we may gather from his remarkable book, "The Cathedral." He complains that he is so often unable to pray in the terms of devotion generally found in prayer books; then he turns to the prayers of the liturgy. It may be, too, that many of us could follow his example and find it a successful means of keeping our thoughts from straying off to secular fields. If we reflect a little on the inspired words of the Scriptures to be found in the Mass or those of so great an intellect as St. Thomas Aquinas, who composed the prayers for the Mass of Corpus Christi, we might find our own thoughts growing less unworthy of that Uncreated Intellect on which we sometimes so feebly try to fix them.

Though not strictly germane to the subject, a passing allusion to certain practices in connection with ritual may be noticed as helping to emphasize the fact that every act, however trivial, has an idea back of it. The practice, for instance, of veiling crosses and stations on Passion Sunday had its inception in the closing words of the Gospel of the day, where we are told that "Jesus hid Himself and went out of the temple." In view of the indulgence granted by Pope Pius X. for looking at the Host at the moment of the elevation, reciting at the same time the ejaculation, "My Lord and My God," it may be interesting to note the importance given to this act during the Middle Ages. It was quite a common custom in England, for instance, to speak of attendance at Mass as "Seeing God." In the "Lay Folks' Mass Book," a well-known prayer book in rhyme for the laity written in the thirteenth century, but popular for long after, we find this verse:

"Look Paternoster thou be saying
Till the chalice he be signing:
Then the time is near of Sacring—
A little bell men used to ring—
Then shalt thou do reverence
To Jesus Christ's own presence,
That may loose all sinful bands.
Kneel and hold up both thy hands,
And so the Elevation do thou behold:
For that is He that Judas sold.

That same is He thou lookst upon."

Similar allusions are met with in other early books of devotion.

We see, then, that the Holy Father was not introducing a novelty, but merely encouraging the revival of an old custom, which, with time, had become less general.

Another beautiful custom in English parish churches before the sixteenth century was the recital at Mass of the "Bidding Prayer," in which the needs not of the sick alone, but of all the groups that go to make up a congregation are presented in a very comprehensive prayer. As the author of "The Mass and Its Folklore" says, "it is so eminently Christian and Catholic that it seems a pity it has fallen into disuse since the Reformation." Perhaps it would find favor in a book of private devotions. Apropos of old customs, many Catholics feel that if the entire congregation, and not the clerk alone, would make the responses at the various times when the officiating priest turns to the congregation, addressing them directly, that a genuine "Habemus ad Dominum" might follow the "Sursum Corda" of the celebrant. Any one who has heard a group of thousands of pilgrims chanting the "Credo" in the plaza before the great basilica at Lourdes, or the vast body of men that fills the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, during the Lenten conferences, alternating with the sanctuary choir in chanting "a capella," that solemn profession of faith would doubtless be so much impressed as to wish to see the custom spread to our own country.

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THE INNER HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION UNDER
EDWARD VI.

MUCH time and energy have been spent on the history of the Reformation during the reign of Edward VI., but what seems to me a really valuable aspect of it has been superficially treated by historians. The early lives of the people have too largely been overlooked, and thus our conception of the history has been narrowed. It is my object in this essay to refer to two important aspects of parish life. Firstly, the fate that befell the details of Catholic piety, and secondly, the general morals of the age. The evidence which I shall bring forward has never been completely worked in either of these connections. Space will forbid me going into a complete view of these matters, but I think sufficient light will be thrown on them to make the complicated history of the reign clearer to students and to general readers. There are many other aspects to which I hope, if possible, to refer to in later numbers of this review.

I.

First, then, we shall consider what we may call, for want of a better name, the details of Catholic practice. It is hardly necessary to point out how large a place details may occupy in the allegious composition of an individual. In themselves they have no intrinsic value, but they will fulfill an important function when they have behind them certain authority, antiquity and associations. It is also a well-known fact in history that when change, either ecclesiastical or politcal, has touched such details it has cut very deeply into the hearts of a people, because it has touched the bone and sinew of every-day religious life. It has often cut away the very things which constantly arrest religious attention, arouse the religious memory and appeal to religious obligation. These details are perpetual witnesses to the unseen. They occupy in the religious sphere a position analogous to the ever present details of law and order in the civil sphere. When, in the latter, these disappear or are obscured, there frequently arises a lack of confidence in the system of which they were a part. This is equally true in the religious sphere. A custom the less in religion may not in itself be any more important than a policeman the less in a certain area. But when custom after custom is destroyed, the religion to which they belong soon loses ground, just as the removal of an entire police system would discredit the civil administration responsible. When therefore, the Edwardian Reformers began their at-

tack on the details of Catholic piety, they began one of their most subtle attacks. They cut out of every-day life customs and symbolism which authority had provided for the help of human frailty. We shall now consider these in some detail.

Henry VIII. in 1538 silenced the Angelus bell, which had been rung in England in one form or another from the fourteenth century, because "it had been brought in and begun by the pretense of the Bishop of Rome's pardon."¹ The Council of Edward VI. enforced this order in 1547 and extended it to all bells "except one bell in convenient time to be rung before the sermon."² Thus the sacring bell was silenced along with the Angelus bell, which had kept constantly before the people the mysteries of their worship and redemption. These new orders were rigidly enforced. Cranmer silenced the sacring bell in every parish in England south of Hull in 1548,³ and before very long the custom became a memory of bygone days. Foreign visitors soon noticed that both bells had become silent in England.

The use of holy water dated from time immemorial. It was solemnly blessed before the parochial Mass every Sunday in every parish in the land. It stood in every parish church and young and old, saint and sinner, shared in its symbolism. In addition, the parish clerk, called from this office the *aquae bajulus*, carried round holy water to the homes of the people every week. The Government of Edward VI. found these customs in full use. "The Ten Articles" of 1536 permitted the use of holy water as one of the "good and laudable things to put us in memory of what they signify."⁴ When there was further reform in the air, a royal proclamation of 1539⁵ ordered the clergy to preach against any superstitious use of holy water, and to declare to their parishoners every Sunday that "it was sprinkled in remembrance of baptism and of the sprinkling of the Blood of Christ." The official parochial visitors in 1547 cautiously glanced at the custom "of the people casting holy water upon their beds,"⁶ and even went so far as to order the clergy to teach that no one should condemn it, being "a laudable ceremony of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed and as yet not abrogated." No other reference was made to it in these royal orders of 1547, but the "homilies" which these same royal orders provided for regular reading from the parochial pulpits actually condemned holy water! However, this royal con-

¹ Henrician Injunctions for 1538.

² Edwardian Injunctions for 1547.

³ Cranmer MS., Register, 1548.

⁴ Wilkins, "Concilia," III., §22.

⁵ Ibid., §42.

⁶ Bonner MS., Register.

demnation does not for the moment seem to have had much or at least uniform weight, as we have an excellent example of an order given by six of these parochial visitors in behalf of the Crown to the deanery of Doncaster in 1548, and there is every probability that this order was applied to the parishes of England north of Hull: "You shall every Sunday at the time of your going about the church with holy water into three or four places where most audience and a plenty of people is, say distinctly and plainly that your parishoners may well hear and perceive the same these words, 'Remember Christ's Blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling of all your sins you have free pardon.'"⁷ However, these same orders abrogated the custom of holy water being carried round to the houses by the parish clerk. His official visits were now only required in connection with poor relief. The Government of Edward VI. did not, on the other hand, delay uniform reform for very long. An order in council early in 1549 completely abolished the use of holy water.⁸ Henceforth its use was generally condemned, while the holy water stocks were destroyed in the churches and the vessels for carrying it about suffered a like fate. This prohibition was part of an official system which developed as the reign advanced, and with holy water a really valuable piece of symbolism disappeared from the churches and homes of England. Ridley suppressed it in the parishes of Essex, Middlesex, Surrey and Kent in 1550.⁹ Bulkeley swept it from North Wales in the following year.¹⁰ Hooper in 1552 carried out drastic measures against it in Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester and Stafford.¹¹ And we have sufficient evidence that it disappeared almost universally from a proclamation of Queen Mary's in December, 1553, ordering it to be generally restored.¹²

The use of holy bread was another custom dating back many centuries. The "holy loaf" was blessed in the church at the conclusion of the parochial Mass every Sunday. Cut into slices, it was distributed to the people, who came up into the chancel, knelt and received it. It was provided sometimes by the parish gilds, sometimes by a parochial fund, sometimes by a collection in church, and frequently the families of the parish undertook to provide it in turn, as is customary at present in places where the custom survives in Europe. It was "allowed" by Henry VIII.¹³ as one of the

⁷ York MSS. for Doncaster, 1548.

⁸ Cardwell, *Doc. Hun.*, A., No. vii.

⁹ Ridley MS., *Register*, 1550.

¹⁰ Bulkeley MS., *Register*, 1550.

¹¹ Hooper's *Remains*, II. (1532).

¹² Machyn, *Diary*, 50.

¹³ Wilkins, *op. cit.*

praiseworthy practices, of which as yet he did not disapprove, "to remind men of the housel or Eucharist which in the beginning of the Christian Church was received more often than now, and in sign of unity, for as the bread is made of many grains, so are all Christian men one body in Christ." The parochial orders of 1547 noted "the custom of hearing about holy bread" and included it under the same description as holy water without further reference. The "Homily of Good Works," however, condemned it, but once more without general success. In Doncaster, if not in the entire north of England, the custom survived in 1548, when we find it distributed with these words:

"Of Christ's Body this is a token,
Which on the Cross for our sins was broken.
Wherefore of His Death if you will be partakers,
Of vice and sin you must be forsakers."

But holy bread was generally condemned by an order in council late in 1548, and from that point on efforts were made throughout the parishes to destroy uniformly the custom. Ridley in May, 1550, ordered no one to use it under penalties, and he also asked if there were any in his diocese who were accustomed to bless it, thus witnessing to the presence of priests secretly in and around London. We are not in this essay concerned with these clergy who held fast to the faith, and evidence is strong that, in spite of them, the custom disappeared through the successful energies of Edward VI.'s officials, ecclesiastical and civil. It is interesting to note that Bonner when he visited London Diocese at the beginning of Mary's reign found it necessary to order his clergy to renew the custom and, which is very noteworthy, to explain it most carefully to the people.¹⁴ Finally, it may be noted that "The First Prayer Book" of 1549 took it for granted that the custom abrogated by the government in the previous year had disappeared, for it ordered the parishioners to offer money every Sunday towards the provision of bread and wine for the communion, "as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf."

A like history is connected with holy ashes. They were approved at the first outset of the Reformation in England. The royal officials did not deal with them in 1547 and the earliest reference for the reign of Edward VI. is found in a question addressed to every parish clergyman in two-thirds of the parishes of England in 1548: "Whether they hallowed and delivered to the people ashes upon Ash Wednesday last."¹⁵ But even a custom so intimately con-

¹⁴ London MS., Register, 1553.

¹⁵ Cranmer MS., Register, 1548.

nected with an event over which the Reformers at least had no control was not destined to remain. Holy ashes received the unequivocal condemnation of the Edward Government in 1549,¹⁶ and the custom disappeared until restored for the kingdom by Queen Mary.¹⁷

Palms on Palm Sunday had been in use in England from the earliest days of Christianity. Sprigs of willow or yew were blessed and carried in procession as far back as Christian memory could go in England.¹⁸ Henry had not interfered with the custom, but ordered it to be explained each Palm Sunday to the people. Edward's early dealings merely glanced at the making "of crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday in time of reading of the Passion,"¹⁹ but, as usual, the officials who carried out the earliest orders spoke of superstition and abuse. This general "fear" had the customary result. Palms were forbidden by the diligent government in 1548. Archbishop Cranmer soon fell into line. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in Henry's reign he had begun to consider suggestions for "further reform" in connection with the details of Catholic practice.

Another custom—that of using the Rosary—deserves special mention, because since England had been specially dedicated to Our Lady, the use of the Rosary was widespread; indeed, it is proved beyond doubt that it was the customary form of private devotion. The general official orders for 1547²⁰ attacked "praying upon beads" as one "of those superstitious practices which not only have no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise, great threat and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offenses, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth His honor and glory." These orders did not categorically forbid the use of the Rosary, and so far I have been unable to find any official condemnation by the Privy Council, unless this was implied by the general prohibition of invocation of the Saints²¹ by act of Parliament. On the other hand, it is quite common to find the use of rosaries forbidden by the new episcopate. In 1549 Bishop Ridley ordered "that none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished."²² This order evidently refers to the use of rosaries in church alone, for the order adds,

¹⁶ Cardwell, *op. cit.*, No. viii.

¹⁷ Wridthesley, *Diary*, 1553.

¹⁸ *Rock Church of Our Fathers*, IV., 78, 264.

¹⁹ Kennedy, *Visitation Documents*, p. 126.

²⁰ Kennedy, *op. cit.*

²¹ Edward VI., c. x., 5.

²² Ridley MS., Register, 1549.

"and such as will not be admonished to be put forth." Later on, however, there is a more general order, and he definitely in 1550 prohibited "all praying upon beads." Hooper, Bishop of the vast Diocese of Gloucester, Worcester, went much further than his confrère.²³ He caused a general search to be made in every house in every parish for rosaries, and he ordered his church wardens to see that those who possessed them destroyed them, and in the event of disobedience, to apprehend the guilty for punishment. I can find no civil authority behind all this, but it is clear that it was based on the general will of the government. And it is interesting to note that here is the beginning of that inquisition into the private life and homes of the people which Queen Elizabeth reduced to a fine art.

It would be possible to continue a like history for almost every detail of Catholic piety. Nothing survived. Nothing escaped notice. I believe that these attacks which I have just outlined did more than anything else to advance the changes under Edward VI. The evidence, with which I could fill a good sized volume, is overwhelming to prove that the government's policy was wholesale from the very beginning, and not a gradual process of reform, as we have been taught for three centuries. Nor is this evidence merely local. Among the diocesan and parish manuscripts in every county in England there exists material of real value which goes to show that the whole movement was well thought out and well planned, and that church services and theological reform did not blind the officials to the fact that the practices hallowed by generations in the daily lives of the people must be abrogated with a heavy hand if the new movement was to have any hope of success.

A natural result followed—a result to which I cannot just now refer, as I find that I have exceeded my space—antinomianism became rampant. The episcopate was disgraced with moral scandals. Latimer found that "adultery, lechery and divorce were now mere trifles." Vice and immorality of the grossest kind stalked the land. Indeed, the country, among the best Reformers themselves, became a byword for evil living. I hope in another article to continue this subject. Meanwhile I would appeal to our students of sixteenth century history to get down to work at the manuscripts of diocesan and parish life. Till they have been corrected and published, our sixteenth century history must remain a most inadequate and limited performance.

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²³ *Remains*, op. cit.

A CRUX OF THE "IMITATION."

Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt. . . .
—De Imit. Christi, III., i., 1.

Μακάριοι τὰ ὦτα, τὰ μὲν τὰς φλέβας τοῦ θεοῦ ψιθυρίσματος ἐνδεχόμενα . . .
—Tr. of George Mayr, S. J. (1615).

Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper. . . .
—Tr. of Bishop Challoner (1737).

I.

"AFTER the Gospel, the 'Imitation' undoubtedly is the book that reflects with the greatest perfection the light which Jesus Christ brought us down from heaven. It eminently contains the Christian philosophy. . . . Nowhere else do we find the same doctrine inculcated with a more persuasive eloquence and simplicity than in the unpretending little volume that all of us have a hundred times perused."

In paying this deserved tribute¹ to the golden book of Thomas à Kempis, Father Thébaud also paid perhaps an undeserved tribute to his readers. Had they indeed—all of them—read it through a hundred times? Many readers have the confirmed habit of merely opening it at haphazard and reading there what chance may set before their eyes. Still, it is quite probable that all of them had perused it at least several times. If they did so, their eyes must have several times recognized the mysterious rhetorical figure referring to the veins of the divine whisper. When Father Thébaud wrote thus a generation ago, English-speaking Catholics read their "Imitation" in either of two forms. Clerics doubtless preferred the original Latin of à Kempis. The laity doubtless used only Bishop Challoner's translation. In either case, the mysterious figure of speech confronted them, for Challoner rendered it literally from the Latin. And I can freely assert, with all proper assurance, that in neither case was any light thrown upon the mysterious language by a footnote or parenthesis, or in any quite intelligible manner whatsoever. Who shall reckon up the millions² of Catholics who have been thus hopelessly puzzled by a work which so many commentators, together with Father Thébaud, have highly praised for its "simplicity?"

So much for the Latin original and its version into English by Bishop Challoner. In the year 1615 Father George Mayr, S. J.,

¹ Aug. J. Thébaud, S. J., "Who Wrote the 'Imitation of Christ'?", in the "Review," October, 1883.

² Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 679 (footnote) on the many editions of Challoner's version.

published at Augsburg his translation of the "Imitation" into Greek. It was reissued³ in several places and was finally edited anew by Father John Garino and published by the Salesians at Turin in 1879. I shall not attempt to estimate the number of those who, whether in the class-room or in the closet, have found in this Greek version the same old puzzle—for Father Mayr translates our verse with absolute literalness into the sister-language of the Latin.

Those students and lovers of the "Imitation" who, in their translations of it into modern languages⁴ or in their attempts to turn the rugged Latinity of Thomas à Kempis into classical Latin phrase,⁵ have departed from the literal rendering of the "*venas divini susurri*," have permitted themselves to indulge in widely variant and mutually exclusive interpretations. Their readers were therefore unaware of the curious phraseology of the Latin original. But it may well seem strange that the translators themselves, confronted with the puzzle, have not made more serious efforts to solve it. I am not aware of one translation that has furnished its readers with a probably correct interpretation. A very few of the translators have recognized that the words "*venas susurri*"—the "veins of a whisper"—are found in the Vulgate Latin of Job iv., 12. Those who have recognized this ultimate source of the phrase have, with only one exception⁶ that I know of, failed to

³ Father Garino tells us that he supplied himself with copies of various editions of Mayr's work, and compared what he considered the best one of these with the editio princeps of 1615, with the intent of selecting amongst the variant readings those which were most faithful to the original and which best observed grammatical proprieties. Thus our puzzling verse again came under editorial scrutiny in the most direct possible fashion, and went once more without note or comment. What shall we conclude? that the verse is so self-explanatory as hardly to permit of editorial comment? or that it is, on the contrary, quite beyond the power of a commentator to explain?

⁴ In addition to the illustrations given in the present article, see those in the "Review," Oct., 1916, pp. 679-696.

⁵ The present article will consider the very early one by Castallo (Castellio) and the very modern one by Ferdinand Phillips. Castallo's version comprised only the first three books. It was reprinted at Frankfort in 1707. The British Museum contains Castallo's version together with a similar classical version of the Fourth Book by R. Widdrington, issued at Cambridge in 1688: "*De Christo imitando, contemnendisque mundi vanitatibus libellus, auctore Thoma Kempisio libri tres, interprete S. Castellione. Quibus adjungitur liber quartus de Coena Domini redditus de Latino in Latinum, hoc est de agrestiore sermone in paulo mundiorum; cum micis aliquot epidorpidum, auctore R. Widdrington. In 1901, Phillips published in Philadelphia his classical version: "Libri quatuor de imitando Christum . . . ad sententiam Auctoris secundum politiore formam Romanam dicendi accuratius exprimendam."*

⁶ The English translation by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., which was noticed in the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 696.

render the phrase in the sense⁷ in which it was probably used in the Vulgate. The one translation which has striven so to do has, I think, failed to give us the true meaning of Thomas à Kempis.⁸

I shall not here attempt the impossible task of comparing all the translations of the "Imitation" into the various tongues of the world. The value of my restricted study of the translations lies in the fact that I have not concealed any one of them from my readers. One may thus fairly generalize, and conclude from many particulars to a probable universal.

II.

Without exception, so far as I am aware, the translations of the "Imitation" into French avoid a literal rendering of "*venas divini susurri*." They give interpretations, more or less satisfactory to the intelligence of devout readers, but suggestive of many questionings to the merely inquisitive student.

The process of interpretation is obvious in the earliest translation into French of the "Imitation," which bore the general title: "*Le livre de l'interne consolation*," and had as its "*seconde partie*" the book which is generally entitled the "Third Book" of the "Imitation" (and, in some of the most recent editions, the "Fourth Book").⁹ A new edition, with an introduction and notes, was edited by L. Moland and Ch. d'Héricault in 1856. The "second part" bears the title: "*Cy commence le Traicté de l'Interiore Collocucion de Nostre Sauveur Jesuchrist a l'ame devote. Et est la seconde partie de ce livre.*" Looking at our first chapter of the Third Book, we find that it contains no Biblical references whatever, although the first verse (which is a quotation from the 84th Psalm, verse 9) is given in capital letters. Our third verse is elaborately rendered in paraphrase, but there is no note, either in the original French

⁷ Commentators see in "*venas*" an attempt to suggest "a little" of the whisper heard by Eliphaz (Vulgate iv. 12.)

⁸ This will be fully illustrated in a succeeding article.

⁹ The "*Liber Internae Consolationis—De Interna Christi locutione ad animam fidelem*" has, until very recent years, been universally styled the "Third Book." So has Sommius placed it; and even Carl Hirsche thought it unwise to disturb the precedent. In his autograph of 1441, a Kempis placed the book on Holy Communion before that on internal consolation. Some very recent editors and translators have followed the order of the autograph of 1441, and have styled the book on Holy Communion the "Third," and that on internal consolation the "Fourth." Pohl follows the traditional naming of the books, but compromises with the autograph by placing the "Fourth" book ahead of the "Third." The rhythmic English version published by Elliot Stock in 1889, the translation 1898, by the Rev. Dr. Bigg, and that of Sir Francis R. Cruise (1909), both call and place the book on Holy Communion "third," and so place the book on internal consolation the fourth in order.

or by the exactly careful editors, to account for the translation of "venas divini susurri" by "la douce interiore collocucion divine." Here, then, we have the earliest attempt to render into French our puzzling verse:

"Benoystes sont les oreilles de l'ame lesquelles reçoivent en elles la douce interiore collocucion divine, et ne escoutent ou reçoivent point les tumultes ou noyses des collocucions du monde."

We shall more easily appreciate the laborious evasions of this version by comparing it with Challoner's literal version into English:

EARLIEST FRENCH.

Blessed are the ears of the soul which receive into them the sweet interior divine colloquy, and do not hear or receive the tumults or noises of the conversations of the world.

LATIN ORIGINAL.

Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of this world.

In the Latin text, *susurrus* (in the first hemistich) is contrasted with *susurrationes* (in the second hemistich).¹⁰ Whatever criticism may be passed on Bishop Challoner's rigid literalism in rendering "venas" by "veins," he at least preserved the suggestiveness of "susurri" and "susurrationibus." But the French translation gives us neither. It thus loses much of the poetry of language and the beauty and vividness of antithesis. It loses (for obviously its translator did not at all recognize) all the flavor of the Biblical language of the Vulgate Latin of Job iv., 12, which Thomas à Kempis borrowed for his own purposes in this remarkable verse of the "Imitation." And, finally, it misses virtually the whole lesson of the verse, in its attempt to contrast the sweet internal voice of Christ with the tumults and noises of the world. For presumably Thomas à Kempis was rather contrasting the delicate whispers of the Divine Voice with distractions of any worldly kind—not necessarily "tumults" or "noises," but even such quiet mental visitors as vain thoughts and imaginings, haunting memories, unvoiced longings. If we are to hear the special revelations of Christ, we must resolutely shut our mental ears to all earthly distractions.

If the literature of French translation of the "Imitation" or of French comment upon the original Latin or its translations contains anywhere an enlightening note on the "venas divini susurri," it is not improbable that MM. L. Moland and Ch. d'Héricault would have made use of it to comment upon this curious attempt

¹⁰ For the division of our verse into hemistichs, and the reasons therefor, see the "Review" for Oct., 1916, page 678.

of the earliest French translator to render acceptably the true meaning of the apparently baffling thought contained in our third verse, Book Third, of the *Imitation*.¹¹

III.

When one departs from the rule of literalness and enters into the misty regions of interpretation, a great liberty of thoughts and words is apparently permitted. "The sweet interior divine colloquy" as a rendering of the "*venas divini susurri*" may well be rejected in favor of other intimations supposedly discoverable in the original. At all events, Sebastian Castalio achieved a curious tour de force when he undertook to translate the rugged Latinity of Thomas à Kempis into a polished and classical Latin phraseology. He published his volume "*De Imitando Christo*" at Basle in 1563.

We are thus excellently furnished with an interesting test-case. For in our baffling verse the heart of the difficulty is found in the "*venas divini susurri*." Is this expression merely a piece of rugged mediæval Latin? Worse still, is it one of those locutions "*quæ Teutonicam phrasim redolent*"¹²—that is, Dutch idioms bodily carried over into Latin vocabulary by Thomas à Kempis and thus balking so many of his translators from that day to the present time? No, the phrase is not a Dutch idiom. Neither is it peculiar to mediæval piety. Indeed, it is no other than the coinage of the great Latin Father, St. Jerome, who had been scourged by heavenly whips for the reason that he was "a Ciceronian!" Both "*vena*" and "*susurrus*" are classical Latin words. I have looked up an elaborate "*Index Latinitatis*" of Cicero, but failed to find the words conjoined. There seems to be no linguistic or rhetorical reason why they should not be thus connected into a phrase, however, and one may fairly suppose that a distinguished lover of Ciceronic Latin, such as St. Jerome undoubtedly was, might well be trusted not to have indulged in a literary solecism when, in endeavoring to render the sense of the Hebrew of Job iv., 12, he chose the words which

¹¹ Thus, e. g., they comment on the rendering of "*proprietary*" (III., xxxii.) in the earliest French version by "*propriétaires*," declaring that it means "*égoïste, plein d'amour propre, mo remarquable et rare dans ce sens.*" In the same paragraph, the original Latin uses the word "*gyrovagi*," and the editors note that the edition of the "*Livre de l'interne consolation*" published in 1498 rendered this word by "*girouagues*." They comment upon this: "*Le texte latin donne en effet 'gyrovagi.' Nous notons ce mot 'girouague' à cause de sa parenté avec le mot 'girouette,' et à cause de sa rareté; nous ne l'avons rencontré nulle part ailleurs.*" But they place no note attempting to explain why the French translation evades the "*venas*."

¹² Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 675.

Thomas à Kempis also thought appropriate for the expression of his own thought a thousand years later.

Castalio was—and still is—of great repute as an elegant Latinist. He was also a laborious student and zealous translator of the Bible into both Latin and French. Although he was not a Catholic, we may fairly surmise that he was familiar with the Latin Vulgate and had come upon the “*venas susurri*” there. Are we therefore to conclude that he consciously rejected St. Jerome’s phrase? Or that he failed to recognize and to recall that phrase when he found it in the “*Imitation of Christ*” (not an improbable supposition, indeed?) Or, finally, whether or not he recalled the phrase and its Hieronymian origin, he nevertheless judged that it sorely needed an interpretation for the comfort of his readers? Howbeit, he renders “*venas*” by “*sonitum*” (“*sound*” or “*noise*”) and thus gives us the following: “*Beatae aures quae divini susurri sonitum accipiunt, et hujus mundi susurrations nihil advertunt.*”

Clearly, this is an evasion of the difficulty. If we hear a whisper, of course we hear the “*sound*” of the whisper. The sentence has been extended, but in no wise elucidated. And we are properly tempted to wonder why “*vena*” should be interpreted merely—or, indeed, in any fashion—as “*sound*.” Is there any illustration of such an interpretation to be found in classical or post-classical Latin? in mediæval or in post-mediæval Latin? Or did Castalio simply find our verse quite unintelligible? I am inclined to answer the last question affirmatively.

Two early translations into English were based on the Latin of Castalio. I have not seen the earlier of the two, by Edward Hake (London, 1567), which formally declares itself to be an English rendering of Castalio’s Latin. It would seem quite useless to go to the trouble of obtaining a transcription of our verse from this rare volume. For, taking Castalio’s Latin version as his base, Hake would of course not meet at all the “*venas*” of Thomas à Kempis, but only the “*sonitum*” of Castalio. But the later translation by Thomas Rogers is of interest, because while it is apparently based on Castalio, it seems also to be aware of the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis.

According to Copinger,¹⁸ Rogers was rector of Horninger, or Horringer, as it is now called, near Bury St. Edmunds, and pub-

¹⁸ *Bibliographiana* No. 3. On the English Translations of the “*Imitatio Christi*.” By W. A. Copinger, LL. D., F. S. A., F. R. S. A., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Law in the Owens College and Victoria University, and sometime President of the Bibliographical Society. Privately printed. Manchester, 1900. This little work offers a very convenient account of the translations into English, and I am indebted to it for several interesting items.

lished his volume in 1580. The edition which I consulted is dated 1589 and has a number of quite curious features.

First of all, to a volume small enough to be described in our time as a 16mo., there is given a title so extensive as to indicate to any discerning reader the high importance attached by the translator to his work.¹⁴

Then there is the conscientious acknowledgment that the translation is not complete and full. In "a second epistle concerning the translation and correction of this booke," Rogers remarks: "Sebastian Castalio having translated this booke into Latine, thought it good by waie of preface to give some reasons, both why hee had translated the same, beeing in Latine alreadie; and why so he had translated it, leaving somewhat of the Author out. The case standeth with me as it did with Castalio. Therefore am I to yield some reasons, both why I have translated this boke into English, being in English alreadie; and why so I have translated it, leaving somewhat out, as I have doone. . . . Now touching my correction, I truste no good man will mislike the same. For I have left out nothing but what might be offensive to the godlie. Yet is it neither for quantitie muche, nor for number above foure sentences." He gives fully the four sentences, shows what he has done with them, and gives his reasons.¹⁵ He is most conscientious. He remarks

¹⁴ The addition of Rogers to Biblical quotations is evidenced in his title-page: "Of the Imitation of Christ, Three, both for wisdome, and goodlines, most excellent bookes, made 170. yeares since by one Thomas of Kempis. and for the worthines thereof oft since translated out of Latine into sundrie languages by diuers godlie and learned men. Now newlie corrected, translated. and with most ample textes, and sentences of holie Scripture illustrated by Thomas Rogers. John. 14, 16: I am the waie, the truth, and the life. Marke. 8, 38: Whosoever wil folowe me, let him forsake himseife, and take up his crosse and folowe me. 1 Cor. 11, 1: Folowe me, as I folowe Christ. At London. Printed by Henrie Denham. dwelling in Aldersgate-street at the signe of the Starre. 1589."

¹⁵ As Rogers was one of "the godlie and learned men," he balked at this: "Hoc signum crucis erit in coelo, cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit" (II. xii. 1.) He notes that Castalio classicized it thus: "Atque hoc erit signum crucis in coelo, cum Dominus ad iudicandum veniet," and comments: "Which sentence, forsomuch as I see neither the Scripture, nor anye good writer doth confirme the same, I have left out altogether." His second objectionable sentence is: "Scd nec inimicum diabolium timebis, si fueris fide armatus, et cruce Christi signatus" (II. xii. 9.) "What needes these words. 'And marked with the crosse of Jesus?' I have therefore not mentioned them." His third sentence is: "Non enim stat meritum nostrum" etc. (II. xii. 14), "which," he says, "I have thus Englished: 'Neither dooth our coming forward consist in the stoare of pleasures, and comfort,' etc., leaving out the word merit. Because both the Scripture is cleane against our meriting, and the Author, too, in manie places (e.g., 3rd booke, c. 26, c. 52, c. 58) condemns the same." The fourth is: "Sed neque qui tunc iusti erant et salvandi. ante passionem tuam, et sacrae mortis debitum, coeleste regnum poterant introire" (III. xviii., 2.) Rogers wonders: "Where then were they? in hell? I think none will saie it. In Abrahams bosome, as some, in Limbo patrum, as other Papistes doo saie: but that wil not easilie be proved. Wherefore . . . I have omitted and left out the sentence. Rogers several times quotes Hake's translation.

that he has "added some godlie sentences, which have been omitted by Castalio and such as followed him." Thomas Rogers omitted the Fourth Book (on Holy Communion). But the volume I consulted had bound in with the first three books another work by Thomas à Kempis, translated by Rogers in 1592: "*Soliloquium Animae*. The Sole-talk of the Soul, which for the great affinitie it hath with other bookes of the author. . . is now entitled the fourth booke of the Imitation of Christ." Castalio had translated only the first three books. Whether it was by oversight or by intention that Rogers followed Castalio here, may be left to surmise. He seems to have been unaware of the book on the Holy Communion, for despite his conscientious pointing out of the "four sentences" whose omission he elaborately defended, he nowhere alludes to his omission of the fourth book. Some early manuscripts, especially in England, omitted the fourth book.¹⁶

What interests us most of all, however, in connection with our present labors, is the reiterated boast of Rogers that he had gone to infinite trouble to illustrate his translation with Scriptural references. This is of great importance, indeed; for, down to the last half-century, hardly a translator seemed to be aware that the phrase "*venas susurri*" was taken originally from St. Jerome's Vulgate. Even V. Postel, editing a Latin edition in 1867, and illustrating the first chapter of the Third Book with no less than twelve Scriptural citations, omitted the necessary reference to Job for our verse.¹⁷ But let us hear Rogers on the subject. He first calls attention to this feature of his work in the title-page, where he assures us that the translation is "with most ample textes, and sentences of holie Scripture illustrated." He again emphasizes this feature in his Latin dedication to Sir Thomas Bromley, chancellor of England, declaring that he has distinguished his work "*variis, et multiplicibus, ss. Scripturae sententiis*." And finally, in his "second epistle," he gives this feature as the most prominent one of all—the one that virtually determined him to translate anew the "truly golden books of the 'Imitation of Christ:.'" "I have taken the translation upon mee, not so much to translate, as to illustrate the same with places of Scripture. For doubtlesse great pittie was it, that a booke so plentifulle, or altogether rather fraughted with sentences of the Scripture, was either no whit, as in some, or no better, as in the best impressions, quoted. Besides, I have not onelie shewed the

¹⁶ When Atkynson translated (1502) only three books of the "Imitation," he "had evidently no manuscript containing the fourth book. As has been shown above, such manuscripts are very rare in England. He clearly had to use a manuscript of the '*Musica Ecclesiastica*' type containing only three books." Thus Montmorency: *Thomas à Kempis, His Age and His Book*, p. 137.

¹⁷ Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 674.

Chapter, but the verie sentence also of everie chapter, where what is written may be founde; a thing which, that I heare of, none afore me hath doone. The bringing of which to passe, how painful it hath been to me, he alone can best report, who hath either doone or dooth go about the like; howe not comfortable onelie, but profitable besides it will be to others, they shal finde that zealouslie dooe read the same."

We can well sympathize with Rogers; for his self-imposed task was no light one. And we cannot but marvel at his diligence; for he has illustrated the first chapter of the Third Book with no less than forty-one Biblical references! This prodigious result will be best appreciated when we reflect that Pohl, who gives the most complete list of Scriptural references in his now classical edition of the Latin (published in 1904), gives only three Scriptural references for this chapter. One of the three is, of course, that to Job, iv., 12, for the "*venas susurri*" in our verse. Amongst the forty-one Biblical references which Rogers so industriously brought together to illustrate this chapter, the reference to Job is not found! This curious result is not emphasized here in order to cast any discredit on the labors of Rogers, for he was not a Catholic, and was of course unaware of the peculiar phraseology of the Latin Vulgate. Even Catholics, like V. Postel, D. D., writing three centuries after Rogers, were similarly unaware of the Hieronymian original of the phrase. But the failure of Rogers to identify the source of our phrase will serve to explain the misty views of those Protestant translators who came after him—just as the failure of able scholars like V. Postel will serve similarly to explain a like mistiness in our Catholic translators.

Finally, let us see how Rogers wrestled with our verse. If he followed Castalio, he evidently saw how useless was the word "*sonitum*." If he had the original of Thomas à Kempis before him, he simply evaded the "*venas*:" "Blessed are the eares which can heare when God whispereth, and doo naught regard the noise of the world." Whatever contrast between "*susurrus*" and "*susurationes*" was intended by Thomas à Kempis is lost entirely. And the "*venae*" appears not at all.

IV.

The earliest of the translations into English is conjectured to date somewhere between 1450 and 1480.¹⁸ If its author was not aware of the source of "*venas susurri*" in Job, he nevertheless came as near to the sense of St. Jerome (as interpreted by modern exegetes) as any translation that has fallen under our observation.

¹⁸ Ibid., page 686 ("*Rounynge*"), for some account of it.

The partitive sense perhaps implied by the "of" in its rendering ("of goddess rounynge") is fairly that of one of the most recent of the translators of the "Imitation," Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., who interprets the meaning as "at least a faint sound."¹⁹ The translation of William Atkynson,²⁰ D. D., made in the year 1502, avoided the "venas" by the expedient of "styll spekyng or rounynge." In 1556, Whytford²¹ renders the phrase by "secret breathings." Presumably, Hake, in 1567, literally rendered Castalio's "sonitum" and not the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis. In 1580 God gives us the paraphrastic "when God whispereth."

And so we come down to the year 1613, when "F. B." (or "B. F."), identified with Anthony Hoskins, S. J., published (in St. Omer) his version into English.²² This translation is the most significant of all the English renderings; for virtually all that have appeared since then have been either directly or indirectly based upon his work. A fourth edition (from which the following transcript has been made) was published by John Cousturier (Douai?) in 1633, and bore in its title the initials "F. B." For purposes of easy comparison, the first few sentences of our chapter will be printed here in parallel form. The reader's attention is directed to the word "sound" in our third verse. Had Father Hoskins Castalio's elegant Latin version, as well as the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis, under his eyes when he thus avoided the "venas?" It is not improbable; for although Castalio was not a Catholic, his activities were marked by some amiable and tolerant characteristics; and his *Colloquia Sacra* (Basle, 1545) was esteemed so highly that, its taint of socinianism and its other blemishes having been carefully removed and whatever other features were offensive to a Catholic instinct having been corrected, it was issued in 1748 under the title "*Colloquia sacra, ad linguam simul et morum puerorum formandos.*" This, then, is the translation of "B. F." (or "F. B.").

¹⁹ Ibid., page 696.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 687-8 ("Styll Speknyge").

²¹ Ibid., pp. 685-6 ("Secret Breathings").

²² The initials "F. B." are in Cousturier's edition, but "B. F." translates the "Imitation" (first ed., St. Omer, 1613.) The 2nd ed. (St. Omer, 1615) was followed by a 3rd (St. Omer, 1624) which has the initials "F. B." Gillow's *Biog. Dict. of the English Catholics* gives a summary of his life (b. Herefordshire, 1568; Douay College, 1590; Spain, 1591, entering the Society of Jesus there, 1603; England, 1603; professed of the four vows in London 1609; Madrid, c. 1611; d. Valladolid, 1615) and says that his translation of the "Imitation" "is probably little else than a modernized version of Richard Whytford's translation." I have compared the translations through a number of sequent verses in various places and find the translations as dissimilar as carefully executed ones might well be.

B. F.—1613.

1. I will heare what our Lord God will speak in me.
2. Blessed is the soule that heareth our Lord speaking in her, and receaveth from his mouth the word of comfort.
3. Blessed are those eares that receive the sound of the divine voice, and listen not to the whisperings of the world.
4. Blessed indeed are those ears that hearken not to the voice which soundeth outwardly, but unto truth which teacheth inwardly.
5. Blessed are the eies that being shut up to outward things, are attentive to those things that are internal.

M. C.—1636.

1. I will heare what our Lord God will speak in me.
2. Blessed is the soule that heareth our Lord speaking in her: and receaveth from his mouth, the word of comfort.
3. Blessed are those eares that receive the sound of the divine voice, and listen not to the whisperings of the world.
4. Blessed indeed are those eares that harken not to the voice which soundeth outwardly, but unto truth which teacheth inwardly.
5. Blessed are the eies that being shut up to outward things, are attentive to those things that are internall.

The translation by "M. C.,"²³ i. e., "M. C(arre)" was published in Paris by "Mistris Blageart." The title-page declares that it is a translation of the "Imitation" "revised and in divers things corrected by M. C., confessor to the English nuns at Paris." Obviously, it is a revision of the version by B. F. But the interesting thing about it is the salient fact that the reviser saw no reason for altering "sound" as a rendering of "venas." The identity of the language throughout these verses of the first chapter of the Third Book is not the really remarkable thing; for, outside of the word "sound," they faithfully

²³ "M. C." was an abbreviation of "Miles Car" or "Thomas Carre," pseudonyms of Miles Pinkney, priest, b. 1599 near Durham, ordained at Douay in 1625; d. in Paris, 1674. In 1633 "Mary Tredway and some English ladies of the French abbey of St. Augustine at Douay were inspired by Mr. Carre to found an English convent of the same order. With the assistance of Cardinal Richelieu . . . they settled, in 1633" in Paris, and M. Carre withdrew from Douay to be their chaplain. The community finally removed to the rue Fossés St. Victor, in 1639. "Mr. Carre spared neither time nor labor in the foundation of this convent. He repeatedly crossed the Channel in its interest, and most of his own money was spent upon it. For forty years he devoted himself almost exclusively to his charge." (Gillow.) He is the author or translator of 17 volumes. He dedicated his tr. of the "Imitation" to "his much honored good lady, Marie Tredway, Abbess of the English Nunnery, and to all the religious dames, her pious and obedient daughters," and added a life of a Kempis. He also dedicated to "Lady Marie Tredway" translations of several other works of a Kempis.

translate the original Latin, and the English idiom is nowhere faulty.

In 1639 there was published at Oxford, by W. P(age), an English version whose title-page declared it to be a revision and correction of the "translations" of the "Imitation." W. Page was chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, to whom he dedicates his volume. He "made bold to leave out" certain things, "because the author thereof was too much addicted to one side." This language seems very modern to our ears. Now it is highly interesting to note that Page takes the version of F. B. in the extracted verses I have quoted, word for word, with one exception. In the last verse (the fifth) he substitutes "things that are within" for "things that are internal." The spelling is slightly modernized (e. g., "hear" for "heare," "receiveth" for "receaveth," "eyes" for "eies,") although the spellings "speake," "soule" and "eares" are retained. The important thing, of course, is that he apparently finds no reasons for changing "sound" after his consultation of various translations.

In 1654 under the title, apparently, of "The Christian's Pattern," John Worthington issued his translation.²⁴ No copy of this first edition is extant, so far as I am aware. Another edition was issued in 1677. With its spelling still more modernized than that of Page's edition, it is identical, in the five verses I have quoted, with the translation of F. B., save for three things. First, it inserts the word "the" before "truth" (in the fourth verse). Second, it changes "our Lord" into "the Lord" in the first and second verses. In so far it sought to "Protestantize" the language of Catholic devotion—a thing which W. Page, to his credit, did not attempt. John Wesley, in 1735,²⁵ seems to have based his translation upon that of John Worthington; but, as we have already seen, he substitutes "whispers" for the lifeless word "sound." Third, it changes the fifth verse to: "Blessed are the eyes that are shut to outward things, but open to those things that are internal." It would seem that Worthington had the work of F. B. before him, and not that of W. Page.

²⁴ Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 688.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, page 691. In his preface, Wesley says: "As it is impossible for any one to know the usefulness of this treatise, till he has read it in such manner as it deserves: instead of heaping up commendations of it, which thousands who have read it do not want, and those who have not will not believe, I have transcribed a few plain directions how to read this (or indeed any other religious work) with improvement." He thereupon gives most excellent directions for reading the "Imitation," filled with the spirit of practical piety. I have come upon them (in Latin) in a recently issued edition of the Latin text of the "Imitation," where they form (apparently) a portion of the very modern preface of the editor. No acknowledgment is made to any anterior source—and I am wondering why! Probably they were to be found in the Latin edition used by Wesley.

In 1695 "The Christian's Pattern" was reissued by Richard Wellington. The wording of our five verses is exactly that of the edition of 1677.

In 1696 Dean Stanhope published his curiously paraphrastical edition, which I have noticed elsewhere.²⁶ Instead of "sound," we find in it "the soft and gentle whispers."

In 1702 there was an English edition published by Nicolas de Turner in Rouen, "revised and corrected by W. B." With modernized spellings and unfortunately conceived changes of verbal endings (such as "hears" for "heareth," "receives" for "receiveth," "sounds" for "soundeth," "teaches" for "teacheth") it is identical, in our five verses, with the translation of F. B.

Thus far, the "sonitus" of Castalio, and the "sound" of F. B., have had a wide influence on the translators of the "Imitation" into English. It is a pity that "venas" should thus have been lost sight of so completely.

In 1726²⁷ Thomas Meighan, "in Drury Lane," published a translation that broke violently away from the tradition set by the version of F. B. Not only does it avoid the "venas" of the original, but as well the "sound" of the previous renderings; and it changes the solemn "eth" of the present tense into the popular "s" of the day: "I will hear what my Lord God will speak within me. Blessed is the soul that hears what God speaks to it, and receives with Attention the Words of Comfort from his Mouth. Blessed are the Ears which greedily suck in the divine Whispers; and are shut to the Suggestions of this World. Blessed, indeed, are those Ears which let the Noise of the World pass by unheeded; and only listen to the inward Lesson of Truth. Blessed are those Eyes which are shut to exterior Objects, and look inward with Attention." The "venas divini susurri" is now condensed and the plural is transferred from "venas" to "susurri," so that now we have: "Blessed are the ears which greedily suck in the divine whispers."

In 1735 John Wesley published his vigorous translation, which has been noticed previously. In 1737 Bishop Challoner issued his own version. It was published by Thomas Meighan; and we may perhaps fairly suppose that the volume which this publisher had issued only eleven years previously had been intended for the use of Catholics in England. Burton, the biographer of Challoner, tells us that the Bishop "turned a little while from controversy to bring out an entirely new translation of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the older version then in the hands of Catholics having become antiquated in style." Burton does not inform us as to the edition thus stigmatized. It could hardly have been that of F. B., excellent in

²⁶ *Ibid.*, page 693.

²⁷ I regret not having seen Willymott's translation of an earlier date.

itself, and several times modernized by competent lovers of it on the Continent. I am inclined to suspect that it was the lately issued volume published by the same Thomas Meighan, who was so soon to bring out the Bishop's own version. Dr. Challoner tells us in his preface (which I have never found in any of the more recent editions) that: "In this new Translation we have used our best Endeavors to present our Author to the English Reader in his native Simplicity, which speaks more powerfully to the Heart, than the most elaborate Compositions of human Eloquence. And we have been faithful to a Nicety in rendering everywhere what we judged to be his true Meaning, without adding or retracting anything."

While it is probable that Bishop Challoner had in his mind the fluffy elaborations of the volume published by Meighan, and perhaps the popular and still more reprehensible paraphrases of Dean Stanhope's version, it still is very probable that his own version was based on that of F. B., although he does not slavishly follow it, as did his predecessors in the work of translation. He surely vindicates his assertion that he was "faithful to a nicety;" for he omits the "sound" of F. B., and goes back to the original "*venas divini susurri*," which he literally renders as "the veins of the divine whisper." For a reason which will appear in a subsequent article, I venture with all modesty to support heartily this rigid literalism. I think it is the only proper rendering of the refractory phrase; but I also think that a translator who uses it should append thereto an enlightening footnote. The Bishop's reference to "the true meaning" of the author then—and therefore—becomes of significant importance to us.

Nearly all the subsequent English translations are based on F. B. either directly or through the medium of Worthington and his derivatives, or that of Challoner and his derivatives. I have before me two recent editions which formally make acknowledgment, and make it directly, to F. B. Both translations are quite interesting in the manner in which they treat our verse. As Challoner broke away from the "sound" and literally rendered "*venas*" by "veins," so do these two variously render "*venas*" by "pulses" and "runlets."

"Pulses" is found in a translation entitled: "The Imitation of Christ, or The Ecclesiastical Music," edited by J. H. Srawley, D. D., and issued by the Cambridge University Press (1908—but I do not know when the first edition was printed). Our verse thus appears: "Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper, and give no heed to the whisperings of this world."²⁸ A footnote to "whisper" refers to Job iv., 12.

²⁸ The translations edited by Canon Farrar, or published by Frowde, and by W. Scott, which give "pulses," are referred to in the "Review" for Oct., 1916, pp. 680, 681 and 681 (footnote.)

"Runlets" is found in a volume first published in 1898 by Methuen (London), entitled "The Imitation of Christ: called also The Ecclesiastical Music. A revised translation, notes and introduction by C. Bigg, D. D., of Christ Church, Oxford." Our verse is thus rendered: "Blessed are the ears that welcome the runlets of the divine whisper: and heed not the whisperings of this world." A footnote to "whisper" refers to "Job iv., 12 (Vulgate)," a happy addition ("Vulgate") to the Biblical reference, for whoso should consult the Authorized Version would meet there no mention of veins or whisper.

Dr. Srawley evidently found the "sound" of F. B. insufficient and substituted "pulses." His edition is prefaced with the simple note: "The present translation is based upon the English Version of 1620 by F. B., which has been revised throughout with the help of Hirsche's text of the original. The work is reproduced in its entirety, no attempt being made to modify its language to suit the needs of modern readers."

Dr. Bigg, in his excellent introduction, says: "The present translation, though practically new, is based upon that of F. B. . . . His version is that which, in a more or less disguised form, is still most familiar to English readers. I have gone over it several times in the light of the autograph [1441] text, with so much freedom that but a little of the original is left, except in those passages where it is hardly possible for two translators to differ even verbally. The object followed has been to produce a rendering as faithful in all points to the original as the genius of the English language would allow." The various notes in this edition are finely conceived, and sometimes are fairly lengthy. In view both of this fact and of the editor's determination to give a rendering "as faithful in all points to the original as the genius of the English language would allow," it is strange that he should translate "venas" by "runlets" without indicating in a note the reason for the unique rendering and even without giving the Latin original of à Kempis (of which Dr. Bigg evidently considered "runlets" a faithful translation or an obviously correct interpretation). If, however, the "runlets" of Dr. Bigg's edition be correct, it is clear that the "pulses" of Dr. Srawley's is incorrect, and that all the other highly varied elucidations (such as "echoes," "breathings," "sound," "instillings," "throbbing," "approach," etc.) of the other translators are wild guesses. Mystery envelops our verse in all quarters!

There are some breaks in the tradition set by the version of F. B. Thus, for instance, Dean Stanhope based his soaring translation on the vitiated Latin text of Castalio, as Edward Hake and Thomas Rogers had done before F. B.'s version was made. As we shall see

in a moment, a certain S. Smith in his turn based his rendering on that of Stanhope. Payne and Dibdin²⁰ based theirs on Valart's French version, as did an anonymous translator (Dublin, 1785). Let us now consider some of these.

In spite of the good example of simplicity and faithfulness set by such translators as F. B., Wesley and Challoner, fanciful and paraphrastic elaborations continued in vogue. In 1738—one year after the appearance of Challoner's excellent version—a certain S. Smith issued in London another translation entitled "The Christian's Pattern," which was obviously but a slight alteration of that of Dean Stanhope. I will compare only the two renderings of our verse:

STANHOPE

Blessed are the ears which
with a greedy attention drink in
the soft and gentle whispers of
His spirit, while they continue
obstinately deaf to the treach-
erous insinuations of this delud-
ing world.

S. SMITH

Blessed are those ears, which
attentively listen to the soft and
gentle whispers of His spirit;
but are obstinately deaf to the
treacherous insinuations of this
deluding world.

In 1763, John Payne published his translation, based on the French version of Valart (Paris, 1758 and 1761), which in turn is based on Valart's Latin edition, with its peculiar views and textual omissions. In 1828, Dibdin produced a version based on that of Payne. Copinger thinks that the translation of Payne is "far too free, full of long words and sentences, and altogether in a style unsuited to the simplicity of the original." Of Dibdin's version he remarks: "No person wishful of acquiring an exact idea of the original need think for a moment of deriving such from Dibdin's version. Payne was bad enough, but Payne plus Dibdin is execrable." I have already considered both of these translations, and need here but recall to mind that both render our verse as follows: "Blessed are the ears that receive the soft whispers of the divine breath, and exclude the noise and tumult of the world." The "venas" of the original is omitted.

In 1774, Robert Keith issued his translation at Glasgow. It is based on that of Worthington, and therefore ultimately on that of F. B., and accordingly repeats the "sound" which we have so often noticed: "Blessed are those ears that hear the sound of the divine voice, and listen not to the whisperings of the world."

An anonymous translation based on Valart was published in

²⁰ The translations of Payne and Dibdin were considered in the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 693.

Dublin in 1785, which I should be glad to know more about. Copinger is my authority for the following. The translator states that he had two Protestant translations before him, and mostly adopted Mr. Payne's, "when P. did not disfigure the text by religious opinions which certainly had no existence in the days of à Kempis." The translation is a modification of those of Stanhope and Payne. The anonymous translator shrewdly declares that à Kempis "had the advantage of these learned gentlemen; while they are obliged to compose, he only translated; for the religion diffused throughout this invaluable book is the religion of his heart and understanding."

In 1860 a translation, with an introduction signed "H. G.," was published at Cambridge. It finds in the Scriptural narrative of Elias at Mount Horeb a suggestion for the elucidation of our verse, in the Protestant "still, small voice:"³⁰ "Blessed are the ears which hear the whispers of the still, small voice, and are not affected by the whisperings of this world."

In 1865 a translation was published in London under the title, "Like Unto Christ." Our verse is rendered as follows: "Blessed are the ears that feel the breath of the divine whisper, heeding not the whispers of this world." But what has "venas" to do with feeling a breath?

In 1881³¹ Kegan Paul issued an anonymous translation which gives this as a rendering of the verse: "Blessed the ears which receive the instillings of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world." This is the version of Challoner (or of F. B.), and altered.

In 1912 Longmans issued a "new impression" of the "Imitation" "translated and edited by the Ven. W. H. Hutchings, M. A., late canon of York and rector of Kirby Misperton." Our verse here reads: "Blessed are the ears which catch the breathings³² of the divine whisper, and pay no heed to the whispers of the world." For "venas" we now have "breathings."

In 1909 Sir Francis R. Cruise, M. D., D. L., K. S. G., published his own translation of a work which he had previously written about with much learning and good taste. In his preface he says that he had undertaken it "with great diffidence," at the request of the Council of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, and that he would have "hesitated to

³⁰ The Authorized Version (I Kings xix. 12) has "a still, small voice." The Vulgate (III. Kings xix., 12) has (Challoner's tr.) "a whistling of a gentle air."

³¹ Benham's translation (1874) is considered in the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 695.

³² Several editions which use "breathings" are referred to *ibid.*, p. 694.

attempt so responsible a task but for the kind promise of the Revd. Henry Browne, S. J., to assist" him in "the many difficulties of translating a work which, indeed, scarcely admits of satisfactory translation." He chose as his model the version of Bishop Challoner: "We have good evidence that he closely followed the text of an earlier translation which was published at Douai at the commencement of the preceding century, and was signed F. B. The translator was the Revd. Anthony Hoskins, S. J. These versions, which were not without errors and faults, possessed the great merit of imitating admirably the style of the original. . . ." Dr. Cruise renders our verse thus: "Happy the ears that receive the accents⁸³ of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world." He replaces the "sound" of F. B., as also the "veins" of Challoner, by "accents." The edition contains no Scriptural references whatever, and has no notes. The reader who recalls the "veins" of Challoner, or the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis, is left to his own surmise as to the reason for rendering either by "accents." In what way or for what intelligible reason should "vena" be considered equivalent to "accent," or suggestively represented by it?

I have noticed elsewhere the learned edition⁸⁴ put forth by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., and his attempted elucidation by a reference to Job as interpreted by Father Carrières. He renders "venas divini susurri" by "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper."

Having thus fairly cleared the board of the many and sometimes highly varied renderings of our verse into English, we are free to turn once again to the less varied, but equally unsatisfactory, renderings of different translators belonging to the continent of Europe. French, German, Italian and Spanish translations will be almost exclusively considered, as these lend themselves easily to a generally intelligible and fairly accurate translation into English.

V.

Translations of the "Imitation" into other languages than English would offer a very large field for exploration, and only relatively few may be considered in the present article.

The earliest translation into French has been noticed, since perhaps its freedom of interpretation was not unknown to Castalio, a native of Dauphiny. Castalio, in his turn, freely rendered "venas" by "sonitum," and it is not improbable that F. B. had come upon his classical Latin version of the "Imitation," and had thus adopted

⁸³ Ibid., p. 693 ("Accents") for reference to the Tournai edition of Challoner.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 696.

his word, "sound," for the celebrated English translation which so powerfully affected nearly all succeeding ones to the present day used that word.

Before considering the various interesting translations of our phrase into other languages, it will not be amiss to take up another attempted classical version into Latin of the original Latin work of à Kempis. This was achieved by Ferdinand Philips in a serial form in the "*Praeco Latinus*," and his version was reissued in a well-edited and beautifully printed volume which was published in Philadelphia sixteen years ago. The editor tells us in his Latin preface that he had sought much help, in difficult places of the original text, from no less than nine competent friends, English, French, German. He also notes that English, French and German editors frequently went astray in their translations, forcing their own interpretations upon the venerable text, and sometimes even omitting portions.

Having thus learned the mind of the translator, a reader might naturally suppose that he himself would avoid doubtful interpretations or, if necessity demanded these, would indicate to the reader the doubtful character of a new rendering, either by a footnote which should call the reader's attention in a formal manner to the interpretative rendering, or by the inclusion of the original Latin text within brackets. The "*venas susurri*" is a case in point. The highly varied English renderings of this phrase sufficiently prove its obscurity. And yet, when the editor chose to give a new interpretation to these puzzling words, he nowhere indicated that he was forcing his own interpretation on the original text. This is his translation of the whole verse: "*Beatae aures, quae modulos divini susurri suscipiunt, e susurrationibus autem mundi hujus nihil percipiunt.*" Is the meaning, however, made notably clearer by the change of "*venas*" into "*modulos*?" What are the "*moduli*" of a whisper? Have whispers, any more than language in general, rhythmic beats or cadences? Or was the editor perhaps thinking less of the word "*venas*" than of the various guesses of ingenious English translators, such as "*pulses*," "*accents*," "*throbbing*" and the rest?

When Castalio's version into classical Latin was under our consideration, it was pointed out that the phrase "*venas divini susurri*" was not a specimen of rugged mediæval Latinity, but was the coinage of St. Jerome himself. Why, then, should not Castalio have simply retained it? For the same reason, one might inquire why Mr. Philips thought it wise to change the phrase into "*modulos divini susurri*." In his preface, Mr. Philips refers to the "*Latinitas tam turbida et peregrina*" of the "*Imitation*." But in the case of our

phrase, the Latinity is not turbid, nor has it a foreign cast of idiom. Its meaning is undoubtedly obscure, and a translator is quite at liberty to attempt an elucidation of the phrase, when a rendering of it is made into a modern vernacular. But here, I am convinced, the translator should give the original Latin text also. On the other hand, a translator who should wish, with Castalio and Mr. Philips, merely to reconstruct the text of à Kempis in the interest of classical Latin idiom, should not tamper with any portion of it which may fairly be esteemed as satisfactory from a classical standpoint. It is noteworthy that when George Mayr, S. J., turned the "Imitation" into Greek, he respected this canon of appropriateness, and literally rendered "venas" by "phlebas." He did not attempt an elucidation of the obscure Latin. He simply translated it.

VI.

The "sonitus" of Castalio, the "sound" of F. B., is repeated in various identical or equivalent forms, and with varied adjuncts, by translations into the vernacular tongues of Europe. With but little attempt at strict order, let us glance at some of these evasions (for that is precisely what they are) of the "veins" of St. Jerome and Thomas à Kempis.

What Dibdin styles "an elegant but paraphrastic version" of the "Imitation" appeared in Paris in 1662 as a "traduction nouvelle par le Sieur De Beuil, prieur de Saint-Val." This was a pseudonym adopted by Le Maistre De Sacy. Although his translation was declared to be unfaithful to the original, it had an immense popularity and ran through seventeen editions within ten years of its first appearance. Barbier declares that, of all the French versions of the "Imitation," "this made the liveliest sensation in the Christian world" (Dibdin.) The edition lying before me was published in Paris in 1767—more than a century after the first issue—and still bears the pseudonym of Le Sieur de Beuil. The translation of our verse is: "Heureuse est l'oreille qui entend les sons sacrés de ce langage divin, et qui se rend sourde aux bruits et aux tumultes du monde!" Obviously, this is very free. The plural "aures" here becomes the singular "oreille;" "venas" becomes "sacred sounds;" "divini susurri" becomes "of this divine language;" and "susurationes" is swelled out into "the noises and tumults."

A version into Portuguese by Fr. Antonio de Padua y Bellas (Lisbon, 1801) follows the type of De Sacy closely: "Felizes os ouvidos, que recebem os sons sagrados da linguagem divina. . . ." Again we have "the sacred sounds of the divine language."

The word "sacred" applied to the sounds of the divine utterance is obviously tautological, for the sounds of the divine speech are,

of course, sacred by implication. M. de Genoude (Edition nouvelle, Paris, 1845) was well advised in omitting "sacred" and "tumults" from his repetition of "the sound of the divine language." His singular number ("sound") makes him in so far forth an associate of Castalio and F. B.: "Heureuses les oreilles qui saisissent le son de ce langage divin, et qui n' entendent rien du bruit du monde."

While "sacred" is a superfluous word to qualify "sound," the adjectives "soft" or "sweet" should not be so considered, for they add a real qualification to "sound" such as might properly be suggested by "vena." A stream of water (which is one of the classical meanings of *vena*) makes a soft sound, a sweet murmur. And thus we have the "dolce suono" of Cesare Guasti's version into Italian, which will be considered further on and in a different connection. Thus we find also the "dolce mormorio," the sweet murmur, given in the anonymous translation published (together with the Latin text, in parallel form) at Turin in 1761: "Beate le orecchie, che odono il dolce mormorio delle divine ispirazioni: e sono sorde ai susurri confusi di questo mondo" ("Blessed the ears which hear the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations, and are deaf to the confused whispers of this world.") This splendid edition, issued more than a century and a half ago, gives a reference to Job iv., 12, and quotes the language of the Vulgate Latin, (and also quotes, most appropriately, III Kings xix., 2-12.)

We again find "le doux son" in the curiously inverted and paraphractical translation of a volume published at Neufchatel in 1706 under the strange title: "Kempis Commun, ou les Quatres Livres de l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ. Partie traduits, partie paraphrasé, selon le sens intérieur et mystique." This version joins into one sentence verses three and four of the first chapter of the Third Book: "Heureuses les oreilles qui étant bouchées pour ne point entendre le bruit des choses du monde, reçoivent le doux son des inspirations divines, et qui ne s'arrestant point à la parole qui résonne au dehors, escoutent avec attention la verité qui enseigne dans l'intérieur!" Here, then, "venas divini susurri" becomes "the sweet sound of the divine inspirations."

Merely a rhetorical emendation (and therefore retaining "le doux son") is the translation issued by Aurel (Valence, 1850): "Heureuses les oreilles qui, fermées au monde, reçoivent le doux son des inspirations divines; et qui ne s'arrêtant point à la parole qui résonne au dehors, écoutent avec attention la vérité qui se fait entendre dans l'intérieur." It combines two verses into one sentence.

While "sonitus" may be rendered, rather colorlessly, by "sound," it may also be rendered by "noise." The celebrated French version of the "Imitation" by M. P. P. (that is, Michel de Marillac) is

praised highly by Gence in the "Journal des Curés" (27 and 28 September, 1810)⁸⁵ as having best reproduced the spirit of the author of the "Imitation." It first appeared in Paris, 1621, was reprinted often in the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, sometimes (says Brunet) with the initials M. P. P. on the title-page, sometimes with the letters M. R. G. A., or simply R. G., and sometimes without any initials. One edition alone (Paris, 1643) gives the name of the translator. The "new edition, carefully revised" (Paris, 1643,) issued by P. Moreay, gives neither the name nor the pseudonymous initials of the translator. In it we find the "venas divini susurri" translated by "le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine." "Heureuses les oreilles qui reçoivent le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine, et n'entendent rien de tous les bruits du monde." One may well wonder if this interpretation of the curious phrase, "venas divini susurri," should be considered as best representing the spirit of Thomas à Kempis! Or, if it be properly so considered, why à Kempis should so laboriously have employed the strange phrase instead of simply (like Castalio) using "sonitum!" In general, it is true, Marillac's version of the "Imitation" may deserve the commendation of Gence. Howbeit, this rendering of our verse is repeated, word for word, in an edition (Paris, 1652) whose title-page declares that the books of the "Imitation" are now "traduits en François du Latin pris sur le MS. original de l'Auteur, de l'an 1441. Par Heribert Rosweyde, de la Compagnie de Jésus." A reader would naturally suppose that the translation contained in this volume came from the pen of the famous Rosweyde himself. A comparison of several verses, however, assures me that the translation is exactly that of Marillac—the "par" referring merely to the Latin text as edited by Rosweyde and not to the French translation based thereupon. The catalogue of printed works in the British Museum placed (at least in its older edition) a racket following the word "par:" ["par M. de Marillac and revised by] H. Rosweyde." I doubt that Rosweyde revised the translation. The 1652 edition was doubtless a virtual reprint of that of 1630, of which Brunet says that it was "corrigée d'après le textu du P. Rosweyde." This is quite intelligible. Rosweyde was born in 1569, and died in 1629, and could hardly have revised the work for publication in 1630; but he had edited a Latin text of the "Imitation" from the original MS., and had also published his translation of it into Flemish, at Antwerp, in 1617, basing his work

⁸⁵ Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, refers to Gence, and adds that Marillac was Keeper of the Seals under Louis XIII. It is curious to reflect that the translation of a layman should have been esteemed by Gence as reflecting the true spirit of the "Imitation" better than the previous versions of able clerics.

on a previous version (1548), but comparing this with the autograph of à Kempis of 1441.⁸⁶ In all this tangle, however, we catch no ray of enlightenment concerning "le doux bruit" as a rendering of "venas." Is the case quite hopeless?

The "doux bruit" seems to have found favor as an evasion of the difficulty; for I find it in the translation generally credited, although apparently by mistake, to Father De Gonnelieu, S. J., which gives our verse thus: "Heureuses les oreilles qui entendent le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine, et qui sont bouchées au bruit confus de ce monde!" The mistaken ascription to De Gonnelieu appears to have arisen from the title-page of a translation published at Paris in 1727: "De l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ, avec une pratique et une prière à la fin de chaque chapitre, par le P. de Gonnelieu." As in the case of the careless "par" in the 1552 edition noticed above, we should refer the "par" in this 1727 volume to the practice and prayer following each chapter, and not to the translation itself. Some editions of Challoner's translation add these pious practices and prayers in an English translation, and credit them to Father De Gonnelieu. The French translation of the "Imitation," often ascribed in its later editions to De Gonnelieu, was really that of J. Cusson, "imprimeur et avocat au Parlement," which first appeared in 1673. An edition was issued at Nancy by his son, J.-B. Cusson, in 1712, with the "practices and prayers" ascribed (not in the title-page, but in the dedication to the Duchess of Lorraine) to De Gonnelieu.

VII.

It does not seem easy to account for a peculiar view of "vena" which is set forth in two translations that have fallen under my eye. The *Civiltà Cattolica* press issued (Rome, 1863) a translation which a note on the reverse of the title-page says was based on the Tuscan version printed at Florence in 1522. This early version, "corrected by Prof. Marcantonio Parenti,"⁸⁷ gives us the following rendering

⁸⁶ "What then is the high authority vested in the manuscript of 1441? It is two-fold: the MS. affords the most decisive proof of Thomas à Kempis' claim to the authorship, and furnishes the best text of the work." Thus the preface (p. 11) of Ruelens to Elliot Stock's facsimile reproduction of the autograph.

⁸⁷ I suppose that Parenti limited his attention to a faithful reproduction of the original Italian text. On the reverse of the title-page we read: "Questa edizione esemplia l'antico volgarizzamento toscano stampato in Firenze il 1522, e ridotto a corretta lezione dal Prof. Marcantonio Parenti." The same rendering ("Beati gli orecchi, i quali odono il principio del parlare spirituale") is given in: "Opere Complete del Ven. Tommaso da Kempis, canonico regolare, volgarizzati del Prof. D. Salvatore di Pietro-Puglisi. Torino: Cav. Pietro Marietti. Tipog. Pontif. ed. Arciv. 1873." We have therefore a very early and a fairly recent agreement on "il principio del parlare spirituale" as a good interpretation of "venas divini susurri!"

of our verse: "Beati gli orecchi i quali odono il principio del parlare spirituale, e che niente odono del parlare mondano." Here, then, "vena" is interpreted as the beginning (principio) of the spiritual speaking of God (divinus susurrus), so that those ears are declared blessed that hear the very first sound of the divine whisper. How did the early Italian interpreter come upon this idea? It anticipates by more than a century the similar French translation of Father Antoine Girard, S. J., which obtained a wide vogue in its day. It was first issued at Paris in 1641, and by the year 1771 had attained some fifty editions. The edition lying before me (Paris, 1652) is marked as the 3rd and has for title: "Les IV. Livres de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. Reveu et corrigé de nouveau, par le P. Antoine Girard, de la Compagnie de Jésus." It renders our verse thus: "Heureuse l'oreille qui s'ouvre à l'abord de l'inspiration divine, et se serme à la veuë de toutes les vanitez du monde!" Here, as also in the Italian version, "venas" goes without a direct translation. But there is an obvious suggestion of promptness, as though vena should be interpreted as the beginning or fountain-head of the whisper. And the ears therefore are called blessed that are opened to the very first whisperings of the divine voice. Again we have the idea of the "principio" of the Italian interpreter in the year 1522.

VIII.

Closely related to the thought implied in the "principio" of the Italian version and the "abord" of the French, are the renderings in French, Italian and Spanish, which combine the words "venas . . . suscipiunt" into the one idea of attentiveness. The ears that are "attentive," or "always attentive," or "alert," or "active," will indeed perceive the first approach, the very beginning of the divine whisper. The version attributed to the Abbé F. de Lamennais³⁸ has "always attentive:" "Heureuses les oreilles toujours attentives à recueillir ce souffle divin, et sourdes aux bruits du monde!"

Similar to this is the rendering of the Abbé de Bellegarde, in his

³⁸ Van Gorp, in his preface to his revised and amended edition of the Abbé Petetin's version (new edition, Desclée & Cie., 1900,) refers to three French translations in particular. As all three are considered in this article, his words are of interest: "There are many translations into French. Two of them have had a great vogue. Mgr. Darboy, in his preface to the 'Imitation,' utters his appreciation of them in these words: 'The translation that bears the name of Gonnelleu, and which is not by him, has but very little merit.' The translation of Lamennais passes for a counterfeit of that of Father Lallemant; the word is harsh, and seems exaggerated. There is this much truth in the matter, namely, that it is not without defect, and may be said to be inferior to his reputation." A similar estimate is quoted from Mgr. Puyol (p. xiv. of Van Gorp's preface.)

revised and corrected edition (Tournai, 1885): "Heureuses les oreilles toujours attentives a cette voix divine, et toujours fermées aux bruits du monde." This translation gives "voix," whereas the previous one gives "souffle." Both avoid rendering the "venas."

The "always" is retained in a Spanish rendering issued as late as the year 1912 ("La Imitacion . . . traducida . . . bajo la direccion de D. José Salamero y Martinez, Tours, 1912): "Felices los oidos siempre attentos á escuchar esa inspiracion divina . . ." ("Happy the ears which are always attentive to hear this divine inspiration. . .")

The "always" is omitted, but the "attentive" is retained, in P. Lallemand's rendering ("traduction nouvelle," Paris, 17—): "Heureuses les oreilles qui sont attentives au son de ce langage divin, et tout-à-fait fermées à ce que le monde suggère!" Here we find the colorless word "son" repeated. The "susurrus," the "susurrations" and the "venae" are absent.

The "always" is similarly omitted from the rendering of Cesare Guasti (Rome, Società di San Giovanni Evangelista, Desclée & Cie., s. d.): "Beate le orecchie che stanno attente al dolce suono delle divine ispirazioni. . . ." Again the "suono," and "langage" becomes "ispirazioni."

Readiness and alertness, equivalent to attentiveness, are found respectively in two Spanish translations. In one we have "pronto:" "Bienaventurados los oidos prontos á los secretos divinos, y sordos á la delacion mundana" ("Happy the ears which are in readiness for the divine secrets, and deaf to earthly accusation.") In the other, we have "listo:" "Benditos los oidas listos a recibir los hondas divinas y que desprecian el zumbido clandestino del mundo" ("Blessed the ears that are alert to receive the divine whispers and despise the clandestine whisperings of the world.")

IX.

Another favorite evasion of the "vena" is found in the renderings which, under various disguises and with varying adjuncts of phrase, give us the idea of "breath" or "breathing," "wind" or "zephyr" (of God's speech to the soul.)

It may especially interest American readers to learn of a translation into German, published at Lancaster, Pa., in 1810—five years after the "first American edition" of Challoner's version had been issued in Philadelphia by Carey. It is entitled: "Thomas von Kempen . . . nach dem Lateinischen Exemplar RR. PP. Henrici Sommalii und Heriberti Rosweidi, Soc. Jesu, zu mehrerem Nutzen in die Deutsche Sprach uebersetzt." Our verse is thus rendered: "Selig sind die Ohren die den lieblichen Wind der goettlichen Einge-

bung aufnehmen und auf das Liebkosen dieser Welt nicht merken" ("Happy are the ears that receive the sweet zephyr of the divine inspiration and heed not the caressing of this world.") This edition was "gedruckt bey Wm. Hamilton & Co." Another edition, "mit Erlaubniss der Obern," was issued in the same year at Lancaster by Jos. Ehrenfried. The text is almost the same as the preceding. It has "so den lieblichen" for "die den lieblichen" and omits "auf" before "das." The "Wind," however, remains unchanged as a rendering of "vena."

A translation into German by J. B. Weigl, edited by Magnus Jocham (Pustet & Co., 1853) has "gentle breath" ("leisen Hauch:") "Selig sind die Ohren, welche den leisen Hauch der goettlichen Eingebung aufnehmen. . . ." This remains unchanged in the Weigl-Schlegelmann edition (Pustet.)

Another German version is that of P. Hasslacher, S. J. (Kreuzer Bros'. edition:) "Selig die Ohren, welche horchen auf den Hauch des goettlichen Saeuselns und die fluesternde Stimmen dieser Welt nich hoeren!" ("Blessed the ears that hearken to the breath of the divine whispering and hear not the whispering voices of this world.")

The Johannes Schaefer-Steyl edition gives us "breathing" or "blowing:" "Selig die Ohren, welche das leise Wehen des goettlichen Hauches vernehmen und von den Einfluesterungen dieser Welt nichts merken" ("Happy the ears which receive the soft blowing of the divine breath and heed naught of the whisperings of this world.")

The "Wehen" or "blowing" or quiet drifting of a sound is not a recent idea for the "vena." I find it in an eighteenth century volume ("Das Buch von der Nachfolgung Christi. Neu uebersetzt . . . von J. M. Sailer. Zweite, durchaus verbesserte und vermehrte Ausgabe," Munich, 1799:) "Selig die Ohren, die das leise Wehen des goettlichen Geistes vernehmen, und von dem wilden Geraeusche dieser Welt nichts hoeren!" ("Happy the ears which receive the soft blowing of the divine Spirit and hear naught of the rude noise of this world.")

Two very recent French translations give the same suggestion for "vena." In 1909, Desclée & Cie. issued the Abbé Petetin's translation (a new edition, revised and amended by J. Van Gorp, S. J.,)³⁰ with our verse rendered thus: "Heureuses les oreilles qui

³⁰ In his quite extended preface, Father Van Gorp praises the version of the Abbé Petetin for its correctness, its eloquence, its faithfulness, but inasmuch as it was made from the faulty Arona codex, a revision was necessary. Some space is given in the preface to unfavorable comment on two popular French translations. Altogether, a reader might expect a more faithful rendering of our puzzling verse than this revised and amended translation offers!

recueillent le léger murmure du souffle divin (Job iv., 12,) et ne prêtent nulle attention aux bruits du monde!" Here there is a mixture of phraseology, a paraphrase that keeps one guessing just as to what part "vena" plays. We have "the soft murmur of the divine breath" for "venas divini susurri," in which we may surmise that "vena" indicates a soft murmur, and "susurrus" indicates a breath.

The latest French translation of which I am aware is found in the volume by P. Dumas entitled: "Introduction à l'union intime avec Dieu" (Paris, 4th edition, 1916.) Its 555 pages are devoted to an attempt to methodize the scattering teachings of the "Imitation," or (perhaps better stated) to show that the "Imitation" is in reality a methodically planned book of asceticism.⁴⁰ Our verse appears there (p. 250:) "Heureuses les oreilles qui perçoivent le souffle du murmure divin, et ne donnent nulle attention aux chuchotements de ce monde!" Here we have "le souffle du murmure divin," which is exactly the reverse of the rendering previously noted, "le léger murmure du souffle divin." The reader can have his choice—either "the murmur of the divine breath" or "the breath of the divine murmur."

X.

Before concluding our examination of translations into other tongues than English by a consideration of two old versions into Spanish, it may be desirable to place promiscuously here some renderings of our verse which will not fit easily into any specified category of meaning.

A translation of the "Imitation" into German for the use of "evangelical" Christians was published (Leipzig-Berlin, 1845) by (pardon the length of name and title!) Dr. August Ludwig Gottlob Krehl, Universitaetspraediger und Professor der Theologie zu Leipzig. Our verse is thus rendered: "Selig sind die Ohren, die das leise Gefluenster Gottes vernehmen, und auf das Geschwaetz der Welt nicht achten." Vena here appears to account for the adjective "soft."

A stereotyped edition issued by Wildermann in New York gives us for our verse: "Selig sind die Ohren, welche die leisen Einspre-

⁴⁰ Lovers of the "Imitation" would probably enjoy the reading of this volume. In treating of our verse, the author speaks of the "parole de la bouche de Dieu" as not being the brilliant and powerful tones of the heavens, but rather "le frémissement du murmure divin (Job iv., 12.*)" In his rendering of our verse (which immediately follows) he is therefore not merely aware of its ultimate source in Job, but is attempting to interpret both the strange "venas susurri ejus" of the Vulgate and the "venas susurri divini" of a Kempis. But, as I shall hope to show in a succeeding article, the two things are very different.

chungen Gottes vernehmen, aud das Geraeusch dieser Welt nicht Acht haben." *Venas divini susurri* is here made equivalent to the soft inspirations of God (die leisen Einsprechungen Gottes)—where once again the "vena" appears to suggest the idea of softness.

In a French rendering of our verse published in the *Panthéon Littéraire* (Paris, Desrey, 1835?) we find "vena" apparently suggesting a further implication of "sound" (the many uses of which for "vena" we have already considered.) Here we find "impressions"—possibly the resulting vibratory impressions which a sound makes upon the tympanum of the ear: "*Heureuses les oreilles qui reçoivent les impressions de l'inspiration divine. . .*"

A translation of the "Imitation" into Dutch, edited by Joseph, Ritter von Fuehrich (Doesburg, s. d.,) renders our verse as follows: "*Zalig zijn de ooren, welke de stem van der goddelijken Geest vernemen, en niet achten op de toefluisteringen dezer wereld,*" which (not without some misgivings) I venture to translate into: "Happy are the ears which receive the voice of the divine Spirit, and heed naught of the whisperings of this world."

A poetical translation can not be looked to, of course, for rigid interpretations of the Latin original. It can, however, reproduce the spirit of the original; and Corneille's version into French, famous adown the years, should be consulted. There have been many editions of it, the one from which the following extract was made having the Latin text of à Kempis printed concurrently (but at the bottom of the page) with the French verses. The first part of Book Three, chapter one, is thus rendered:

Je prêterai l'oreille à cette voix secrète
Par qui le Tout-Puissant s'explique au fond du coeur;
Je la veux écouter, cette aimable interprète
De ce qu'à ses élus demande le Seigneur.
Oh, qu'heureuse est une âme alors qu'elle l'écoute,
Qu'elle devient savante à marcher dans sa route!
Qu'elle amasse de force à l'entendre parler!
Et que dans ses malheurs son bonheur est extrême
Quand de la bouche de Dieu même
Sa misère reçoit de quoi se consoler!

Such is the complete first paragraph. Verses five and six apparently are intended by the great French poet as a free interpretation of our puzzling Latin verse of the "Imitation." One would think that a poet's imagination might well take fire at the mysticism and the poetry embodied in the phrase, "the veins of the divine whisper;" and yet neither the veins nor the whisper succeeded in

centering Corneille's thought in the magical words. His thought and expression are alike prosy enough.

Corneille dedicated his long translation to Pope Alexander VII. In his preface, he declares that he sought only to present the character and the simplicity of the Author in French verse. Obviously, the character and the simplicity are best presented in a simple prose translation. The French hexameter verse is undeniably stiff and, above all, conventional in form. It cannot add a feather to "the short, quivering sentences" that, like a winged barb, find their way straight to one's heart and conscience. Corneille's motive was doubtless one of piety. The legend that the work was imposed upon him as a penance for writing some objectionable verse is destroyed, says his editor, by the fact that such verse was wrongly attributed to him, and should have been ascribed to a certain Cantenac.

XL

Two of the translations into Spanish are of notable interest because of the fame of their authors. Father Nieremberg (Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otin,) S. J., born at Madrid in 1595, was a noted theologian, a Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholar, the author of seventy-three printed and eleven manuscript works. His ascetical works were translated into French, and some of them into Arabic. At the Collegio Imperial of Madrid he taught Sacred Scripture for three years, and it would therefore seem probable that he was aware of the origin in the Book of Job (iv., 12) as translated by St. Jerome into Latin, of the "*venas susurri*" of the "*Imitation*," and that his knowledge of Hebrew had acquainted him with the current interpretations given to the curious expression as a rendering of the Hebrew word "*shemets*." His translation of the "*Imitation*" (*De la Imitacion de Christo y Menosprecio del Mundo*) was issued in various editions, the one now before me bearing a Madrid imprint dated as late as 1803. This "new" translation renders "*venas divini susurri*" into "*lo sutil de las inspiraciones divinas*"—"the subtle fineness of the divine inspirations." His rendering is beautifully intelligible and quite appropriate to the context; but the antithesis of "*susurri*" in the first hemistich with "*susurracionibus*" in the second is unfortunately lost, and an interpretation takes the place of a simple translation: "*Bienaventurados los oidos que perciben lo sutil de las inspiraciones divinas, y no cuidan de las murmuraciones mundanas*"—"Blessed are the ears that perceive the subtle fineness of the divine inspirations, and heed not the murmurings of the world."

In many respects this translation follows the expressions

previously employed by Louis of Granada, the saintly Dominican theologian, writer and preacher, who died at Lisbon in 1588, that is, a few years before the birth of Father Nieremberg. He was, like Fr. Nieremberg, a Scripture scholar, and the author of works on many subjects. His ascetical writings, however, have given him the greatest fame. The best known of them is "The Sinner's Guide" (*La Guia de Pecadores*), esteemed as comparable with the "Imitation" itself. His translation of the latter work is entitled: "*Contemptus mundi, o menosprecio del mundo y imitacion de Cristo.*" While the work contains some Scriptural references, I find none to Job in our chapter of the "Imitation." His rendering of our verse is: "*Bienaventuradas las orejas que reciben en si las sutiles inspiraciones divinas, y no curan de las murmuraciones mundanas*" ("Happy the ears that receive into them the subtle divine inspirations, and heed not worldly murmurings.") Father Nieremberg replaced "*las sutiles inspiraciones*" by the simple "*lo sutil.*"

It is interesting to find a goodly portion of the "Avertissement" prefixed by Le Sieur de Beuil to his translation of the "Imitation," and probably written by Le Maistre de Sacy himself, given over to a description of the high esteem in which Fray Luis de Granada held the work of Thomas à Kempis: "Father Louis, of Granada, so renowned for his ascetical writings, thought so highly of this work that he translated it himself into Spanish, with a splendid eulogy prefixed to it, in which he says, among other things: 'May we find in this book remedies for all the ills of the soul; a hidden manna wherein we taste all kinds of spiritual delights; an admirable illumination that shows us how to know ourselves and to render to God the worship and adoration which we owe to Him; and, finally, the science of salvation, which teaches us to live and to die as true Christians.' And he adds: 'Be the praise given to this book what it may, those who will consider it in a spirit of piety will say, after reading it, what the Queen of Saba said after witnessing the glory of Solomon: "*Major est sapientia tua et opera tua, quam rumor quem audiavi*"—"Thy wisdom and thy works exceed the fame which I heard" (III. Kings x.'")

Let us leave Louis of Granada as he thus extols the work of Thomas of Kempen—one saintly pen praising the labors of another. "*Sinamus sanctum de sancto scribere,*" as the Angelical said on finding the Seraphic Doctor writing the life of St. Francis of Assisi.

XII.

In a preceding paper on "The Veins of the Divine Whisper," a number of English renderings of the baffling verse were brought

together merely to afford a brief conspectus of some of the variant translations an English reader might consult in vain for enlightenment. In the present paper, a broader view of the difficulty has been obtained. It seems clear that the verse remains unto all men a puzzle to the present day.

Most of the translators, whether into English or into foreign tongues, appear to have been unaware that the expression "*venas susurri*" was Scriptural in origin. Those who gave evidence of a knowledge that it was to be found in the Vulgate Latin of Job (iv., 12) did not therefore find a common solution of the problem. To the learned student of the "*Imitation*," Dr. Bigg, *venae* meant "runlets;" to the equally learned Dr. Cruise, "accents;" to Dr. Srawley, "pulses;" to the Italian translator (1767,) "the sweet murmur." To the Abbé Petetin the phrase meant "the soft murmur of the divine breath;" to Père Dumas it meant the reverse of this, "the breath of the divine murmur." To Father Thaddeus, who has furnished English readers with the most thoughtfully executed translation of which I am aware, the phrase meant "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper." I need not multiply illustrations of the obvious disagreements even among those translators who were plainly cognizant of the Hieronymian phrase.

We are thus led back to St. Jerome's translation of the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, which should be consulted even though (if we may judge from the discordant experience of the translators of the "*Imitation*") it hold out little promise of helpfulness towards an elucidation of our verse. This task must be relegated to a future article.

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THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ARABIC CHARACTERS.

THE printers of the fifteenth century issued books in more than twenty different languages. The Serbs as well as the Swedes, the Hungarians as well as the Bretons, were supplied with books printed in their native tongue. The productions of the press in the beginning of the sixteenth century mark a still greater increase of this linguistic variety. Even the Oriental languages were propagated by the Occidental printers. More than a hundred different Hebrew and Aramaic books were printed in the fifteenth century. In 1513 both the first Armenian and the first Ethiopian books appeared in print. In the year following the first book in Arabic characters was edited.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE ARABIAN LANGUAGE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

Arabic, in fact, had not been an unknown language during the Middle Ages. The Moslems had encircled the Christian people like a ring of iron. Only a few missionaries and enterprising merchants had during several centuries ventured to break through this Moslem barrier. Three causes naturally conspired, each one in itself sufficient, to compel mediæval people to master the Arabian language—political and commercial intercourse, missionary zeal and scientific studies.

1. History records the friendly embassies sent in 801 and 802 by the Calif Harun ar-Rashid to Charles the Great. Gifts were exchanged between the great Emperor of the West and the renowned Calif of the East. Charles the Great sent ambassadors to the Moslem courts of Syria, Egypt, Africa and Spain to obtain favors for the Christians living under Moslem rule. This political intercourse of Charles the Great with the rulers of the East could be secured only by a knowledge of the Arabian language. The numerous and various relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Christian and Moslem rulers made the study of Arabic always imperative during the Middle Ages.

After the conquest of Sicily and its resultant liberation from Moslem domination in 1087, the victorious Norman kings continued to issue coins with Arabic legends, to couch their official documents in Arabic, to decorate their palaces with Arabic inscriptions and to have the Moslems judged by their *cadis* according to their Moslem law. Later on Emperor Frederic II. (d. 1250 A. D.), himself an Arabic scholar, appointed professors at the University of Salerno who could instruct the Jews, Moslems and Greeks of his southern dominion in their respective native tongues.

In the ninth century the clergy in Spain went beyond the proper bounds in their cultivation of the study of Moslem literature. In

the middle of the ninth century Paul Alvarus, a Spanish writer, complained that among thousands of priests hardly one could be found who knew sufficient Latin to be able to write a Latin letter to a brother-priest, though all of them possessed a perfect knowledge of Arabic.

The crusaders to the Holy Land could not dispense with a certain amount of Arabic expressions. Yet from the thirteenth century the Dominican Order supplied all crusaders in Syria and Egypt with interpreters, while the Sons of St. Francis performed this charitable work for the crusaders in Palestine.¹

The extensive trade carried on with the Moslems in Europe and the Levant compelled the different merchants to acquire a knowledge of Arabic. Together with the merchandise, they imported into Europe the Arabic denominations of many goods. Not a few of these Arabic names still survive in modern languages. Coffee, cotton, orange, sirup, elixir, saffron, sugar, lute, atlas, muslin, all these are words borrowed from Arabic.

2. Missionary zeal always called for the study of the Arabian language. Many theologians of the Middle Ages made a study of the Koran and wrote refutations of Mohammedanism. St. John of Damascus (d. about 754) was the first Christian apologist against Islam. For a long time he had held a public office in the Caliphate and had been conversant with Arabic language and Arabic literature. His treatises against the Moslems are based on a first-hand knowledge of the Law of Mohammed. Written in Greek, they were intended not so much to make converts as to confirm the Christians in their faith. Theodore Abucara (d. about 820), a disciple of John of Damascus, defended the Christian religion against Moslemism in works written both in Greek and in Arabic. No less than ten different books in Arabic are known to exist of which he is the author. Abucara, to all appearance, is the earliest apologist against Islamism who wrote in Arabic.²

The West had come last in contact with the Moslems, and occidental theologians had taken up last the literary defense of the Christian religion against the followers of the Koran. Henceforth Latin refutations of the "Law of the Prophet" ran parallel with such written in Oriental languages. The adoptionist Felix, Bishop of Urgel (d. 816 A. D.), composed the earliest Latin apology of this kind, entitled "Disputation with a Saracen," soon to be followed by the "Treatise Against the Koran or Law of the Saracens,"

¹ Weiss. Weltgeschichte, IV., p. 419; V., pp. 266, 521 sq., 548, 573, 770. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Treizième Siècle*; Tournai, 1894; p. 36.

² Palmieri, *Polemik des Islam*; Salzburg, 1902; pp. 16-19. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*; Freiburg, 1905; pp. 31-37. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*; Lips, 1877; pp. 80-82.

written by the Spanish Abbot Spera-in-Deo towards the middle of the ninth century. These apologists had studied Islamism from original sources. It was the time when the Spanish clergy were better versed in Arabic than in Latin. Unfortunately both apologies are lost.³

Mediæval polemics against Moslemism received its strongest impetus in the twelfth century from the different Latin translations of the Koran. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, noted with deep sorrow the apathy and listlessness of the Spanish Christians of those days who neglected golden opportunities for the conversion of the Moslems. Attributing this indolence principally to their ignorance of Moslem teaching, he resolved to remove this obstacle. Competent scholars were set to work at translating some doctrinal works from Arabic into Latin. In 1143 the Koran was rendered into Latin by an Englishman, Robert Retinensis or Ketenensis, Archdeacon of Pamplona, and this Latin Koran was extensively studied and in use throughout the Middle Ages. It is still extant in a number of manuscripts and was printed three times (Basel, 1550 and 1643, and s. l. et a.) At the same time Peter of Toledo translated for Peter the Venerable an anonymous apology of the Christian religion against Moslemism from Arabic into Latin. Herman Dalmata was the third scholar who was employed in the service of Peter the Venerable. He rendered three works from Arabic into Latin, treating of the doctrine and history of the Moslems. These sources made accessible in Latin translations were largely drawn upon by mediæval scholars.

Soon after Marcus, a canon of Toledo, made a new translation of the Koran, and this rendition must be still attributed to the twelfth century. Although it is an improvement on the earlier translation, yet it never gained the popularity of Robert's rendering. Only a few manuscript copies of it are preserved in the public libraries of Paris, Turin and Vienna. It was never printed.⁴

It is an undisputed fact that the introduction of the Koran into Latin literature gave renewed vigor to missionary activity among Moslems. We read of some remarkable conversions in the twelfth century brought about by the preaching of the Gospel in Arabic. The thirteenth century created a most momentous missionary movement along this line. The Popes Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Clement IV. and Honorius IV. (1243-1287) encouraged and promoted the study of the Arabian language at the University of Paris

³ Fabricius, *Delectus et Syllabus scriptorum*: Hamburg, 1725; p. 736. Fabricius-Mansi, *Bibliotheca latina*. III.; Florent, 1858; p. 496.

⁴ Steinschneider, *Polem., Lit.*, pp. 227-234, 419. Steinschneider, *Europäische Uebersetz., aus d. Arabischen I.*; Vienna, 1904; pp. 33, 54, 59, 67. Fabricius, *Delectus* pp. 264-265.

for missionary purposes. The plans of these Popes were better realized by the rising mendicant orders, notably by the Dominicans. St. Raymond of Pennafort (d. 1275) established schools in several Dominican monasteries, where certain brethren were taught Arabic to qualify themselves for missionary work among the Saracens. The first one of these was opened as early as 1250, probably at Seville; similar schools were subsequently conducted in the Dominican convents of Barcelona (1259), Valencia (1281) and Xativa (1291). The most famous of all were two, erected (about 1265) in the very centres of Moslemism—those of Murcia and Tunis. More than ten thousand Mohammedans were converted in the course of the thirteenth century by twenty Dominicans who had been educated in these missionary seminaries.

The foremost of these Dominican missionaries is Raymond Martini (d. after 1284). His disputations with the Moslems gained many converts. He wrote a work, "*Pugio Fidei*," which for centuries was destined to remain the standard apology against Islamism. His summa against the Saracens, originally written in Arabic, is lost. Yet Blessed Raymond Lullus (d. 1315), a Franciscan tertiary, eclipsed all missionaries laboring for the conversion of the Moslems. In 1275 he induced King James of Aragon to found a "Missionary College of Friars Minor at Miramir (on the island of Majorca) for the study of Arabic." Thirteen Franciscan friars were first assigned to this study. This college obtained a bull of confirmation from Pope John XXI., but unfortunately perished before the death of Lullus. Being an excellent Arabic scholar himself, Lullus entered into controversies with the Mohammedan doctors of Tunis, wrote catechetical and controversial treatises in Arabic which have all perished. One of them was entitled "*Alchindi y Teliph*." Another, bearing the title of "*Disputations Between Raymond the Christian and the Saracen Omar in Bugia*" (now Bougie, Algeria) is preserved in a Latin translation made in 1308 from Arabic by Lullus himself and printed at Valencia in 1510. It is a very rare edition of 200 pages in quarto.

Beginning with the fourteenth century, the leading universities commenced to take a livelier interest in the study of Arabic. King Alfonso the Wise had already conceived the plan of giving a wide scope to the Arabic studies and in 1254 granted a charter for a university at Seville for the study of Latin and Arabic, and as such it was given official recognition in 1260 by Alexander IV. Whether the school ever existed except on paper only, we do not know. Later Raymond Lullus spent many years traveling in Europe, rousing the interest in Moslem missions and Oriental studies to such an extent that in 1311 Pope Clement V. reenacted the canons regard-

ing the study of Arabic. He ordained that two professors of Arabic were to be appointed at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca and that of the Roman Curia. This decree was put into execution to a greater extent than is commonly supposed. We have evidence of the existence of Arabic lectures at Salamanca as late as the year 1411. At the University of the Roman Curia this canon was complied with better than at some of the other universities mentioned. At all events, the professors were appointed and drew their salaries at that university. The objects of the measure were purely missionary. The Arabic studies were to further the conversion of the Moslems.

The mendicant friars continued their missionary activities among the Mohammedans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Accordingly, missionaries had to be trained conversant with and able to speak Arabic. The Trinitarians and Mercedarians likewise could not dispense with a knowledge of Arabic while performing their charitable work of ransoming the Christian slaves from the Moslems.⁵

3. Purely scientific objects gave rise to Arabic studies, and mediæval science received a considerable impetus by good use made of Moslem erudition. By and by Arabian philosophy, astronomy, algebra, geometry, chemistry, medicine, geography and physics were made accessible to Western scholars in translations from the Arabic. The names of at least seventy-four Christians and of seventeen or eighteen Jews are known who from 1050 A. D. to 1510 A. D. acted as interpreters of Moslem science. During this period the former made two hundred and seventy translations from Arabic into Latin, four into Spanish, two into Greek and one into Italian, whilst the latter compiled only thirty-one translations from Arabic into Latin, Spanish and Italian. To these must be added two hundred and thirty-eight Latin and three Spanish translations from Arabic made by anonymous Arabic scholars before 1510. These figures are taken from the work of the late M. Steinschneider,⁶ which embodies the results of a lifelong research and compiles the most complete list of translations from Arabic made during the Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, new researches will raise these figures somewhat. Steinschneider himself mentions the names of ten Christian and two Jewish scholars of whom it still remains uncertain whether they ever made translations from Arabic. Moreover,

⁵ Langhorst in *Stimmen a Maria Laach*, XIX., pp. 56, 60, 63. Werner, *Thomas v. Aquin I.*, pp. 601, 622; Steinschneider, *Polem. Lit.*, p. 136. Cave, *Scriptor Ecclesiast.* Appendix, p. 4. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, Vol. II., Part 1, Oxford, 1895, pp. 30, 80, 82-96.

⁶ *Europäische Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, two volumes; Vienna, 1904-1905.

forty-two translations from Arabic are set down by Steinschneider as being of more or less doubtful existence, while some others have perished.

The centres of this translatory activity were first Christian Spain, later Italy, and to some extent Palestine. Previous to the time of Gerbert (Sylvester II., d. 1003) translations of Arabic writings had been in circulation in Christian Spain. But neither these nor most of their authors' names have come down to us. The first translator whose name is known and whose translations are still extant is Constantine Africanus, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino (d. 1085 A. D.) He had commenced this literary work about the year 1050 A. D., and in the course of time made twenty-one translations. But the most prolific scholar in this field of literary activity was Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187 A. D.), ranking first with eighty-two translations. On the whole, the twelfth century marks the golden age of this particular branch of literature. Raimond, Archbishop of Toledo (1130-1150 A. D.), proved to be a liberal patron to these translators, thereby setting an example to some of the European rulers. Emperor Frederic II. (d. 1250) and his son Manfred, King of Sicily (d. 1266), patronized these interpreters in Italy, while Alphons X., King of Castile (d. 1284) espoused their cause in Spain.⁷ But the translators themselves were recruited from various countries. Among the seventy-four known Christian interpreters we find twenty-six Italians, seventeen Spaniards, six Englishmen, four Frenchmen, two Germans, one Byzantine, six natives of the East, while the nationality of twelve still remains unknown. The numerical preponderance of the Christian over the Jewish translators as revealed by modern research invalidates an historical statement of long standing. As late as the year 1902 Edw. G. Browne⁸ wrote: "The first translations from the Arabic into European languages were made about the beginning of the twelfth century of our era by Jews and Moors converted to Christianity, who were soon followed by native Europeans," but the first translators were Christians and no Jews: the first translations date from the tenth and not from the twelfth century. On the whole, the Jews played only a secondary part as translators into Latin. Gerard of Cremona alone made more translations than all Jews in cumulo.

Side by side with the translators we meet with Christian Arabists of a different type, namely, those mediæval men of learning who studied the Arabian authors in the original, laying them under contribution while composing their Latin works. They never trans-

⁷ Duhem in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII., 48 sq.

⁸ *Literary History of Persia*, I., 39-40.

lated an entire book from Arabic, although they incorporated long quotations from such into their scientific researches. In 1273 William of Tripolis, a Dominican, compiled from sources written in Arabic a Latin history of Mohammed and the Mohammedans. In 1184 William of Tyre finished his Latin history, covering the period from the time of Mohammed till the year 1104 A. D., based on the original Arabic sources, principally the history of Said ibn Batrik. The name of several other scholars are recorded, but unfortunately there does not as yet exist a detailed history of these Christian Arabists. We are, therefore, at a loss to give anything like a complete list of them. It will take, perhaps, a long time till we are as accurately informed about these Oriental scholars as about the translators mentioned above.

Still a third class of Christian Arabists must be distinguished, comprising the teachers or promoters of Arabic at the various mediæval centres of learning. Their objects were purely scientific, neither missionary nor ecclesiastical. Their studies were intended and calculated to promote learning only. At the University of Paris the Canon Odon of Saint Denis was the foremost promoter of the study of Arabic in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Pope Honorius IV., who, more than any other, favored this linguistic study, praised him highly for his zeal. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) deployed an untiring activity in the interest of the study of Oriental languages at the Oxford University. Himself a distinguished Arabist, he used his great influence with Pope Clement IV. to further the study of Arabic. The courts of King Alphons X. of Castile (d. 1284), Emperor Frederick II. (d. 1250) and King Manfred of Sicily (d. 1266) were veritable seats of learning where Christians, Moslems and Jews were employed to spread the acquaintance with Arabic language and literature. William Raymond of Moncada, called Mithridates, after the fashion of the humanists, was appointed in 1484 professor of Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaic and Greek at the University of Cologne. He was a Jew, but became a Catholic in 1467. The University of Cologne shares the unique distinction of having established in any of the European universities the first professorship of Arabic for purely scientific purposes. But this laudable effort did not meet with any great measure of success, for after Mithridates the vacancy created was not filled. Arabic philology was not to find a permanent place in the curriculum of European universities until the establishment of the Collège de France at Paris in 1530 by King Francis V. Pedro de Alcala, a monk of the order of Hieronymites, published the earliest Arabic grammar and dictionary in 1505, both ranking as landmarks of Semitic philology. There had been a demand for

literary helps of this kind in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The simple fact that Pedro's Arabic grammar and vocabulary were printed discloses the great interest taken in mastering the Arabian language in that country. Indeed, Arabic was better known during the Middle Ages than is generally supposed.*

FIRST EXPERIMENTS OF THE PRINTING ARABIC (1486-1514.)

The invention of printing and the subsequent diffusion of literature were instrumental in spreading the results of Moslem science. The old Latin translations of the Arabian authors were soon printed, some passing through many editions in the course of the fifteenth century. Moslem philosophy and natural science were studied with renewed vigor from these Latin editions. Popular science written in the vernacular made the common people familiar with the wisdom of the East. Arabic technical terms like cipher, zero, zenith, nadir, magazine, almanac, elixir, alcohol, alcove became household words to the average man. The names of the great Moslem scientists were well known to the readers of the astrological and alchemical tracts spread broadcast among the common people. Moslem science was discussed at the firesides of the peasants. Yet the original Arabic text of the Moslem authors was not printed during the fifteenth century. We meet, however, with the earliest tentative experiments of printing Arabic before the close of that period.

The year 1475 marks the beginning of the printing of Oriental books, for in that year the first Hebrew book was issued from the printer's press. Eleven years later we meet with the earliest specimen of Arabic printing. Pilgrimages to Palestine had constantly kept alive during the Middle Ages the interest in the study of Oriental languages, foremost of Arabic. There exists an extensive literature of these pious peregrinations, both in manuscript and in print. The "Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Christ" by Bernhard of Breitenbach shares the unique distinction of being the first printed book containing impressions of various Oriental characters. Breitenbach, a canon of the Cathedral of Mayence, made a visit to the holy sites in 1483 and 1484. Being a man of culture and means, he published in 1486 a Latin edition of his "Holy Pilgrimage" at Mayence. This pious book bespeaks an intimate acquaintance with the Bible. The vivid descriptions of the scenic surroundings of Palestine are interwoven with the corresponding Biblical stories and numerous other Biblical quotations. Artistic woodcuts executed

* Steinschneider, *Europ. Ueb.*, p. 81. Lecoy, *op. cit.*, p. 36. *Monro, Cyclopaedia of Education*. IV., p. 563. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Janssen, *Gesch. d. d. Volkes*, I., p. 80.

by Erhard Reuwich enhance its value, giving it a high rank among the illustrated books of those early days and bringing home Scriptural truths to the pious reader. Breitenbach did not overlook nor pass over the Eastern languages. Striking woodcuts of six different Oriental alphabets adorn his book, conveying to the average man of the West a faint idea of Eastern writing. The Arabic alphabet, consisting of 31 letters, comes first, followed by the Hebrew alphabet of 27 characters, together with the Syriac of 27, the Coptic of 32, the Armenian of 35, and finally the Ethiopic or Geez of 47 letters. Beneath each letter its corresponding name is printed. All these Oriental alphabets are not printed with movable types; they are xylographs or block-printings, struck from engraved wooden blocks.

The "Holy Pilgrimage" of the Mayence canon claims, moreover, the attention of the professional Orientalist on account of its Arabic vocabulary. A list of two hundred and twenty-eight Arabic terms with corresponding Latin translation covers two pages. The good canon evidently intended to assist the future traveler by compiling this list of words. The Arabic terms are not printed with Arabic types, but are expressed in Latin characters. The Latin transliteration has this advantage that it gives the pronunciation of Arabic then in vogue. This short Arabic-Latin vocabulary is the first of its kind which has ever been printed.

Breitenbach's "Pilgrimage" became quite a popular book. On February 11, 1486, the first Latin edition was issued and four months later, June 21, 1486, the first German edition was published. Both impressions were edited at Mayence by the same printing firm. Within sixteen years (1485-1502) fifteen different editions appeared at various places and in various languages—four Latin editions, four German, three Dutch, two French, one Spanish and one Italian editions. Twenty-six editions were published from 1503 to 1728, making a sum total of forty-one impressions. This record shows, better than anything else, the great popularity which for more than two centuries Breitenbach's "Pilgrimage" enjoyed.

Nevertheless, this popular book of devotion takes a prominent place in the history of Oriental scholarship. In Europe it spread among all classes an amateur taste for Oriental scripts. These letters have been rudely copied probably more than once. It is to be regretted that these earliest specimens of Oriental printing and this notable contribution to Oriental linguistics are totally overlooked by competent scholars. No history of Oriental scholarship has ever mentioned the linguistic achievements of Canon Breitenbach.

A Hebrew booklet claims our attention next. In 1487 an alphabetical Hebrew dictionary, the "Makre Dardeke," was published at

Naples. It is the first polyglot lexicon ever printed, arranged in such a manner that after every Hebrew term follows an Italian and Arabic translation. The Italian and Arabic words are given in Hebrew transliteration, and the entire booklet is printed from Hebrew types. The "Makre" was composed in 1290 by an unknown scholar. The printed edition comprises seventy-eight leaves in quarto.¹⁰

In 1499 we come across the earliest specimens of Arabic words printed in Arabic characters. In that year Aldus published at Venice the famous book: "Poliphili Hypnerotomachia" or "Dream of Poliphilus." Its author was the Dominican friar Francesco Colonna. Exquisite woodcuts adorn this "most beautiful book of the Renaissance." The woodcut on fol. 15r represents the Greek and Arabic characters of the inscription, "Labor and Industry." More ambitious still is the woodcut on fol. 64r exhibiting to our eye three inscriptions. The words "Glory to God," "Mother of Love" and "Glory of the world" are successively expressed in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin and printed in the characters of these four languages. All these inscriptions in two and four different languages were not printed from movable types, but they are xylographic impressions or block-printings. A second edition of the "Dream of Poliphilus" appeared at Venice in 1545.¹¹

The knowledge of Arabic was diffused at the beginning of the sixteenth century by a school-manual then greatly in use. In 1505 the German humanist Hermann Torrentinus (van der Beek or van Beek), a member of the "Brothers of the Common Life" (d. about 1520), published at Strassburg his "Elucidarius carminum vel vocabularius poeticus." The once popular text-book contains, among other lexicographical matter, a short vocabulary of the most common Arabic terms with their Latin equivalents. The Arabic words are printed in Latin transliteration. The popularity of this manual is attested by the numerous editions. It was reprinted at Hagenau in 1507, 1510 and in 1515; at Strassburg in 1516 and in 1520. Even as late as 1601 it was regarded as "a most necessary text-book" which called for a new edition.

Yet all these attempts at printing Arabic are eclipsed by the aforementioned publication in 1505 of Pedro de Alcala's Arabic grammar and vocabulary. In that year Juan Varela printed at Granada Pedro's celebrated "Arte para legeramente saber la lengua Araviga" and the "Vocabulista Araviga en letra castellana." They

¹⁰ J. B. Rossi, *Annales Hebraeo-typogr. saeculi XV.*; Parmae, 1795; pp. 60-61, 160. M. Schwab, *Les incunables orientaux*; Paris, 1883; pp. 37-38. L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliogr.* III; Stuttg., 1891; p. 412, n. 11152.

¹¹ Schwab, *op. cit.* pp. 10, 48. Hain, *op. cit.*, II, p. 176, n. 5501. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII., p. 367.

form two separate parts of one entire book, which is generally regarded as the first Arabic book printed. But this view cannot be substantiated. It is not the first book in which Arabic occupies considerable space. In this regard the "Makre" takes precedence. Neither is it the first production of Arabic typography, for all Arabic words found in it are expressed in Latin characters. The diacritical signs of the Arabic text are designated in Latin by placing certain points on certain Latin letters. The "Vocabulista" is a quarto of two hundred and eighty pages. It is not only an Arabic vocabulary, but also an Arabic reader, containing among the reading lessons a fragment of an Arabic apologetical treatise against the Moslems, composed about the year 1300 by a European Christian, probably by Blessed Raymond Lullus.¹²

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ARABIC CHARACTERS (1514).

The first book in Arabic was printed in the year 1514, sixty-nine years after the invention of printing. A long time had to elapse before the printer's art was adapted to Arabic typography. Undoubtedly several causes were instrumental in this retardation. First, the Muslims, the guardians of Arabic language and literature, had no demand for printed books. They were content with their manuscript literature even when European presses had issued numerous Arabic books. It was almost two centuries after the first Arabic work had appeared in print, namely, in 1711, that typography was officially introduced in Muslim countries. But this innovation ran counter to the feelings of the orthodox Muslims, the more so on account of the brushes of pigs-bristles used by the printers. Even nowadays during the liturgical services the Koran is read from beautiful manuscripts. A second cause operating in the same direction was the decadence of the Arabic language among the Muslims of the fifteenth century. In the East Arabic culture was still suffering from the stunning blow struck by the Mongol invasion of 1258 A. D. Among the Muslims in Spain Arabic had become a dead language. In 1462, therefore, Aisa ben Jabar, Muphti of Segovia, saw fit to compile some sort of a Muslim catechism for his Spanish speaking co-religionists who were no more conversant with the language of the Prophet. It was made up of extracts from the Koran and the Sunnite ritual translated into Spanish. Since the Muslims themselves were constrained to employ a foreign language to uphold the Prophet's law in Muslim countries, we cannot expect any great demand for Arabic books

¹² Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*; Halae, 1811; pp. 16-18, n. 37. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; Leipzig, 1846; n. 46. Schwab, p. 6. Steinschneider, *Polem. Lit.*, p. 225.

among them. There was no need of a quicker mode of production by printing. A third cause of retardation were the enormous obstacles encountered in founding Arabic types. The problem had to be solved of casting types of more bizarre and more twisted shapes than the Gothic types which were then in use. The difficulty of the task was aggravated by the maze of ligatures used in Arabic script. The abbreviations of the Greek text in the earliest Greek editions, where three or four letters are contracted into a single one, convey but a faint idea of these ligatures and involutions, the patterns of the well-known arabesques. This feature of Arabic writing must have proved a big stumbling-block to the engraver of Arabic letters on the matrix. The Hebrew printers had not encountered these difficulties, since Hebrew letters are free from such perplexing interlaced lines and convoluted curves. Neither did similar obstacles in 1513 hamper the printer of Ethiopic. The peculiar configurations of Arabic letters more than anything else were the chief obstacles that had blocked the way to Arabic typography for many years.

The first book printed with movable Arabic types was a breviary, "*Diurnale Graecorum Arabum.*" It numbers one hundred and eighteen leaves or two hundred and thirty-six pages. The size is small octavo. There are twelve printed lines to a page. The paper is thick. The book is unpaginated, without catchwords and signatures. The title on the front page is printed in red. The text commences on the back of the first leaf with these words, "In the Name of God, the Living," differing from the formula "In the Name of God, the Merciful," used in Moslem books. This invocation is printed in red and black letters, very much in the style of the most elegant breviaries. The text of the first fourteen pages is framed in a double filet of red and black ink, whilst the succeeding pages are decorated with one, entirely in black. Each of the eight canonical hours (Matins and Lauds being two) forms a separate book or section. The margins are embellished by woodcuts of flowers and animals executed in the Renaissance style and printed, unlike many others, contemporaneously with the text. They never show any worm-holes. The Arabic types evince this archaic peculiarity that the ligatures are bad and the diacritical points are sometimes misplaced or daubed. Several copies of this first production of Arabic typography are still extant. There are copies in the National Library of Paris and the Munich Library.

Italy shares the distinction of being the cradle of Arabic typography. The first Arabic printing press was established at Fano, a town situated in the Papal States. The first founder of Arabic types and printer of Arabic was Gregory de Gregoriis, a Venetian,

who on September 12, 1514, completed the first book printed with movable Arabic types. The Arabic breviary was intended for the use of Melchites who speak Arabic and who use Arabic in their liturgical services. They use the Greek rite, but their liturgical language, even to our day, is Arabic.

Arabic typography owes its origin to the liberality of the Popes. The Arabic printing press was established at Fano at the expense of Pope Julius II. (d. Feb. 20, 1513). Gregory de Gregoriis was employed in his service and at his command the Arabic breviary was printed. Julius II. did not live to see this work finished, which was finally published under the auspices of Pope Leo X. on September 12, 1514. It is a common mistake to suppose that the first printed book was a Bible published by order of the Church; this misstatement, however, regarding typography in general is a truth when restricted to Arabic typography. The first book printed is a breviary made up of parts of the Bible and printed by order of the Popes. The Catholic Church has often been criticized for neglect in publishing the Bible in the original texts during the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Wherever there was a real need, the Church always supplied the same. She had not charge of Hebrew and Greek speaking people, but Christians who spoke Arabic. There was no need of Hebrew and Greek Bibles for her children, but of Arabic Bibles or parts of the Bible there was an urgent demand. These she furnished her children in the East with unstinted prodigality. In 1516 the first Arabic Psalter was printed in Genova. The first edition of the Gospels in Arabic was published at Rome in 1590 by the famous Arabic press established by Cardinal Medici and known as the Medicæan Press. The first edition of the complete Bible in Arabic was issued by the Propaganda Press in 1671. These efforts towards spreading the Arabic Bible are all the more remarkable since the Church never has published any Hebrew or Greek Bibles. The Jews published an Arabic Bible for their many Arabic speaking co-religionists, which was printed at Constantinople in 1546 with Hebrew types and quite naturally contained only the books of the Old Testament.¹⁸

THE ARABIC KORAN BURNT BY THE POPE: A MYTH.

The Popes were the fathers of Arabic typography. Yet this claim is sometimes challenged. A Koran in Arabic is said to have been printed in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Orientalists William Postellus and Theseus Ambrosius are our au-

¹⁸ Schwab, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-8, 12-14, 20. Latre, *Specimen typogr. Romane*; Romae, 1778; pp. 13-14, 96-97. Nestle, *Urtext u. Uebersetz. d. Bibel*; Leipz., 1897; p. 152. Le Long-Masch, *Bibliotheca Sacra*. II., P. I. Halae, 1790; pp. 118-119.

thorities for its existence. Some time before 1539 Postellus wrote to Theseus Ambrosius: "Continue your inquiries regarding the printer of the Koran in Arabic and try to ascertain whether he is willing to sell his punches or the matrix." Theseus Ambrosius himself informs us in 1539: "I have repeatedly requested Alexander Paganini to sell to Postellus the Punic types and molds with which his father, Paganini Brixiensis, had printed the Koran."¹⁴ According to these explicit testimonies, Paganini Brixiensis printed an Arabic Koran at Venice. The year when this edition should have appeared is not mentioned. The noted Orientalist Erpenius was the first scholar who attempted to settle this matter by placing this Arabic Koran about the year 1530. All later authors accepted this date unreservedly till 1805, when B. de Rossi proved in his dissertation, "*De Corane Arabico Venetiis Paganini typis impresso*" (Parmae, 1805), that Paganini himself ceased printing in 1518, at which time he was succeeded in his business by his son Alexander. Accordingly, Rossi placed Paganini's Koran to the year 1518 itself or a little before or after. His opinion was generally adopted by the scholars, and ever since we read of a Koran printed in Arabic at Venice in 1518. But this is a gratuitous date. We might just as well place this edition in the earlier years of Paganini's activity, about 1509, as a writer in the "*Realencyclopædie*" (Vol. VI., Ratisb., 1848, p. 368) proposes, thereby giving this Arabic Koran the honor of being the first book printed in Arabic.¹⁵

No copy of Paganini's Arabic Koran has ever been found. This fact gave rise to the startling discovery that the entire edition had been destroyed by the order of the Pope. In 1703 the German Protestant scholar John Michael Lang published an academic dissertation ("*De alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione arabica*," Altorf., 1703), attempting to prove that Pope Clement VII. commanded all copies of Paganini's Arabic Koran to be burnt at the very time of its appearance. This fable readily found credence and the story of this dire fate met by the first Arabic Koran soon became a commonplace of history.¹⁶

No Pope ever consigned an Arabic Koran to the flames. There never existed a cause demanding such a condemnation. Pope Clement VII., like other Popes, was cognizant of the fact that a book may be harmless at one place and harmful at another. It may be productive of evil at one time and be innocuous at another.

¹⁴ Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio in Chaldaicam Linguam*; Papiae, 1539; fol. 200 v.

¹⁵ Schwab, pp. 10-11. Hallam, *Introduct. to the Literat. of Europe*, Vol. I.; New York, 1871; pp. 241, 406.

¹⁶ Walch, *Bibliotheca Theolog. I.*; Jenae, 1757; p. 888 sq. *Real Encyclopædie*, VI., 368. Hallam, *Introduct. I.*, pp. 241, 406.

These various aspects of one and the same book may call forth conflicting legal enactments at different times. A striking case in point is the treatment meted out to the Talmud. This law book of the Jews was repeatedly seized or destroyed during the Middle Ages, whenever danger of perversion threatened the Christians. Yet in 1520 the first complete edition was printed with full approval of Pope Leo X. by the Catholic printer, Daniel Bomberg. The publication of the Koran in Arabic would never have been attended by any danger of faith in Europe. Moreover, the destruction of the Koran in Arabic would have missed the mark, because the Moslem law could, nevertheless, be studied in the various translations then circulating in the West. There are still preserved together with one Latin and one Spanish translation of separate Suras three mediæval Latin translations of the entire Koran. The Latin rendering of Robert Retinensis was spread all over Europe in numerous manuscripts, and the various apologies against Moslemism attest its intense and widespread use. In 1547 even an *Italian* translation of the Koran, the second ever printed, was published. Finally the Popes had found no occasion to be hostile to the Arabic Koran, since such an edition never has existed. The rule of demand and supply has always found application in the book trade as well as other business transactions. But we know for a certainty that there was no demand for a printed Arabic Koran at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Moslems abhorred a printed edition of their sacred book, and the Christians of the East did not care for one, then as little as in later centuries. The few Christian Arabists in the West were not yet interested in an edition of the original text of the Koran, their literary labors and pursuits being rather of a theological than philological nature. And, indeed, almost two centuries were to elapse till the first edition of the Koran in the original Arabic was printed at Hamburg, in 1694, after the efforts of eight different Orientalists along these lines had proved abortive. If the Moslems or the Christians of the East had demanded a printed Koran, the enterprising Venetian printers would have published an edition of it as readily as they supplied the Jews, Slavs and Armenians with books printed in their respective languages. Since an edition of the Koran was not in demand, none was ever printed by Paganini. "The best proof in my opinion," writes Mr. M. Schwab (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, 22) "that this edition of the Koran in Arabic has never existed is presented when glancing over the list of Oriental books printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. During the period of forty years (1500-1540) no more than nine such books were printed in the various languages of the East, while we can recount more than

ten times as many printed Hebrew books during the last quarter of the fifteenth century." Moreover, these few editions were issued to serve liturgical and Scriptural purposes.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC TYPOGRAPHY (1514-1593.)

The Papal Arabic printing establishment at Fano was of short duration. We do not know if it ever published a book besides the "Diurnale." Laire¹⁷ would attribute to it the undated Arabic edition of Edrisis geography. But this is evidently a later production. In 1516 Peter Paul Porrus printed in Genova the polyglot psalter of Aug. Justiniani in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaic and Arabic. Of the two thousand copies issued, no more than five hundred were sold. Some Arabic words, but apparently cut in wood, were introduced in Wakefield's "Oration" of 1524. Petrus Vidovaeus used Arabic types in 1538, printing at Paris the "Introduction into the different alphabets of twelve different languages" written by William Postellus. The "Samaritanæ Litteræ," which appeared at the same time, contain also a printed Arabic alphabet. A font of Arabic was used by Gromors, another Parisian printer, to print Postellus' "Grammatica Arabica" in 1538 or 1539-1540. These Parisian impressions sometimes received undue encomium. Says E. Browne:¹⁸ "The remarkable scholar William Postellus apparently was the *first* who caused Arabic types to be cut" to print his Arabic grammar. The distinguished Orientalist is totally ignorant of the fact that twenty-five years before the first Arabic types had been cut and used in printing. The "Introduction into the Chaldaic Language" by Theseus Ambrosius, printed at Pavia in 1539 by John M. Simoneta, embodies two different Arabic alphabets, an Arabic text and a short Arabic grammar. The next Arabic press was established in the Jesuit college at Rome, and from this press were issued two small Arabic booklets. The one, "Fidei orthodoxæ professio," was printed in 1566, while the second, "Colloquium spirituale," is undated, but contemporaneous. The author of these two booklets was John Bapt. Elianus, but the printer's name is not known. Again, in 1580, we meet with a new Oriental press in Rome which published a Roman catechism and a "Professio fidei" both in Karshuni or in Arabic printed with Syriac types. Two years later we come across the earliest Arabic press established in Germany, where Matth. Harnisch printed, in the little town of Neustadt on the Hardt, the "Arabic alphabet" or grammar of James Christmann, a quarto of 32 pages. In 1583 James Mueller (Mylius) issued, at Heidelberg, a booklet composed by Ruthger. Spey, containing St.

¹⁷ Specimen, p. 13 sq.

¹⁸ "Literary Hist. of Persia," I., pp. 40-41.

Paul's Epistle to the Galatians in Arabic and Latin, together with the six primary chapters of the Christian (Calvinistic) religion in Arabic and a short Arabic grammar. Mueller used woodcuts and no types in expressing the Arabic words. All these Arabic impressions executed from 1538 till 1583 were insignificant compared to the first productions of Arabic typography in 1514 and 1516. An Arabic breviary printed in 1584 by the Oriental printing press founded by Pope Gregory XIII. in Rome is the first rival of the Fano "Diurnale" and the Genova polyglot Psalter. In 1590 the famous Medicean Arabic press in Rome resumed its work and in 1593 printed the first edition of Avicenna's works in Arabic, a huge folio of 1033 pages. This was the first publication of an original Arabic text, all the previous Arabic impressions being either translations or compilations by European scholars. It was likewise the first contribution to Arabic philology, while all earlier publications in Arabic served rather theological or ecclesiastical purposes. The Arabic printing press was henceforth firmly established in Europe. The commonplace contention that Protestantism gave the great impetus to the study of Oriental tongues has no claim to truth regarding the study of Arabic. A cursory view of the development of Arabic typography from 1514 to 1593 establishes the fact that all Arabic books were published by Catholics with the exception of two publications which appeared in Germany, Christmann's Arabic grammar and Spey's edition of the Galatians.¹⁹

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¹⁹ Schwab, pp. 12-13, 20, 22. Schnurrer, pp. 18-19, n. 38-39, p. 234 n. 236 or 238, p. 235 n. 237. Lelong, II., p. 1195. Steinschneider, *Polemik*, pp. 91-92, 205, 215-216. Laire, p. 97. Hallam, pp. 170-171, 241, 406.

THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.

WHEN Columbus set out on his memorable voyage which resulted in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, he had with him as companions men who were not all mere adventurers. Some of them, at least, were actuated by higher motives.

Enkindled by the zeal of the great admiral, some went forth separately in the broad field of discovery to which he had led the way. They had different aims; some only wanted to skirt the continent which the great discoverer had partially visited; they wanted to be the first to secure the fruits of the pearl fisheries of Pavia and Cubaga, or to explore the coast of Veragua, which had been described as the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. Others, like Pinzon, aspired to accomplish the grand discovery Columbus had in mind and thus rob him of the glory that rightfully belonged to him.

In the course of his expedition along the coast of Terra Firma, Columbus repeatedly heard of the existence of a vast sea or ocean to the south. To him this was the great Indian Ocean, and consequently it must, as he supposed, communicate by a strait with the Caribbean Sea, and his last and most disastrous voyage was made with the express purpose of discovering this imaginary strait and making his way into the southern ocean. The illustrious voyager, alas! was doomed to die, as it were, on the threshold of his discoveries, and it was reserved, as we shall see further on, for one of his followers, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, to obtain the first vision of the promised ocean from the lofty mountain of Darien after the death of the great admiral.

The expeditions we are about to describe may therefore be considered as growing immediately out of the voyages of Columbus and completing some of his great designs.

It is our purpose in this paper to follow the checkered fortunes of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, whose discovery of the Pacific Ocean forms one of the most charming and striking incidents in the history of the New World. Vasco de Gama has been chosen by Meyerbeer as the hero of his great opera "L'Africaine," but Vasco Nuñez de Balboa's career offers a far more romantic and dramatic field to the genius of our great musical composers.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was a native of Xerez, de los Caballeros, Spain, where he was born in 1475. His family was noble, but was now impoverished. Young Balboa was brought up in the service

of Don Pedro Puerto Carrero, Lord of Moguer. Later on he enlisted among the adventurers who joined Rodrigo de Bastides in his voyage of discovery. In his *Latin Decades*, Peter Martyr speaks of him as *egregius digladiator*, which has been variously translated as a "skillful swordsman" and as an "adroit fencing master." Martyr also tells us that he was "a mere soldier of fortune and of loose, prodigal habits," all of which may have been more or less true.

Balboa settled himself down for a time on the Island of Hispanola and undertook to farm near the town of Salvatierra, near the seacoast. This occupation, foreign to his natural inclination, soon involved him in heavy debt, from which he was most anxious to escape. He found the created opportunity in the expedition of the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, which, in addition, enabled him to indulge his adventurous inclinations. It is related of him that to elude his creditors he concealed himself in a cask and had himself in this manner conveyed from his home to the ship. This story may be true or not. The fact remains, however, that he escaped from his creditors. Though threatened to be put ashore by Enciso, Balboa succeeded in pacifying the commander, for as the venerable Las Casas tells us, "God reserved him for better things." Then again, upon reflection, Enciso recognized the fact that in Balboa he had a man well fitted to aid him in his expedition, for Balboa was at this time in the prime and vigor of his life, a well developed man, experienced, seasoned to hardships and of a daring spirit.

When this expedition reached the mainland, that is, the northern coast of South America, they put in at the fatal harbor of Cartagena (now in the United States of Colombia). We say fatal, because they had not yet heard of the bloody conflicts of Ojeda and Nicuesa with the natives, nor of the death of heroic Juan de la Cosa, which had occurred in this vicinity. Not suspecting any danger, Enciso landed a number of his men to repair a boat which had been damaged and to obtain a supply of water. At first the natives were disposed to be hostile, as they were still smarting under the influence of their treatment by Ojeda and his followers, but Enciso's men succeeded in gaining their friendship. It is not our purpose here to follow Enciso's expedition. Sufficient to say that it was attended with all manner of disaster of attacks from the natives, who used poisoned arrows against the invaders of their homes. We are concerned with the part Balboa played in helping Enciso out of his perilous situation. He informed the commander that on a former occasion he had sailed along the coast with Rodrigo de Bastides, and offered to guide the expedition to a place

where they might obtain a supply of provisions, and even succeeded so far as to found a colony. The proposition was eagerly accepted, but on reaching the desired haven the Spaniards met with a hostile reception. On beholding the Indian army drawn up in battle array, Enciso, who was daring, pious and rapacious, recommended himself and his followers to God, making a vow in their names to "Nuestra Señora de Antigua," who is greatly revered in Sevilla, that the first church and town they were to build should be dedicated to her, and that they would make a pilgrimage to Sevilla and make an offering at her shrine. He next made sure of the fidelity of his warriors and, lest they should give way before the poisoned arrows of their assailants, he exacted an oath that they would not turn their backs upon the foe no matter what might happen. Satisfied that he had made all necessary arrangements, he proceeded to attack the enemy with such valor that notwithstanding their first show of resistance, they were soon put to flight. Enciso entered their village, took possession of it by the "right of conquest," collected great quantities of food and cotton and bracelets, anklets, plates and other ornaments of gold to the value of over \$53,000 in our money. We can imagine how elated he must have felt over his victory after so many hardships and disasters. It was unanimously agreed that the seat of government should be established in the village, and in fulfillment of his vow Enciso gave it the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

Enciso at once entered upon his career as civil governor in place of the absent Ojeda, but the plan he adopted was too stern and severe to meet with acceptance from his followers; they murmured among themselves and insinuated that Enciso was planning to reserve the larger share of the spoils gained and to be gained for his private pocket.

Balboa was not slow in taking advantage of this general discontent. He had acquired great influence among his fellow-adventurers for having guided them to the place. Then, too, he was hardy, bold and intelligent and possessed of the random spirit and open-handed generosity common to the soldier of fortune and calculated to dazzle and delight the multitude.

Balboa had little reason to sympathize with Enciso, and he did not hesitate to form a party against him and to deprive him of his command. Disagreement followed disagreement, and it was decided for the sake of peace to allow Enciso to rule the colony until they could communicate with the mother country. The unfortunate Nicuesa also failed to establish his authority and was obliged to leave the colony, followed by seventeen of his adherents. The frail bark in which they sailed (March, 1511) steered across

the Caribbean Sea for Hispaniola, but was never seen or heard of more.

We now come to the very interesting and highly dramatic story of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, an adventurer, daring, renowned and equally unfortunate as the man with whom he was associated, and upon the ruins of whose careers he rose to world-wide fame.

No sooner had the bark bore away the ill-starred Nicuesa from the shores of Darien than trouble arose as to who should assume the command. Encisco insisted upon his claims as paramount, but he met with a powerful opponent in Balboa, who had found favor with the people because of his honest, fearless character and his winning affability. In fact, no man was more fitted than he was to govern the fiery and factious, yet at the same time generous and impressionable nature of his countrymen, because the Spaniards, though proud and resentful and impatient of dignity and restraint, are quickly dazzled by courage and won by courtesy and kindness. Balboa also possessed external qualities calculated to captivate all who came in contact with him. He is described to have been at this time about thirty-five years of age, tall, well formed and vigorous, with "reddish hair and an open, prepossessing countenance." His civil office, that of Alcalde, while it gave him a certain influence and standing among his people, also tempered any irregular habits he might have yielded to as a soldier of fortune. His superior talent, too, gave him complete ascendancy over his official colleague, Zamudio.

Having succeeded in establishing his undivided authority, Balboa exerted himself to prove himself capable of the things to which he had aspired, and he knew of no better way of convincing his sovereign, King Ferdinand, than by sending ample remittances of gold, which covers a multitude of sins, especially those committed in the New World. His first work, therefore, was to ascertain what part of the country was most prolific in precious metals. He learned that there was a rich province about thirty leagues distant called Coyba, and sent Francisco Pizarro with six men to explore it.

The Cacique who reigned over the Darien region at that time was Zemaco, a chief who cherished a bitter hostility against the invaders of his country, and not without good reason. No sooner did he learn through his spies of the approach of the Spaniards than he placed himself in ambush to oppose and destroy them if possible. The invaders had hardly proceeded nine miles along the river when they were assailed by a host of savages, who burst upon them from the adjacent forests, and uttering frightful yells discharged a shower of stones and arrows upon their foes. Pizarro

was not a man to be discouraged even by such a superiority of numbers. Though his men were bruised and wounded, he turned upon his assailants, slew many of them and put the rest to flight. Fearing another attack, Pizarro made a hasty retreat, leaving one of his men, Francisco Hernan, disabled on the field. When they reached the settlement and Balboa learned that one of his men had been deserted, he was not slow in expressing his indignation against Pizarro, and commanded him, in spite of his wounded condition, to return to the field of battle and bring back the disabled man. "Let it not be said to our shame," said he, "that a Spaniard fled before the savages and left a comrade in their hands." The proud Pizarro felt the rebuke very keenly, returned to the scene of combat and brought back Francisco Hernan in safety.

Balboa, having heard nothing of Nicuesa since his departure from Darien, sent two brigantines in search of him. The brigantines in coasting the shores of the isthmus rescued two Spaniards, clad after the manner of the natives and looking more like savages than like civilized men. They had been fugitives for about a year and a half and had been kindly received by Careta, the Cacique of Coyba. But this kindness on the part of the "savage" chieftain was rewarded with treachery by his "Christian" wards. They advised Balboa to invade their village, assuring him that he would find ample provision for needs. Elated by the intelligence received from these ungrateful creatures, Balboa chose a hundred and thirty well armed men and set out for Coyba. The unsuspecting Cacique received the Spaniards with the accustomed hospitality of his race—gave them food and drink and all his home afforded. When Balboa demanded a large supply of provisions for his people, the Cacique assured him that he could spare no more, as his people had been prevented from planting the soil because of a war he was waging with a neighboring chief. Balboa was disposed to believe him, but the ungrateful Spaniard who had so long enjoyed the Cacique's hospitality privately informed Balboa that there was an abundance of provisions and booty stowed away in a secluded place; he also suggested that the Spanish leader should pretend to believe what he was told, to appear to depart satisfied, but to return in the night and take the village by surprise. This was done. In the dead of night when the natives were in deep sleep Balboa returned, surprised his sleeping victims, made captives of Careta, his wives and children and many of his people. The concealed provisions were soon found and the two Spanish brigantines were loaded with booty and with provisions and set sail for Darien.

When the unfortunate Cacique saw his family in chains and in the hands of a people he had received in kindness, his grief knew

no bounds. "What have I done to thee," he said to Balboa, "that thou shouldst treat me so cruelly? None of thy people ever came to my land that were not fed and sheltered and treated with loving kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a spear in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter; I give her to thee as a pledge of friendship. Take her for thy wife and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people."

Balboa realized the force of these words; besides, he was not slow in seeing the importance of forming a strong alliance with the natives. The trembling captive maiden, too, found favor in his eyes and she ever after considered herself his lawful wife. Balboa granted the chief's request, accepted his daughter and promised to aid her father against his enemies on condition of his supplying the colony with provisions.

During the three days that Careta remained at Darien he was treated with great consideration. Balboa took him on board his ships, showed him every part of them; showed him his war horses with their armor and rich caparisons and terrified him with the roar of his artillery. It was not Balboa's intention to daunt the native chieftain too far by his warlike exhibition, lest fear might induce him to retire to the interior of the country at the first opportunity and thus deprive him of a useful ally. Balboa, therefore, had his musicians give a musical exhibition to his guests, who were lost in admiration. Having impressed the Cacique with an idea of the power and abilities of his new allies and loaded him with presents, he permitted him to return to what was left of his former home.¹

Balboa kept his word with Careta. With eighty men and his companion in arms, Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, he proceeded by sea to Coyba, the province of the Cacique. He landed at once and invaded the territories of Ponca, the archenemy of Careta, and obliged him to seek refuge in the mountains. He next ravaged his lands and sacked his villages and carried off considerable booty. On his return to Coyba Balboa was joyfully received by Careta. His next move was a friendly visit to the neighboring province of Comagre, governed by a namesake of Careta, and who could dispose of 3,000 fighting men.

Balboa was received by his new friends with great cordiality; he and his men were conducted with great ceremony to the village, where the best houses were opened to them, where abundant pro-

¹ Peter Martyr, *Decade III.*, c. vi.

visions were laid before them and where male and female servants were detailed to wait upon them. Peter Martyr tells us that the Cacique's dwelling surpassed any the Spaniards had seen for size and for solidity of structure. He describes it as "one hundred and fifty paces in length and eighty in breadth, founded upon great logs, surrounded by a stone wall, while the upper part was of woodwork curiously interwoven and wrought with such beauty as to fill the Spaniards with surprise and admiration. It contained many comfortable apartments. There were also storerooms filled with bread, venison and other provisions. There was another room filled with spirituous liquors which the natives made from maize, a species of the palm and fern roots of various kinds. Besides all this there was a great hall in a retired and secret part of the building in which Comagre preserved the bodies of his ancestors and relatives. These had been dried by the fire so as to preserve them from corruption and afterwards wrapped in mantles of cotton, richly wrought and interwoven with pearls and jewels of gold, as well as with certain stones highly esteemed by the natives. They were hung about the hall with cords of cotton and regarded with great reverence, if not a species of religious devotion."

The eldest son of the Cacique was far superior in intelligence and loftiness of spirit to the average native. Old Peter Martyr tells us that he soon formed an estimate of the Spaniards. Perceiving that they were a "wandering kind of men, living only by shifts and spoil," he sought to gain favor for himself and his family by gratifying their avarice. He presented Balboa and Colmenares 4,000 ounces of gold, wrought into various ornaments, together with sixty slaves, captives he had taken in the wars. Balboa ordered one-fifth of the gold weighed out and set apart for his sovereigns and the rest he shared with his companions.

Any one would have regarded this as very fair dealing on the part of the leader, but avarice never fails to make trouble. The division of the gold was made on the porch of the Cacique's dwelling and in the presence of the young man who had made the gift. As the gold was being weighed out a violent quarrel broke out among the Spaniards as to the size and value of the pieces which fell to their respective shares. The high-minded "savage" was disgusted at the sordid brawl among beings that he regarded as so vastly superior to his own people. In his indignation he struck the scales with his fist and scattered the gold about the porch. The Spaniards were not a little surprised at this sudden manifestation of indignation on the part of a "savage," but before they had time to recover from their astonishment he said to them: "Why should you quarrel over such a trifle? If the gold is indeed so precious in your

eyes that for it you abandon your homes, invade the peaceful lands of others and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a region where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold these lofty mountains," he continued, pointing to the south; "beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be seen from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels almost as large as yours and furnished like them with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into the sea abound in gold, and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common among those people of the south as iron is among your people."

Whatever indignation may have been felt by the Spaniards at the action of the young chief in scattering their gold, the information which followed the act soothed their resentment and awakened their avarice. Balboa inquired eagerly as to the best means of reaching this wonderland. "The task," replied the young "savage," "is full of difficulties and dangers. You must pass through the territories of many powerful Caciques, who will oppose you with vast armies. Some parts of the mountains are infested by fierce and cruel cannibals, a wandering, lawless race; but, above all, you will have to encounter the great Cacique, Tubanama, whose territories are at the distance of six days' journey and more rich in gold than any other province. This Cacique will be sure to come forth against you with a mighty force. To accomplish your enterprise, therefore, will require at least a thousand men armed like those who follow you."

Added to this information the young Cacique gave further details gathered from prisoners he had taken in battle and from one of his own natives who had been for a long time a captive in the lands of Tubanama. To prove the sincerity of his words, the young man offered to accompany Balboa in any expedition and take with him an army of his father's warriors.

It will interest the American reader to note that such was the first intimation received by Balboa of the existence of the Pacific Ocean and the golden realms that lay along its coast. Needless to say, it had an immediate effect upon his whole character and conduct. He saw a new enterprise opened to his ambition which if successful would raise him to fame and fortune and give him a prominent place among the great captains and discoverers of the world. We can easily imagine how the idea of the discovery of the "great sea" beyond the mountains roused and ennobled his ambitions.

Balboa lost no time in returning to Darien to make the necessary

preparations for the task that lay before him. Before leaving the province of Comagre, we are told, he baptized the Cacique, giving him the name of Carlos. He also baptized his sons and several of his subjects. It is difficult for us in our day to realize this comingling of religion with a thirst for gold, but we must not forget that the Spanish explorers never entirely lost sight of the fact that if the natives had gold they also had souls. It is true that they were not always over-solicitous about souls, but the incident above recorded, though exceptional, is not without meaning.

Balboa lost no time in informing Don Diego Columbus, Governor of Santo Domingo, of the intelligence he had received of the great sea and of the rich lands beyond the mountains, and asking his influence with the King that an addition of one thousand men be sent immediately from Spain to insure the success of his contemplated expedition of discovery. He emphasized this request with a remittance of fifteen thousand crowns of gold as the royal fifths of what had already been "gathered up" in the regions under his jurisdiction.

While awaiting a reply to his request, Balboa's restless spirit spent itself in foraging expeditions into the neighboring country.

A curious story comes to us from the province of Debayaba, which derives its name from a "mighty female of the olden time." She is described as the mother of the god who created the "sun and moon and all good things." She was supposed to have power over the elements; she could send the thunder and lightning to devastate the lands of those who incurred her displeasure, but she could also send fertility to the lands of those who were faithful to her. Other writers describe her as an Indian princess who at one time reigned among the mountains of Dobayba and who was famous throughout the land for "her supernatural power and wisdom." After her death "divine honors" were paid to her and a temple was erected in her honor. Here pilgrimages of natives came from far and near bringing with them the most costly offerings. Caciques from remote regions sent golden tributes at certain times of the year with which to adorn her temple, and even slaves were sacrificed upon her altars. When the people wearied in their attentions and neglected to send their tributes, the goddess is said to have sent a drought upon the country. This brought about the desired effect and the temple was soon filled once more with treasure and the walls hung with golden gifts.²

It needs no Solomon to realize the effect of this story on the Spanish adventurers. It was a prize too valuable to be neglected, and Balboa chose a band of one hundred and seventy of his hardiest

² Peter Martyr, *Decade III.*, c. vi.; *Dec. VII.*, c. x.

men to visit this temple and relieve it of the burden of its treasures. But the expedition was doomed to bitter disappointment. After a long and tedious voyage in two brigantines, he no sooner set foot in the land of promise than his old enemy, Zemaco, the Cacique of Darien, who had discovered his purpose, hastened to Dobayba and induced its Cacique to retire inland at the approach of the invaders and leave their homes deserted.

Balboa found a village situated in a marshy country and imagined he had found the residence of the Cacique; on reaching it he found it silent and deserted. There was not a native to be found to give him the slightest information either about the country nor about the much-coveted golden temple. Nor was this all; he was disappointed in his hopes of finding provisions. True, he found weapons of various kinds hanging upon the walls of the abandoned houses and jewels and pieces of gold valued at 7,000 castellanos (between \$35,000 and \$40,000). This, though a goodly sum, was far from what he expected. Then, too, the deserted appearance of the country, with its deep morasses, the lack of guides to assist him in its exploration, had a most discouraging effect upon Balboa. He now loaded all his booty on two large canoes and turned his face back to the Gulf of Uraba. But ill luck seemed to follow him. On reaching the gulf he was overtaken by violent storms, which nearly wrecked his two brigantines and compelled him to throw a great part of his cargo overboard. Needless to say that the two canoes which contained all his booty were swallowed up by the angry sea and all their crews perished.

We next find Balboa and his followers in the province of the Cacique Abibeyba, who presided over a people we might call Lacustrines, or lake-dwellers. Here the habitations of the natives were built in the branches of great and lofty trees. They are described as large enough to accommodate not only single families, but their connections, and were built partly of wood and partly of a kind of wickerwork, combining strength and pliability and yielding to the motion of the branches when agitated by the wind. They are reached by means of light ladders, which the inmates draw up after them at night or in case of attack. As these habitations were always well supplied with provisions, they possessed attractions for the invaders. Within easy access were the canoes with which the natives reached terra firma and navigated the rivers and ponds of their marshy lands and followed their occupation of fishing.

When the natives perceived the approach of the Spaniards, they flew for refuge to their tree-built castles and drew up their ladders. The invaders called upon them to descend and to fear nothing. Putting little faith in these words, the Cacique besought his vis-

itors to depart and leave his people in peace, inasmuch as they had done the Spaniards no injury, but the latter threatened to cut down the trees or to set fire to them unless the natives came down. Although the Cacique was disposed to consent, his people, filled with alarm, prevented him from doing so. The Spaniards now prepared to cut down the trees and were assailed with showers of stones. Protected by their shields, the Spaniards laid their axes at the foot of the trees and soon compelled their victims to capitulate. The Cacique descended with his wife and children, and the first demand of the invaders was for gold. He replied that having no need for it, he had never made search for it. Upon being pressed, the Cacique asked permission to go to a certain mountain some distance off; he would return in a few days with a supply of the much coveted metal. He was permitted to depart and he never returned. After waiting for some time and appropriating the abundant provisions they found there, the Spaniards continued their foraging expeditions. Needless to say, they were often met by bold and warlike natives, suffering occasional losses, but always inflicting great havoc upon their opposers.

Balboa and his followers having overrun a vast extent of territory with no prospect of immediate benefit, returned to Darien. His anxieties were not confined to guarding against the attacks of the natives. He feared that Enciso, who shared the government of the colony with him, might succeed in prejudicing the mind of his sovereign against him, and he determined to go to Spain, and, in person, communicate all he had learned about the great southern sea, and, if possible, obtain the troops necessary for its discovery. In this he met with great opposition not only on the part of his enemies, but of his adherents as well. It was held that his presence was indispensable for the safety of the colony. It was finally decided that Juan de Cayzedo and Enriquez de Colmenard should go in his place, with instruction to make all necessary representations to the King. Accounts were also sent—most extravagant accounts—of the wealth of the country, based on the sanguine hopes of the Spaniards and partly by the fairy tales told by the natives. The reputed wealth of the Province of Dobayba and the treasures of its golden temple were dwelt upon at length, and an Indian slave, a native of the province of Zena, where gold was supposed to be found in abundance, accompanied the emissaries. To make their account more impressive every one contributed a certain amount of gold from his private hoard, to be presented to the King; this in addition to the fifths, which according to contract, rightfully belonged to the Crown.

The ship bearing the emissaries to the mother country was hardly

out of sight when new dissensions broke out in the colony, which was not to be wondered at when we consider the adventurous character of the colonists. Balboa, it is true, had gained prominence by his courage and ability, but he had risen from the ranks; he was, in a manner, of their own creation, and they could not forget that he was until recently only a mere soldier of fortune and an absconding debtor. Hence they had not become sufficiently accustomed to regard him as a governor. Their discontent was first directed against one Bartolome Hurtado, a parasite of Balboa's, who was eventually cast into prison, but was finally liberated through the influence of his protector. Two parties were formed, however, and were soon drawn up in battle array against each other. Fortunately there were some cool heads in the colony, who reminded the angry combatants that if they fought among themselves and reduced their already shrinking numbers, even its successful side must eventually fall a prey to the native foe.

These arguments were not without effect, and after much talk a compromise was effected, but it was of short duration. The factious views seemed to turn to a higher object—the true object of their resentment. They broke out in loud complaints against Balboa, claiming that he “had not made a fair division of the gold and slaves taken in the late expeditions,” and threatened to arrest him and bring him to an account. Their broadest clamor was for an immediate division of 10,000 castellanos in gold, which had not yet been shared.

Balboa knew his people too well and his own precarious hold on their obedience to attempt to cope with them at this time, and he determined to leave them to divide the spoils among themselves, trusting to their own strife for his safety; so that very night he started for the interior of the country on pretended hunting expedition.

The next morning the discontents finding themselves masters of the situation, proceeded to business. Alonzo Perez, the pragmatical leader, immediately assumed the command, seconded by the Bachiller Corral. Their first step was to secure their own popularity by dividing the 10,000 castellanos. This is just what Balboa wanted. Scarcely had the division commenced than a furious strife ensued. Every man was dissatisfied with the portion assigned to him, considering his peculiar merits not sufficiently recognized. Every attempt to quiet them only increased their anger, and in their rage they swore that Balboa had always been more just in his recognition of merit. “Balboa,” they said, “won the gold by his enterprise and valor, and would have shared it with the brave and deserving, but these men have seized upon it by factious means and would

squander it upon their minions." The majority of the people, who really admired the soldier-like qualities of Balboa, now displayed one of those not unusual reverses of popular feeling. The sensitive Alonzo Perez, his companion, the Bachiller Corral and some others, the ringleaders, were seized and put in irons and confined in the fortress, and Balboa was recalled with loud acclamations to the colony.

It would be difficult to say how long Balboa would have been able to manage his restless and unruly colonists, but fortune seemed to favor him at this juncture. Two ships arrived from Hispanola loaded with supplies and bringing a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men. They also brought a commission from Miguel de Pasamonte, the royal treasurer of Hispanola, appointing him captain general of the colony. This commission may have been inspired by a private present in gold sent by Balboa. Under existing circumstances Balboa was more than pleased at receiving a commission which invested him with what might be regarded as the semblance of royal sanction. Feeling now more secure in his position and yielding to his naturally generous and forgiving disposition, he at once released and pardoned Alonzo Perez and the Bachiller Corral, together with the other ringleaders of the late uprising, and peace reigned in the colony for some time.

But trouble was brewing in another direction. Balboa's late colleague, the Alcalde Zamudio, wrote him from Spain that Enciso had sent complaints to the Crown and had succeeded in arousing the displeasure of the King to the extent of securing the condemnation of Balboa, and that he (Balboa) would in all probability be summoned to Spain to answer charges against him on account of the harsh treatment and the probable death of the ill-fated Nicuesa.

Balboa was at first stunned in receiving this intelligence, which, if carried out, would put an end to all his plans. Being a man of prompt decision and of bold execution and the information from Spain being both private and informal, he resolved on immediate action, as he well knew that one brilliant achievement would make amends for all the past and restore him to royal favor. Such an achievement was within his reach—it was no less than the discovery of the southern sea. He fully realized that his enterprise would require a thousand armed men, and he also realized that if he wanted to receive them from the mother country his day of grace would be past. His enterprise was a dangerous thing to attempt with the small force at his command, but his condition was a desperate one, as fame, fortune, even life itself depended upon prompt and successful action; to hesitate was his destruction.

Balboa considered the band of reckless adventurers that formed

his colony, and finally selected one hundred and ninety men—resolute, vigorous and reliable—men he knew he could count upon. He told them the dangers they were to encounter and what he expected of them. All this only served to rouse the spirits of these bold adventurers. He also took with him a number of bloodhounds.

It may not be devoid of interest to mention that Spanish writers make special reference to one of these animals, known as Leoncico, which was a sort of body guard of Balboa's, and they describe him as minutely as they would a favorite warrior. "He was of middle size, but immensely strong; of a dull yellow or reddish color, with a black muzzle, and his body was scarred all over with wounds received in innumerable battles with the Indians. Balboa always took him with him on his expeditions, and sometimes lent him to others, receiving for his services the same share of booty allowed to an armed man." . . . The Indians, it is said, were in such terror of this animal that the very sight of him put them to flight.*

Balboa's force was further augmented by a number of Indians of Darien, whom he had attached to him by his kindness and who were a valuable acquisition because of their knowledge of the country and of the habits and resources of the savages. Such was the make-up of the army that Balboa led from the little colony of Darien in quest of the great Pacific Ocean.

Balboa felt that he had no time to lose, as the news recently received from Spain might leak out among his enemies in the colony and bring about disastrous consequences and interfere with his designs. Thus it came to pass that on September 1 (1513) Balboa set sail with his followers in a brigantine and nine large canoes or pirogues amid the "vivas" and good wishes of those left behind in the settlement. He was not long in reaching Coyba, the province of his old friend and father-in-law (?), the Cacique Careta, whose daughter managed to bring about a strong friendship between her father and her Spanish friends. Balboa was well received and supplied with guides and warriors for his daring enterprise.

Balboa left half of his men at Coyba to guard his brigantine and canoes, while he went into the wilderness with the remainder. The importance of this expedition made a very great impression on his mind, and before setting out on his march, he had "a Mass celebrated and prayers offered up for the success of his perilous undertaking." On the 6th of September he started for the mountains and began a toilsome and extremely difficult march, as the Spaniards, encumbered as they were with the weight of their armor and weapons and oppressed by the intolerable heat, were obliged

* Oviedo, *Hist. Indies*, p. 2, c. iii., MS.

to climb rocky precipices and to struggle through close and tangled forests. They received valuable aid in all this from their native allies, who helped them by carrying their ammunition and provisions and by showing them the most practicable passes.

After a toilsome march of two days the Spaniards reached the village of Ponca, Careta's old enemy. Balboa found the village abandoned, its Cacique and his people had fled to the mountains. The footsore and tired Spaniards remained here for two days to restore the strength of those who had fallen by the way, and, above all, to procure guides acquainted with the wilderness they were about to penetrate. The place of retreat selected by Ponca was at last discovered, and Balboa, who had a peculiar talent for winning the confidence and good will of the natives when it suited his ends to do so, prevailed upon Ponca to come to him. The brave but simple Cacique was soon captivated by the kind reception accorded to him, and was induced to reveal to Balboa all he knew of the riches of the country. He assured him of the truth of all he had been told about a great sea beyond the mountains. He gave Balboa several ornaments ingeniously wrought of fine gold, which had been brought from the countries upon its borders. He further assured him that when he had reached the summit of a lofty ridge, which he indicated, and which seemed to reach the clouds, he would behold that sea in all its vastness.

Having procured fresh guides and fired by the information he received, Balboa prepared to ascend the mountain. Finding that a number of his men had succumbed to the heat and fatigue of their journey up to this point, he ordered them to return slowly to Coyba, taking with him only such as were robust and vigorous in health.

On September 20 Balboa again started on his journey through a rocky country, covered with dense forests and intersected by deep and turbulent streams, many of which required to be crossed on rafts. So toilsome was the journey that the Spaniards were only able to advance ten leagues in four days, during which time they suffered severely from hunger. They had now reached the province of a warlike chief, Quaraquá, who was at war with Ponca. The former, hearing that a body of strangers guided by the subjects of his inveterate foe, was entering his territory, at once took the field with a large number of warriors, some armed with bows and arrows, some with long spears or with double-headed maces of palm wood, almost as heavy and hard as iron. When they ascertained the small number of Spaniards, they attacked them with furious yells, thinking to overcome them without trouble. The first discharge of firearms, however, filled them with terror. They imagined they were attacked by demons, who belched forth thunder

and lightning, especially when they beheld their companions falling beside them, bleeding and dead without having received any apparent blow. They fled in confusion, hotly pursued by the Spaniards and their bloodhounds. Some of the unfortunate natives were transfixed with lances, some cut down with swords and many were torn to pieces by the dogs, so that poor Quaraquá and six hundred of his warriors were left dead upon the field.

It is related that a brother of the Cacique and several chiefs were taken prisoners. They were clad in white cotton, and either from their effeminate dress or the accusation of their enemies, the Spaniards were led to consider them guilty of unnatural crimes, and in their abhorrence and disgust gave them to be torn to pieces by the bloodhounds.⁴

An interesting fact presents itself at this point in Balboa's career. It appears that among the prisoners captured in this battle were several negroes. To the question of the Spaniards as to these negroes they were told that "these black men came from a region at no great distance, where there was a people of that color with whom they were at war." "These," adds the Spanish writer, "were the first negroes ever found in the New World, and I believe no others have since been discovered." Peter Martyr in his third "Decade" makes mention of these negroes as follows: "About two days' journey distant from Quaraqui is a region inhabited only by black Moors, exceeding fierce and cruel. It is supposed that in time past certain black Moors sailed thither from Ethiopia, to rob, and that by shipwreck or some other causes they were driven to the mountains." We must remember that as Peter Martyr lived and wrote at the time, he naturally related the mere rumors of the day, which all subsequent accounts have failed to prove. Other historians who have mentioned the circumstance have probably repeated it from him, and the story is hardly entitled to credit.

After the bloody triumph recorded above, the Spaniards went to the village of Quaraquá, where they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. Balboa reserved one-fifth of all this as his share and distributed the rest among his followers. The village of Quaraquá was at the foot of the last mountain that remained in their way, but as several of the Spaniards were disabled by wounds received in battle or so exhausted as to be unable to proceed, they were obliged to remain in the village in sight of the mountain-top that would reveal to them the object of their ambition. Balboa, anxious to achieve his life-purpose, selected fresh guides from among his prisoners. Of the large number of men

⁴ Herrera. *Hist. Indies*. Dec. I., ix., c. i.

who set out on this expedition there remained only sixty-seven in a condition to make this last effort. These were sent to rest that they might be able to start in the cool of the morning.

At daybreak Balboa left the Indian village and began the ascent of the mountain. After all they had gone through, it was a severe and rugged task, but they were animated by the thought of the triumphant scene that was soon to reward them for all their hardships. Shortly before noon the Spaniards had crossed the dense forests through which they had struggled and reached a lofty and airy part of the mountain, leaving only the bald summit to be climbed, and their guides indicated a slight eminence from which they could get a view of the "great sea." No sooner had Balboa received this information than he commanded a halt. Then with a beating heart he climbed to the mountain-top alone. On reaching the summit, the long-desired prospect burst upon his view. It was a sight in beholding which for the first time any man would wish to be alone. In solitude he looked down upon the vast Pacific—the first man of the Old World, so far as we know, who had done so. Falling upon his knees, he gave thanks to God for the favor shown to him in his being permitted to discover the sea of the South. He then called his followers to ascend and addressed them as follows: "You see, my friends and sons, how our desires are being accomplished and the end of our labors. Of that we ought to be certain, for, as it has turned out true what King Comagre's son has told of the sea to us who never thought to see it, so I hold for certain that what he told us of there being incomparable treasures in it will be fulfilled. Let us give thanks to God and His Blessed Mother for the great honor and advantage vouchsafed to us. Let us pray God to guide and aid us to conquer the sea and land which we have discovered and which no Christian has ever entered to preach the holy doctrine of the Evangelists. As to yourselves, be as you have hitherto been, faithful and true to me; and by the favor of Christ you will become the richest Spaniards that have ever come to the Indies; you will render the greatest services to your King that ever vassal rendered to his lord, and you will have the eternal glory and advantage of all that is here discovered, conquered and converted to our holy Catholic faith."

As the mutineers fell at the feet of Columbus when they first landed in the New World, so the followers of Balboa embraced him and pledged themselves to follow him even unto death. Father Andres de Vara, who had followed the fortunes of Balboa to this time, intoned the "*Te Deum laudamus*," and all present joined in the hymn with pious enthusiasm and tears of joy, and never

did a more sincere oblation rise to heaven from a holy altar than from this mountain summit.

This was, indeed, one of the most sublime discoveries that had yet been made in this great Western Hemisphere of ours, and it doubtless opened a boundless field of conjecture to the wondering Spaniards. "The imagination," says Washington Irving, "delights to picture forth the splendid confusion of their thoughts. Was this the great Indian Ocean, studded with precious islands, abounding in gold, in gems, in spices and bordered by the gorgeous cities and wealthy marts of the East? Or was it some lonely sea locked up in the embraces of savage, uncultivated continents and never traveled by bark, excepting the light canoes of the savage? The latter could hardly be the case, for the natives had told the Spaniards of golden realms and populous and powerful and luxurious nations upon its shores."

Such may have been the ideas suggested by the sight of this unknown ocean. It was the firm belief of the Spaniards, however, that they were the first Christians who had made the discovery. Balboa therefore called upon all present to witness that he took possession of land and sea, its islands and adjacent lands in the name of the Sovereigns of Castile, and the notary of the expedition made a record of all this, to which all present affixed their signatures. A tall tree was then cut down and formed into a cross and raised upon the spot from which the discoverers had first beheld the "promised ocean." A heap of stones was piled up to serve as a monument, and the names of the Castilian Sovereigns was carved on the neighboring trees. Needless to say that the Indians beheld all these ceremonies and rejoicings with silent wonder.

The memorable event here recorded took place on the 26th day of September, 1513.⁵

As it will be impossible to give even a few of the details of the valiant deeds and cruel sufferings of Balboa in a single paper, we shall continue the narrative in a future issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

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⁵ *Vidas de Españoles Celebres*, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana; Tom. II., p. 40.

THE CHURCH AND ASTRONOMY.

AS throughout the Christian Ages, the Catholic Church has ever been the friend and patroness of learning, so has she been, in a special sense, of astronomy; to which science she has stood in a peculiar relationship. Her attitude here will be obvious to all who study her history in this connection, and may be summed up under four great heads.

1. Her work in reforming and perfecting the kalendar.
2. The number and renown of Catholic astronomers.
3. The observatories founded under her patronage.
4. The astronomic activity of Catholic missionaries.

THE GREGORIAN KALENDAR.

On the fall of the Roman Empire, when the world seemed about to relapse into barbarism, the Church, as pagan culture sank, took up the task of education. Her attention was primarily called to astronomy by the imperative need of its assistance in adjusting her Paschal Calendar. As early as 208 A. D. the Bishop of Alexandria, then the centre and home of astronomic culture, appointed a committee of scholars to calculate a cycle for determining the date of Easter. About the same time Hippolitus, Bishop of Porto, obtained renown through his teaching of the "Computum," this distinctly Christian science being, as Durandus tells us, simply an application of astronomic principles to the calculation of the great feast. The two cycles composed by Hippolitus, determining this date for 112 years, won for his memory the erection of a statue having the famous cycles engraved on his episcopal chair; a souvenir which may be seen to this day in the "Christian Museum" of the Lateran. In A. D. 325, the Council of Nice laid down exact and stringent rules for the Paschal observance, the calculations for which were to be made at Alexandria and communicated by the Bishop of that city to the See of Rome. From this time until the promulgation of the Gregorian Kalendar, in 1582, it became the constant endeavor of the authorities at Rome to draw to that centre the highest astronomic talent of the times. Under this patronage, Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria (385-412) composed an elaborate Easter cycle, while in 457 Pope Hilary appointed Victor of Aquitaine to revise the kalendar and, a little later, Dionysius Exiguus, or Dionysius the Little, a Scythian monk, then presiding as abbot of a convent in Rome, was so commissioned—the period known from his name as the Dionysian Period remaining in use until the Gregorian Reformation. To this same Dionysius we owe also the calculation of our Christian era. Owing to the errors of the Julian year and

the lunar period employed, it was still inaccurate, for the perfect adjustment of the solar-lunar kalendar (a problem which had baffled antiquity,) together with the exact determination of the tropical year, was still beyond their nascent powers. About 730 A. D. the Venerable Bede called attention to the fact that the Equinoxes then fell about three days earlier than at the time of the Council of Nice. Bede was invited to Rome by Pope Sergius to aid in the work of reform, but could not be persuaded to leave his quiet retreat at Yarrow, where he continued, however, to write on astronomical matters. By the year 1220 the anticipation of the Equinoxes amounted to seven days, as was shown by the English monk, John Holywood (known to us under his Latin name of Sacrobosco) in his treatise, "De Anni Ratione" and shortly after, by the great Franciscan Friar, Roger Bacon, whose work on the reform of the kalendar was forwarded for approval to Pope Clement IV. Two learned Cardinal Bishops now appeared to urge farther this matter of reform: Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, who represented its necessity before the Council of Constance, and the celebrated Nicholas of Cusa, who pled for it before that of Basle. In 1474 Pope Sextus IV. resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion, and through Cardinal Bessarion, invited Regiomontanus, the leading astronomer of the day, to Rome to superintend the proceedings, promoting him in advance to the Bishopric of Ratisbon. Unfortunately Regiomontanus died the next year. But astronomic skill had now so advanced that soon a group of experts gathered at Rome eager to initiate the great undertaking. To enlist popular interest, Ignatius Dante, the great mathematician of Perugia, (afterwards Bishop of Alatri,) erected in the Church of St. Petronius, Bologna, an immense gnomon, or sun dial, to show to all enquiring eyes the exact time when the sun really crossed the meridian and the consequent errors of the kalendar. Finally, Gregory XIII. chose from the various memorials and schemes of reform presented to the congregation of the kalendar, that of Aloisius Lullius, as combining the greatest simplicity with exactitude. Again the reformer was carried away by death, but his place was assumed by the celebrated Jesuit astronomer, Clavius, to whom the completion of the work was committed. Religious prejudice, as we know, prevented its immediate acceptance by non-Catholic nations. Not until 1752 was it finally adopted in England, and then not without riot and bloodshed.

NUMBER AND RENOWN OF CATHOLIC ASTRONOMERS BEFORE
COPERNICUS.

The millennium embraced between the fifth and fifteenth centuries

has been sometimes termed the "Stationary Period" in astronomy, but with some injustice, for the mediæval astronomers, coming from nations just won to the Church and its culture, needed first to assimilate all that past research had to offer before they could be competent to criticize or improve upon the system presented them. That this system, as transmitted by the Greeks, was misleading, delayed their progress, but the period in which a body of students could master and surpass the learning of their teachers cannot rightly be termed "stationary." We have first then, in astronomy, an era of study and assimilation, before we reach one of independent research. We shall note the Church's coöperation with both. One of the earliest writers on astronomy was St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville [570-636 A. D.] His "Book of the Origins" and "De Rerum Natura" were drawn up for the use of his Cathedral School, the Second Council of Toledo, 531, having passed several canons for the establishment of such schools in connection with each cathedral.¹ Turning our eyes to the North, we find Bede [673-735 A. D.] writing, not on the kalendar only, but on the sphericity of the earth, the attraction of the moon over the tides and other celestial phenomena. Quoting also directly from Greek authors. As ignorance of such authorities has been often charged against early mediæval astronomers, it may be well to add that the study of Greek in Irish monasteries and those founded by them throughout Europe has been proven beyond a doubt. St. Cummin in his epistle on the Paschal disputation examines the various cycles used by Jews, Greeks, Latins and Egyptians, proving his knowledge both of Greek and of astronomy. The year 781 brings us to the Court of Charlemagne, to find Alcuin, the pupil of Bede, installed as master of the famous Palatine, or Royal School, that monarch had established. Astronomy was among the subjects taught, and a letter is still preserved in which Alcuin explains the reasons for the non-appearance of the planet Mars at the time "predicted by the ancients."

The reign of Charlemagne was also noteworthy for an observation which would have been of great importance had its real nature been understood. On the 17th of March, 807, a large spot was observed on the sun by the Benedictine monk Adelmus, who, however, supposed it to be a transit of Mercury. A better knowledge of geography now began to react on astronomy. Irish missionaries visited the Orkneys and Iceland, and Dicuil in his "*Liber de Mensura Orbis*" shows a clear knowledge of the phenomena of the "oblique sphere." Maps were improved, many being made from a design furnished by Beatus, a Spanish priest of the eighth cen-

¹ Drane: "Christian Schools and Scholars," p. 13.

ture.² But the era which had opened so auspiciously for learning under the strong hand of Charlemagne was destined to close in fire and blood. Invasions of Danes and Northmen, with fresh incursions of the Saracens, the general ruin of the monasteries and decay of the cathedral schools, won for the tenth century the title of the "Iron Age." It was redeemed for astronomy by the rise of the great scholar, Gerbert, afterwards to become Pope Sylvester II. To him we owe the first introduction of Arabic notation into mediæval Europe. He provided the means for mathematical progress, so necessary for astronomy. Gerbert's astronomical globes, quadrants, astrolabes and clocks were also the wonder of his age. He is said to have observed the stars through a long tube, which some have supposed to be a telescope, though probably erroneously. His fame as a teacher was so great that "half the prelates and princes of Europe had gloried in calling him master:" his acquirements so varied, they were popularly supposed to include the entire realm of knowledge. We can appreciate the stimulus given to learning when such a scholar ascended the Papal throne! With the opening of the eleventh century, another era of revival began, chiefly showing itself in the eager mastery of Greek and Arabic sources of learning. Cajori [*Hist. of Mathematics*, p. 125,] tells us that the zeal displayed in acquiring these treasures surpassed even that the Saracens had shown when plundering the rich archives of Greek and Hindu learning. Plato of Tivoli, Athelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Gerard of Cremona, were among the scholars who "braved a thousand hardships and perils" to obtain a knowledge of the algebra and astronomy of the Spanish Arabs. About the middle of the twelfth century, a little colony of Christian students had gathered at Toledo, under the leadership of Raymund, Bishop of that see, busily engaged in translating. Greek authors were also attacked. Albertus Magnus, the great Dominican, ordered fresh translations of Aristotle's works on natural science. He himself made some advance in astronomy, teaching the Milky Way to be a vast assemblage of distant stars, as also the inherent nature of lunar markings. His greater pupil, Thomas Aquinas, wrote a commentary on Aristotle's book on the heavens, which Dreyer [*Planetary Systems*] pronounces to be "probably the best written." Roger Bacon in his work on optics now pointed the way to that great invention which was so wonderfully to expand the domain of astronomy. "There is no doubt," says Smythe in his "*Bedford Catalogue*," "that Bacon's extraordinary mind conceived the telescope." We have now reached the age of Alfonso the Wise, that astronomer king whose famous "tables" replaced those of Ptolemy

² Dreyer: "*Planetary Systems*."

and the Arabs, of which the inaccuracies were becoming daily more manifest. He appears to have been the first astronomer who ventured to express open dissatisfaction with Greek cosmology, for his oft quoted remark as to the good advice he could have given, had he been consulted when the planets were set in their spheres, seems evidently a covert criticism on Ptolemy's endless epicycles. In 1401 was born Nicholas Von Cusa, son of a poor fisherman, who was later to be honored as a Cardinal of the Church. Educated at Deventer, by the Brethren of the Common Life, he traveled afterwards in Italy and became the pupil of the great Toscanelli, who encouraged Columbus to journey westward. Cusa is sometimes hailed as a precursor of Copernicus. In his "*Docta Ignorantia*" (books II. and XII.) we certainly find clear statements of the motion of the earth, which, he says, does not contradict the evidence of our senses, since motion can only be known relatively. "How," he asks, "could one in the middle of the sea know that his ship was moving?" Motion Cusa believes to be natural to all bodies. "The earth then cannot be fixed, but moves like the other stars, wherefore it revolves, as Pythagoras says, around the poles of the world once in a day and a night." The University of Vienna had become soon after its foundation in 1365 a centre for astronomic study. Here Jean de Gmuden, the elder Bianchini, and finally, George Purbach had taught. To this latter, Bailly, the French astronomer, attributes the beginnings of original work. Purbach visited Cardinal Cusa, then traveled in Italy, lecturing with great applause at Ferrara, Padua and Bologna. Later he was joined by Johann Müller, of Königsberg, known to us as Regiomontanus. The two astronomers were visited at Vienna by Cardinal Bessarion, then residing there as Papal Legate. He urged them to return with him to Italy, where they would find better Greek manuscripts for the translation of the *Almagest* on which they were engaged. Regiomontanus consented and remained seven years in Italy—this first visit leading, as we have seen, to his final recall by Pope Sixtus IV. for work on the *kalendar*. In the interval he returned to Nuremberg, where he established the first astronomical observatory in Christian Europe. Here not only instruments were constructed with an accuracy hitherto unknown, but the newly invented art of printing was pressed into the service of astronomy, and Regiomontanus published those nautical tables which were soon to guide Columbus across the wide Atlantic. Our next astronomer, Jean Fernel, was a contemporary of Copernicus. To him we are indebted for the first European attempt to determine the size of the earth. His survey was made in 1528 with an error of less than one per cent.: a most remarkable result considering the instruments then in use!

COPERNICUS AND LATER ASTRONOMERS.

A time had now come when the astronomic world was ripe for a change. Dissatisfaction with the system of Ptolemy was increasing. A new theory was needed, and this theory which was to revolutionize the science, and at the same time make fresh progress possible, was to find its promulgator in a canon and priest of the Catholic Church. Nicholas Copernicus was born in 1473, at Thorn, on the Vistula, in that most Catholic of countries, Poland, and was educated by his uncle, the Bishop of Ermland. After graduating at Cracow, like most of his predecessors, he visited Italy, studied at Ferrara, lecturing later at Padua and Bologna before classes of 2,000. He then returned to his quiet home at Frauenberg to perfect his heliocentric theory. This theory became informally known through a brief epitome, circulated among friends, entitled "*Commentariolus*," and aroused great anger—not at Rome, but at Wittenberg, Luther and Melancthon condemning it in unmeasured terms. Clement VII., on the contrary, heard it favorably. At his request, a Roman astronomer lectured in 1533 on the chief points of the theory as then set forth,³ and a little later Cardinal Schomburg wrote to Copernicus urging him to publish a complete account of his system and offering to defray the entire expense of publication.⁴ Copernicus was now joined by a young disciple, Rheticus, who had been educated by Schoner in the astronomic school still flourishing at Nuremberg. He prevailed upon Copernicus to publish, and the latter's great work was finally committed to the care of his friend Giese, Bishop of Cologne. The astronomer himself lived only long enough to receive a copy on his death bed, May 24, 1543. He had dedicated it to Pope Paul III., desiring, as he said, to offer it to the Holy Father "as to him who was distinguished by his dignity and love of science." [Bailly: *Astronomic Moderne* I., p. 362.] For nearly fifty years after his death the system of Copernicus found but few advocates. This was probably due to the influence of the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who threw all the weight of his authority against it—inventing, however, a system of his own in which all the planets, except the earth, revolved around the sun. The German astronomer Kepler now arose to defend and perfect the system of Copernicus. On Kepler's difficulties with his own Church, we cannot here dwell. Suffice it to say, both these great Northern astronomers, Tycho Brahe and Kepler, finally left their own homes to place themselves under the patronage of the Catholic Emperor, Rudolph II., whose court

³ See Berry: "*Short History of Astronomy*," p. 97.

⁴ Dreyer: "*Planetary Systems*," chapter "*Copernicus*." Bailly: "*Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne*," I., pp. 361 and 697.

astronomers they successively became; Kepler dedicating to the Emperor the calculations of a lifetime under the name of the Rudolphine Tables. We now find Galileo in Italy embracing the new theory with ardor and without restraint until, at least, the year 1616. His brilliant discoveries, his public demonstrations of many physical laws, above all, his invention and use of the telescope, by which he revealed to the astonished eyes of princes and courtiers the unknown wonders of the heavens, nightly, in the gardens of the Villa Medici gave a vogue and popularity to astronomy hitherto undreamed of. Up to the very year of his condemnation, in 1633, no astronomer had ever received such manifestations of esteem or so basked in the favor of Popes and Cardinals as had Galileo. The story of his trial and condemnation has been so often and ably told in pages accessible to the Catholic reader, that there is no need here to do more than note a few salient facts.⁵ At the very opening of the century, a circumstance had occurred which tended to discredit Copernicanism. The pseudo-philosopher Giordano Bruno, whose revolting and immoral pantheism had led to his condemnation at Rome, in 1600, had embraced that system with extravagant ardor. He was not "the first to predicate motion of the stars" nor "infinite of the universe." Cardinal Cusa had anticipated him there, but while the Cardinal had spoken reverently, as a devout believer, Bruno had drawn from these premises a denial of both Creator and creation. When, therefore, Galileo began to argue on the religious bearings of his theory, and to draw proofs of its validity from Scripture, he was at once cautioned to desist. "Write freely on mathematics and physics, but avoid theology," was the admonition conveyed to him from Cardinal Bellarmine. But Galileo persisted not only in advancing Scriptural proofs, but in treating his theory as a demonstrated fact, and pouring scorn on all who differed from him. At that period the Copernican theory was not susceptible of demonstration, since the evidences we now hold of its truth were as yet lacking. As the French astronomer, Delambre, tells us, it was not until the discovery of the law of gravitation and the aberration of light (or change in its direction due to the earth's motion,) that it became possible to prove that motion absolutely. Moreover, Galileo wrote with unpardonable asperity of all opponents—thus of Father Scheiner, the Jesuit, whose only crime lay in a difference of opinion on the matter of sun spots, with a possible claim to priority in their

⁵ See "Galileo," Catholic Encyclopedia, also Ency. Britannica. This article is by a Catholic, A. M. Clerke. An excellent account by a kindly though non-Catholic critic, the late Professor E. S. Holden, formerly of the Lick Observatory, may be found in reprint "Galileo," from "Popular Science Monthly," 1905.

discovery. Galileo writes: "This pig, this great malignant ass, makes a catalogue of my errors! But let the fellow see his bad fortune, for he was unable to deduce anything remarkable from this observation, while I discovered through it, the greatest secret in nature (i. e., the revolution of the earth.) This is what aroused him to canine rage against me."⁶ Naturally such language created enemies. Nevertheless, at repeated visits to Rome, Galileo was treated with renewed favor until the publication of his "Dialogo" in 1632. Passing over the various steps in his condemnation, we need only note that however unfortunate and mistaken this action, it is far from summing up the "attitude of the Church towards astronomy." Viewed through the perspective of centuries, the Galileo incident sinks into its proper proportion as an incident merely, not a typical illustration of Church policy. It is now conceded both that Galileo was treated with personal consideration and that the usual Papal signature was not attached either to the condemnatory decree of the Congregation of the Index, in 1616, or to the formal condemnation of 1632. Meanwhile the "correction" of Copernicus' own work, "De Revolutionibus," which had been placed upon the Index, was completed by Cardinal Gaetani in 1620, the corrections being only such as to represent the new theory as an hypothesis simply. Galileo's own works, however, remained on the Index until much later. Full justice, indeed, was not done to his memory until 1734, when the following inscription was placed over his tomb in Santa Croce: "Galileus Galilei, geometriae, astronomiae, philosophiae, maximus restitutor, nulli aetatis suae comparandus." It seems strange to note in this connection that astronomical opposition to Copernicus should at this time have proceeded largely from non-Catholics. Tycho Brahe and his disciple, Longomontanus, would have none of it, while Sir Francis Bacon, in England, was severe in his disapproval. On the other hand, both Bouillard and Gassendi defended it in France without apparent sense of disloyalty to the Church. Ismael Bouillaud, born in London, 1605, and probably the first astronomer-convert to become a Catholic priest, published his "Philolaus, or True System of the World," at Paris, 1639, while Gassendi's controversy on the subject with Father Riccioli, S. J., appeared in epistolary form in 1642.⁷ Contemporary with Galileo, a brilliant gathering of Jesuit astronomers flourished at Rome and made the observatory of the Collegio Romano famous. This college had been founded by St. Francis Borgia in the time of Paul III. The present buildings date from that of Gregory XIII., whence it has been sometimes styled

⁶ Opera, "Galileo," "Edizione Nazionale," Vol. XVI., p. 391.

⁷ Bailly: "Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne," Vol. II., p. 209.

the Gregorian University. Here Father Clavius completed his calculations on the kalendar: here he invented the Vernier (for which credit has been so long denied him). Here Father Scheiner, despite Galileo's abuse, observed sun spots and wrote his great work on the same, "*Rosa Ursina*." Here Father Grienberger mounted the first equatorial telescope and Father Cysatus turned his tube to the great comet of 1618, and here (or at Ingolstadt) first glimpsed the great nebula in Orion, thus opening up an entirely new branch of astronomy. Here, finally, and at Bologna, Father Riccioli wrote his famous *Encyclopedia of Astronomy*, the *New Almagest*, and with Father Grimaldi studied and mapped out the face of the moon.* Another Catholic astronomer was just at this time, making a specialty of lunar topography—Hevelius of Danzig, that old city of the Teutonic knights, wrested from them at the Reformation, From Rome to Danzig, letters passed back and forth between the selenographers, written in such courteous wise that Galileo might well have blushed had he seen them. Hevelius made also an extensive catalogue of stars, which he named in honor of the great Polish hero, the Firmament of Sobieski, and in touching tribute to his Catholic faith, singled out one small asterism upon which he bestowed the title of Sobieski's Shield. "Behold," he said, "the buckler of the faith which this prince has raised against the enemies of religion." The scene of astronomic activity now shifts awhile to France. In 1635 Cardinal Richelieu had founded the French Academy to emulate that of the Lincei at Rome (the first scientific academy in Europe, 1603) from this time the Academy of Science, 1666, which in turn established the Observatory of Paris. Here for two centuries an unrivaled series of astronomers labored and throughout the eighteenth century, in geodetic measurements, in planetary and gravitational astronomy France reigned supreme! The array of great names, indeed, is quite dazzling! Here Auzout and Picard first used their telescopic "sights." Here the Cassini family held rank as directors for four generations—Giovanni Domenico Cassini, the discover of Jupiter's rotation and of the satellites of Saturn, having been drawn thither from Northern Italy. Hither, too, the non-Catholic astronomers Roëmer and Huyghens were attracted by the fame of the observatory. From hence Richer took his epoch making voyage to Cayenne to investigate the spheroidal form of the earth and the diminution of gravity at the Equator. Here the geodetic expeditions of Bouguer, de la Condamine and de Maupertius were organized to establish definitely

* Till 1870 it remained under Jesuit direction—"since when," writes the Anglican, Hare, somewhat bitterly, "men like Carducci, the poet who glorified Satan and wrote a hymn in defense of Judas Iscariot, sit among its professors." "Walks in Rome," Vol. I., p. 56.

the shape and size of our little globe. Thence, early in the eighteenth century, the "Columbus of the Southern Skies," Abbé Nicholas Louis de la Caille, sailed to distant seas to observe over 10,000 stars between the Tropic of Capricorn and the South Pole. Here Messier, whom Louis XV. styled his "ferret of comets," paved the way for Herschel's future work, by his observance of Nebulae. Clairault and D'Alembert won fame by their solutions of the "Problems of Three Bodies," while those giants of astronomy, La Grange and La Place, wrested from Urania the secrets of "The Stability of the Solar System"⁹ and the "Mechanism of the Heavens." The list is far from complete: The names of Lalande, Damoiseau, Pontecoulant and a score of others who shed lustre on the early nineteenth century, of Le Verrier, the discoverer of Neptune, of Fizeau and Foucault, whose experiments determined definitely the velocity of light, should be added, but time fails.

OBSERVATORIES UNDER CATHOLIC PATRONAGE.

The examples of Rome and Paris had now awakened the Catholic powers of Europe, who began with one accord to bestir themselves in the cause of astronomy. In 1756 Maria Theresa founded the Observatory of Vienna, placing it under Jesuit direction. Here labored Fathers Hell and Triesnecker: here, later, Palisa discovered his sixty-eight planetoid (while Charlois of Nice won 92); here also Von Oppolzer propounded his solar theory, while later Father Von Oppolzer discussed the acceleration of comets in the neighboring observatory of Josephstadt. In 1751 the Society of Jesus erected an observatory at Prague in connection with the college of the Clementinum, founded by Clement VI., 1347. Those of the Mazarin, Marseilles, Lyons, Toulouse were founded in France, partly through governmental and partly through ecclesiastical action. Bologna, long a centre of astronomical work, saw its present observatory raised in 1724, under Papal supervision. Those of Florence and Milan were in part Jesuit foundations. The former was removed to Arcetri by the Italian Government in 1870 (who were, however, too poor to equip it.) Milan held its own, thanks to the fame of its director, Giovanni Schiaparelli, whose name will be ever memorable in connection with the Canals of Mars and his measurements of double stars. In the kingdom of the two Sicilies three observatories owe their erection to royal bounty. In 1780 Prince Caramico, a lover of science, lent a ready ear to the appeal of the Theatine, Father Piazzi, and an ancient Saracenic palace at Palermo was very thoroughly if somewhat incongru-

⁹ La Grange's conclusions on this subject are not now accepted absolutely.

ously equipped by him as a modern observatory (though Flaumarian calls it the "gift of Clement VII.") Thither in 1791 Father Piazzi brought his great five foot circle, the most perfect measuring instrument hitherto employed by any astronomer. He soon began his measures of the "proper motions" of stars and first called attention to the so-called "flying star" in the constellation Cygnus. (This name has been given later to a class of stars whose motions exceed the power of gravitational control to account for.) Piazzi is better known as the discoverer of the first planetoid, by whose observation he inaugurated the opening of the nineteenth century. The observatories of Naples and Catania followed that of Palermo, where De Gasperis and Tacchini vied in fame with Piazzi. Turin, Padua and Modena were outgrowths of their several universities. At Rome the Jesuits continued till the suppression of their order, when Father Calandrelli, a secular priest, replaced them till the Restoration in 1824. Then began the era of Fathers De Vico, Sestini and, above all, Secchi. Twice have the little band been put to flight—by the Revolution of '48 and again in 1870. At this last juncture Father Secchi took refuge in Georgetown, but was recalled by the protests of the scientific world. The Jesuits, however, have since equipped a distinct observatory of their own at Rome. While under Leo XIII., the Leonine Tower of the Vatican was converted into an observatory, now under the direction of Father Hagen, S. J., renowned for his "Atlas of Variable Stars." Meanwhile at Graz, in Styria, and at Lemberg in Galicia, the Jesuits established observatories, which were allowed to fall into decay on their suppression. In 1748 the Benedictine Observatory of Kremsmünster was erected; in 1753, those of Tyrnau, Hungary, and Wilna, Lithuania, Father Poczabut, S. J., being summoned to direct the latter. About 1772 those of San Antonio, Lisbon, Coimbra and Madrid, Spain, followed, and a little later the Jesuits established one at Havana in connection with the Colegio de Belen. In 1772 an observatory was erected at Mannheim by the Elector Theodore of the Palatine and committed to the care of Father Christian Mayer, whose suggestions as to physically double stars, though ridiculed at the time, have since proved so fruitful. In Northern Germany scientific work had been retarded by political troubles. But in 1789, at the persuasion of Baron Francis Xavier Von Zach, a formal astronomic congress was held at Gotha under Duke Ernest II. and the observatory of Seeburg built to become the residence of Von Zach, whose "*Monatliche Correspondenz*," begun in 1000, became so effective an agent in reawaking interest in astronomy—soon to see such wonderful developments! On July 1, 1801, the fall of some houses in a Munich

alley led to a shocking accident. But one survivor, an orphan boy of fourteen, escaped, alive, though injured. The Elector Maximilian Joseph, a witness of the scene, presented the lad with a purse containing eighteen ducats. This was the first astronomical equipment of the young Fraunhofer, whose discovery of the "Fraunhofer lines" in the solar spectrum was to open a wholly new line of research, that of astro-physics, and tell the world of what the stars were made. But Fraunhofer was primarily an optician. The Optical Institute of Munich had been founded in 1804 by Von Reichenbach. Fraunhofer joined him and the two worked together at the fashioning of those giant lenses which were to revolutionize the telescope of the future and reveal the yet unsuspected wealth of creation. In 1809 the Royal Observatory of Munich was founded. In 1824 the great Dorpat lens brought Fraunhofer a title of nobility. Two years later he died from overwork at 39—a great optician and a devout Catholic. His tomb at Munich bears the words, "Approximavit Sidera!" In 1838 the Jesuits founded their observatory at Stonyhurst, England, destined to become so prominent a factor in solar work under Fathers Perry, Sidgreaves and Cortie. In 1842-43 the Jesuit Observatory of Georgetown College, D. C., was built. A few of our American observatories claim precedence, but we are told on good authority¹⁰ that it was not until 1843, when the lectures of Dr. Mitchel awakened popular interest, deepened by the appearance of the great comet of that year, that our government was aroused to establish a national observatory. To the same causes Harvard owes its observatory. In 1878 the generosity of Cardinal Haynald equipped an observatory at Kalocsa, near Budapest. Here Von Konkoly, Fathers Schreiber and Fenyi, S. J., have pursued their solar, spectroscopic and meteorological work. The Royal Observatory, Brussels, founded in 1829, first became prominent through the demonstrations of Quetelet as to the orbit and periodicity of the famous meteor stream of 1833—the connection of these fiery showers with the débris of superannuated comets being a subject ably pursued by Catholic astronomers from Le Verrier to Schiaparelli. In staunch Protestant Holland, at Valkenburgh in 1896, an observatory was erected on the northeast corner of St. Ignatius' College. Its "equatorial" was exhibited at the late World's Fair, Chicago. Its special work, under Fathers Baur and Hisgen, is in variable star-observation. Finally, in 1902 and 1904, the Observatories of Granada and Tortosa, Spain, under Jesuit direction, were added to our list of observatories founded under Catholic patronage.

¹⁰ Clerke: "History of Astronomy in the Nineteenth Century," p. 8.

Turning now to the Church's work in missionary fields, we find that from earliest times the Catholic missionary has been a noted contributor to scientific record. We have seen how the early Celtic missionary first gave the European astronomers knowledge of the strange celestial phenomena of the far North. In like manner the priests who accompanied the Portuguese navigators to Goa, India, and those who sailed Westward with Columbus brought us tidings of the Southern skies. "The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India," by Pietro Martire d'Aughiera, an Italian writer, anglicized by Richard Eden, of Mary Tudor's time, give us frequent glimpses of their work, including a mention of the Southern Cross—the double and multiple nature of whose chief stars was first recognized by the Jesuits Fontaney, Noel and Richaud in 1681. So the Dominicans and Franciscans who followed Cortez to Mexico have given us a detailed account of the Aztec system of astronomy. The Dominicans and Fathers of Mercy with Pizarro have done the same for Peru. Humboldt's account of his voyages to Latin America are full of allusions to the scientific labors of these holy men. Piedrahita, Bishop of Panama, in his "*Historia General de las Conquistas*," (Madrid, 1688) gives similar annals. "Our first detailed knowledge" (of ancient astronomy,) writes Professor Forbes, of Glasgow,¹¹ "was gathered by travelers and by the Jesuit priests. The two principal sources of knowledge about Chinese astronomy were supplied first by Father Souciet, who in 1729 published 'observations, astronomical,' etc., drawn from ancient Chinese books, and later by Father Moyriac de Mailla, who, in 1777-1785, published the 'Annals of the Chinese Empire,' translated from Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou." The French astronomer Jean Sylvain Bailly obtained the materials for his "*Histories of Hindu and Oriental Astronomies*" from the tables and records furnished him by French missionaries. The monumental researches of Fathers Epping, Strassmaier and Kugler in the field of Babylonian astronomy are too well known to need quotation. So, too, is that of Père Scheil. Father Kircher was the first of Egyptologists. But the most systematic astronomical work has been that of the Jesuit missionaries in connection with their regularly founded observatories. Shortly before the year 1600 Père Schall, S. J., became tutor to the young prince, Cham-hi, who when he mounted the throne of China, summoned the Jesuits to the charge of the royal department of mathematics. In 1668, just a year after the foundation of the Paris Observatory, a sister institute was equipped in distant Peking, under Father Verbiest. Here Fathers Gouye, Fontaney, Ricci, Gautil and Souciet continued to do admirable

¹¹ Clerke, "*Short History of Astronomy*," p. 9.

work until the "suppression." The Losé Observatory, near Shanghai, is now in the hands of the Jesuits. Its present director, Father Chevalier, recently received the Legerot gold medal from the Paris Geographical Society as well as a prize of three thousand francs from the French Academy for astronomical meteorological work. The Jesuit Observatory of Tananarivo, Madagascar, is doing excellent geodetic work. Incidentally it is the highest in the world, 1400 meters above the sea level (Lick Observatory being only 1300 meters.) The Geographical Society of Paris some few years since bestowed upon its directors, Father Colin and Roblet, the Herbert Fournet prize (the greatest at their disposal) for their map of Madagascar. Jesuit missionary maps have won a high reputation. Behind this brief statement he hid many thrilling tales of danger and adventure in mountain passes or on thirsty, trackless deserts, upon which we may not enter. The Observatory of St. Francis Xavier, near Calcutta, was founded by Father Lafont, who was made Fellow of the University of Calcutta and received the decoration of the "Indian Star." That of Manila began its present work in 1865, although astronomic observations had been taken for some years previously. Father Algué, its director (1904) has rendered valuable service to the shipping interests of the far East. His barocyclometer is on board every ship. But the "Atlas of the Philippines" will appeal more to American readers. In 1900 he was invited by the United States Government to superintend the printing of the large work, "El Archipielago Filipino." It comprises thirty maps of 1725 islands, with an area of nearly 12,000 square miles. Professor H. S. Pritchett, superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, pronounced it the best yet made. ["Jesuit Astronomy" pamphlet by Fathers Schreiber and Rigge, S. J.]

We have now reached a point where the numbers and activity of Catholic astronomers have become so manifold as to render farther outline impossible in this brief sketch. Moreover, the secularization of Europe on foundations withdraws them from Church patronage. Yet the old foundations continue in the forefront of activity, and to any who desire to follow their course farther, either along the trodden lines of work or in the newer departments of astral physics or celestial photography—as in the magnificent scheme inaugurated under Admiral Mouchez and the Brothers Henry, of the Paris Observatory—the standing and ability of Catholic astronomers will become at once apparent, as we trust the Church's attitude toward the same has already become.

E. VON RYCKEN WILSON.

New York.

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN—A CHAPTER OF MEDIÆVAL
CHURCH HISTORY.

Sven Magnus Gronberger, the author of this, was a native of Sweden, who came to this country about thirty years ago, worked in a drug store in New York for a time, studied law in the offices of the late Judge Samuel Maddox, and gradually gave himself a higher education, until he secured a place on the library staff of the Smithsonian Institution. While there he wrote a series of monographs in anthropology and zoology, and was just about to receive his Ph. D. when he died of cancer, April 24, 1916. He felt himself that he owed his conversion partly to his studies, partly to the example of a Catholic employer who had been extremely kind to him when he first came to this country and worked in a drug store. Gronberger came to know him as a very faithful Catholic, whose life exemplified his faith. He was finally won over to the Church by the kindness of the good Dominican Sisters who when he was just past thirty nursed him through a severe illness at St. Catherine's Hospital, in Brooklyn. As I said in a sketch of him which appeared in the "Ave Maria" November 18 and 25, 1916, he knew enough to make him a Catholic before this, for he had studied the subject carefully; it is not the intellect that makes converts eventually, however, but the heart. "The charm of the simple, straightforward activity for the benefit of others of the good Dominican Sisters, and above all the spirit of abiding faith in all they did, touched Gronberger's heart until he finally felt compelled to become a Catholic."

The conversion of Gronberger is all the more interesting because he had an eminently scientific mind, and many people seem to think that science and faith are at least somewhat incompatible. Not long after his conversion Gronberger gave up the law and became assistant librarian at the Smithsonian Library in Washington. He knew practically all the modern languages, especially the Scandinavian, talked French like a native, because it was the family language at home, and knew Latin and Greek well. It is easy to understand how useful he was in the library, but he was not satisfied with work for others. He made a series of independent scientific researches. He wrote a series of papers on scientific subjects in Washington, one rather exhaustive monograph on the "Palearctic Birds of Greenland," another on "The Frogs of the District of Columbia," and he had written monographs on "The Origin of the Goths" and the use of museums for popular education. Instead of losing his faith in the midst of these varied scientific studies it became ever deeper and stronger, and as a form of thank offering for his conversion and the consolation that the Church had proved to him for more than a dozen years of busy scientific life, he wanted to write something particularly Catholic, so he devoted himself during leisure hours to a sketch of the life of one of the great old patron saints of his native country, Sweden, consulting all the available sources in this country as well as memorials from Sweden to make it as complete as possible.

St. Briggitt, or Brigid or Bridget, of Sweden is one of the great women educators as well as saints of the pre-Reformation period. The famous Monastery of Syon, where that beautiful cope was made which is one of the precious treasures of the South Kensington Museum, London, and whose library was recently brought into prominence by the republication of its catalogue by Miss Bateson, was a Briggittine foundation made from the famous mother monastery of Vadstena, in Sweden. The English and Swedish royal families intermarried then as they do now, and Philippa,

the English Queen of Sweden, wanted to benefit her native country by giving it the benefit of one of these foundations which she herself had found so interesting and valuable and which had proved such a refuge in the early days of her life in Sweden when she was homesick in a strange land. Very naturally a Swedish convert like Gronberger would turn to write the story of these glorious old Church times in Sweden; hence this life of St. Brigitt is a tribute of gratitude and an earnest of the good judgment of this very intelligent Swedish Catholic.

JAMES J. WALSH.

THE history of Scandinavia, when compared with that of the rest of Europe, commenced late. The earliest mention of that remote part of the world was made by Pytheas, a Greek navigator, born at Massilia, the present Marseille, in the fourth century before Christ. It should also be remembered that Tacitus, in his history entitled "*Germania*,"¹ referred to the inhabitants of Scandinavia as "*Suiones*," or "*Swedes*."² With the introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia in the ninth century by St. Ansgarius, otherwise known as St. Ansgar or Anskar, a French prelate from Corbie, near Amiens, in France, its history becomes better known, and toward the latter part of the eleventh century Adam of Bremen, in his remarkable work on the Archbishops of Hamburg and Bremen, devoted a great deal of attention to the condition of the northern kingdom. In the year 826 Harold the Sixth, King of Denmark, came to the city of Mayence, or Mainz, in Germany, accompanied by his wife and son, and asked for baptism and a priest to return with him to Denmark. It was then that St. Ansgar volunteered his services. After a long stay in Scandinavia the latter returned to Germany and was made Archbishop of Hamburg in 834 and of Bremen in 849. Four years later he went to Sweden and was received with open arms by the King and inhabitants, whereupon he returned to Germany, where he died, as Archbishop of Hamburg, in 865.

With the Christianization of Scandinavia, and especially Sweden, a new era commenced for that kingdom and heathen practices and worship were gradually relegated to the past—a process requiring perhaps several centuries. Toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, it may be considered that Christianity, the faith and teachings of the Catholic Church, had secured a firm foothold in that northern land. The religious and spiritual life of the period, which in the south of Europe had received the impulse of the noble and self-sacrificing faith of Christ from the beginning of the Christian era, or at least since the time of the Council of Nicea in 325 and the Christianization of the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great, had already commenced to show signs of moral weakness

¹ "*De Origine, Situ, Moribus ac ipsis pullis Germaniae*."

² "*Gotones*" and "*Gothlni*," Goths.

and decay, due chiefly to the maladministration of holy offices by a priesthood rendered corrupt by growing ecclesiastical wealth and luxury. One of the earliest voices to be raised against the moral degradation of the period was William Durandus, surnamed the Speculator, the famous prelate and jurist who suggested to Pope Clement V. that the Church needed rejuvenation and regeneration in all its members.³ Another famous character who was to appear shortly after Durandus' time, and who is the subject of this sketch, is St. Bridget of Sweden, by many called the great St. Bridget, who, although always a loyal daughter of the Church, raised an earnest voice and uttered a loud note of warning against the disintegrating tendencies of the mediæval Church.

On the eastern shore of Lake Vetter in Sweden there is a small town named Vadstena, the picturesque outlines of which are beautifully reflected in the crystal clear waters of the lake. As the traveler approaches the town there loom up in the distance the towers of a splendidly preserved castle built by Gustavus Vasa, celebrated in Swedish history and folklore by the romantic adventures of the Princess Cecilia Vasa and her lover, Count John of Ostfriesland. The dungeon where the latter was confined for a number of years as a punishment for his gallantry is still pointed out to visitors, and a window is also shown from which, on a bright moonlight night, Gustavus' son, the demented Duke Magnus of Ostrogothia, enticed by the Lady of the Lake, is said to have leaped into the waters surrounding the castle. The greatest historical association connected with this little town, however, is the name of the great S. Bridget of Sweden. In this place may be seen to-day the original Brittain monastery with its picturesque walls and apple orchards, as well as the old monastery church adjoining it. When the visitor enters these ancient precincts permeated by the fragrance of mediæval mysticism and romance and stands upon the ground trod by a saintly woman whose name and achievements half a thousand years have been unable to efface, he is mentally and almost against his will carried back to a time when the name of Scandinavia's most famous daughter resounded throughout the Christian world. The period in which that woman lived was one of the most stirring in history, and remarkable from many other points of view than that here under consideration.

The ancestors of St. Bridget or, more properly, Birgitta or Brigitta, were the kings of the Folkunga dynasty of Sweden. One of these was Judge or "Lagman" Magnus Minneskjöld, the owner of the beautiful castle of Ulfosa, on the southern shore of Lake Boren, in Ostrogothia. His son was the famous Birger of Bjelbo,

³ "Eam in capite, quam in membris."

or Birger Jarl, regent of Sweden during the minority of his son Waldemar (1250-1266) and founder of Stockholm. His brother Benedict of "Bengt," the heir of Ulfosa, had married a poor girl of noble family, and these were the grandparents of Birgitta. His wife was called "Skön Sigrid," or beautiful Sigrid, and her only daughter Ingeborg married Birger Peterson, a descendant of St. Eric and Judge or "Lagman" of Upland. It is said of Birger that he, being a very pious man, like his father and grandfather before him, intended to visit Rome, Compostella and Palestine in order to worship at the sacred shrines in these places. It appears, however, that he only got as far as Rome, where Pope Boniface VIII., for reasons unknown to history, dissuaded him from proceeding farther and enjoined him to return home. His wife Ingeborg had three sons, Peter, Benedict and Israel, and four daughters, Ingrid, Margaret and Catherine, the last being our Birgitta, or St. Bridget.

Although the exact year of her birth is not known with certainty, it is commonly believed that she was born in the year 1303 at the palace of Finstad (not Instad), in the district of Roslagen, Upland. She was spoken of in the bull of her canonization as "*Vidua Birgitta, quam vulgares Brigidam appellant*," and her religious feast day was fixed on the eighth of October, or, as the "*Acta Sanctorum*" has it, "*Octava Octobris*." Physically she seems to have been of somewhat small stature, and as a child remained mute until she was nearly four years of age, when, according to tradition, she suddenly commenced to speak with the perfection of an adult. It should be remembered that the history of St. Bridget of Sweden is surrounded with a good deal of obscurity, owing to the remote period and the comparatively little known country in which she lived, although in contrast with the somewhat legendary St. Bridget of Ireland she is an entirely historical personage. Probably in the year 1314, and before Birgitta was 12 years of age, her mother died and she was placed in the care of a maternal aunt named Ingrid, the wife of Lagman Knut Jonsson of Aspenäs, in Ostrogothia. This Ingrid is said to have been a woman of great austerity and opposed to all spiritual and sentimental exaggerations. Whether or not Bridget was taught to read and write under her supervision is not well known, but that she was made proficient in manual occupations, such as sewing, embroidery, etc., is quite certain. She early developed a strong religious tendency and is said to have had her first vision when about eight years of age. Christ's passion was her favorite subject, and thereafter she is said to have had almost constant visions or revelations. One night, as she was kneeling before a crucifix and trembling with the cold of her apartment, she was surprised by her Aunt Ingrid, who is said to have scolded her se-

verely for her folly in getting out of bed in the middle of the night for such a purpose and proceeded to apply the rod to the child. At the first touch, however, the rod broke and crumbled to pieces, after which event Ingrid changed her tactics in the treatment of her youthful charge. When she had reached her thirteenth year, her father, according to the severe customs of the times, announced to her not only that he wished her to marry, but that he had selected a suitable young man as her husband. This youth was Ulf Gudmarson, the son of Gudmar Magnusson, a Lagman of Westrogothia and a close personal and political friend of her father. Ulf was then only a stripling of 19 years of age, but the customs of the period sanctioned early marriages. The wedding, which probably took place in 1316, was at first very much against Bridget's personal inclination and two years are supposed to have elapsed before the couple entered into the marriage relation. Bridget would very much have preferred to remain single and lead a strictly religious life, but her filial duty and devotion seem to have overcome any conscientious scruples she may have had. As time wore on, Bridget bore her husband no less than eight children, the oldest of whom was her son Karl, and then Birger, Martha, Gudmar, Catherine, afterward beatified as St. Catherine, the national saint of Sweden; Ingeborg, Benedict and the daughter Cecilia. Nils Hermansson, a priest, who afterward died as Bishop of Linköping, the episcopal seat of the diocese embracing Ostrogothia, was selected as tutor for her children.

The scene of the quiet and serene home life which now followed was the castle of Ulfosa, perhaps so named after Bridget's husband, Ulf. At this period Bridget had become widely known for her deep piety and charity, and at Ulfosa she assembled around her daily the women and children of her estate, whom she taught needlework, partly for the ornamentation of churches and partly to assist the poor, while she herself read to them passages from the Bible or from some of the religious books of which the period was so productive. Here also Bridget set apart a large house, in which the sick and the poor were given a hospitable asylum; she cared for them personally and is said to have washed their feet in imitation of the Saviour; nor did she shrink from attending those afflicted with contagious and loathsome diseases. Like all the rest of her family, she was an obedient child of the Catholic Church, and had selected as her spiritual adviser and father confessor one Matthias, Canon of the Cathedral of Linköping. This priest had graduated as master of theology and philosophy at the University of Paris, and Bridget caused him to translate the Bible into Swedish,

a fragment of which, a paraphrase from the Pentateuch, is still in existence.

Pilgrimages or visits to holy places, no matter how distant, formed one of the principal expressions of the piety of this period—a fact calculated to arouse our admiration in view of the primitive traveling facilities of that age. During the Middle Ages these consisted chiefly of foot-travel, horseback riding, the use of asses and donkeys and horse or oxcarts. The first pilgrimage which Bridget and her husband undertook was made to the tomb of St. Olaf, at Drontheim, or Trondhjelm, in Norway, a saint of great renown in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages. This pilgrimage probably took place between 1335 and 1337 A. D. The second and by far the more important pilgrimage was made in 1341, according to one of Ulf's original manuscripts, to Santiago de Compostella, in Northwestern Spain, the journey being commenced on May 22 of that year. On the way to Compostella the pilgrims visited Cologne, the ancient Colonia Agrippinensis, where they worshipped at the tombs of the Magi; Aix-la-Chapelle, where the cathedral and the supposed burial place of Charlemagne became the objects of their attention, and Tarascon, where reposed the bones of St. Martha. At the latter place the pilgrims ascended Mont Saint-Baume in order to worship in the grotto where Mary Magdalen, according to tradition, had spent many years in solitude and meditation solaced by the angels. Finally Compostella was reached, and here the tomb of St. James was at once visited. This St. James, the elder one of that name, had been beheaded at the command of the Jewish King Herodes I. Agrippa and, according to an old Spanish tradition, had for some years previously labored as a Christian apostle in Spain. After his execution in Palestine his remains are said to have been brought to Northwestern Spain and interred there, and later, in the ninth century, they were disinterred and, at royal command, brought to Compostella and there entombed in a magnificent church. This tradition has been discredited by Protestant historians, but the fact remains that from the earliest Christian times the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella has been looked upon as the final resting place of the relics of St. James, the national saint of Spain, and as such it has been and still remains the object of innumerable pilgrimages. From Compostella the pilgrims returned to Scandinavia, and it is said that, according to the custom of the period, each member of the pilgrimage had received a mussel shell, to be worn on the left side of the mantle, in token of the accomplished pilgrimage. At Arras, in Northern France, Bridget's husband, Ulf, fell dangerously ill and for a time his life was despaired of, but he eventually recovered, at least sufficiently to resume the homeward journey.

It has been maintained by some that upon their return to Sweden Ulf Gudmarson now became a confirmed invalid and his spouse resolved to resign the world and enter a convent. Such an intention on their part, however, is subject to considerable doubt, or at least it was not immediately realized. On March 19, 1343, Ulf was still "Lagman" in Nericia, and on that day visited the Cistercian Convent of Rieseberga, in which his daughter Ingeborg was a nun. On November 18 of the same year Ulf was present at the negotiations carried on between the Swedish King Magnus II., "Smek," and the Danish King Waldemar Atterdag. It seems, therefore, hardly probable that he could have had time to enter the Cistercian Monastery of Alvastra in the quality of a monk, and that he and Bridget had been enabled to carry out their resolution to abandon the world for the rest of their lives and devote themselves exclusively to the Church, even if such had been their intention while Ulf was still alive. The fact remains that Ulf died at Alvastra without, however, having assumed monastic orders, and was buried within the precincts of the monastery. Upon his death it seems that his widow, Bridget, immediately endeavored to sacrifice his memory as unworthy of one who had resolved henceforth to lead a strictly religious and spiritual life, unfettered by worldly attractions. Even the token of a ring which Ulf had placed upon her finger could not dissuade her from this purpose.

At the time of her husband's death Bridget's son Gudmar had already died, and her eldest daughter, Margaretha or Martha, who was born about 1320, had married, much against her mother's will, a nobleman by name of Sigvid Ribbing, a man of the world, whose reputation was none of the best. Benedict or Bengt had also died at an early age, but the sons Karl and Birger still survived. Birger was her favorite son, while Karl caused her much worry on account of his "worldliness" and gallant habits. The three youngest children were Catherine, who was born about 1332, and married to the Knight Eggard Lyderon van Kyren; Ingeborg, who became a nun in the Convent of Riseberga, in Nericia, about 1341, and Cecilia, who did not join the Church and was probably unmarried at the time of her father's death.

The reigning King of Sweden and Norway at this time was Magnus Eriksson, surnamed "Smek," on account of his effeminate manners.⁴ Magnus had married Blanche, daughter of the Comte de Namur. It has been stated that Bridget was appointed Grand Mistress of the Palace or Mistress of the Robes to Queen Blanche, as in the Latin text of the "*Revelationes extravagantes*," chapter 59, a mention is made of the time when Bridget was "*Magistra*

⁴ "Smek" or "smeka" in Swedish means to flatter, caress, cajole.

Reginae Blancae quoniam Reginae Suctiae." This chapter is not found in the Swedish text, nor is the circumstance mentioned in any of the contemporaneous biographies, although the fact remains that she maintained intimate relations with the court. As a woman of high birth and a relative of the royal family, she naturally had access to the highest society circles and even to the court, although her connection with the latter seems chiefly to have been in the nature of a spiritual guide and teacher of morals. She even went so far as to lay down minute rules of conduct for the King, and in extenuation of the shortcomings of the latter it must be said that had he been able to guide himself entirely in accordance with Bridget's precepts, he would have deserved to share her own reputation as a saint.

Queen Blanche is said to have taken a great fancy to Bridget from the commencement of their acquaintance. The Queen soon began to look upon the older woman as a second mother, as she was then only 16 or 17 years of age, and had become a mother before she was 15. The fame of Bridget's piety had now spread far and wide, and many sought the assistance of one who was supposed to maintain such close relationship with God and His saints. But there were also many who were disagreeably impressed by her strict requirements of piety and purity, and especially was this the case with the higher aristocracy of the capital, Stockholm. It was even whispered that she was a witch, and serious harm might have befallen her but for the fear of her powerful family and gallant sons. An example of this may be cited, the truth of which has been vouched for: Squite Knut (Canute) Folkesson, a man of high birth and also a relative of Bridget, observed with secret displeasure that the King, guided by her counsel, was leading a better and more moral life, which naturally tended to lessen his own influence on the monarch. Knut did not hesitate to give free vent to his resentment. One day, as Bridget was walking along one of the narrow streets of Stockholm and passed by a house where Folkesson, knowing of her approach, had stationed himself, he opened one of the windows and emptied the contents of a vessel of dirty water on the head of the passing widow. This is only a minor instance of the humiliations which Bridget had to endure, but she bore all her trials with much patience and humility, and is said to have prayed for her enemies, after the teaching of Christ. Once Bridget was told that a certain priest had received a commission as taxgatherer and that he was very severe in his exactions from the poor people. She spoke to the King about the matter, and as a result the priest lost his job—a fact which he bitterly resented and took Bridget severely to task for her interference. After several

remonstrations and the priest still remaining obdurate, Bridget finally told him that unless he mended his ways and improved his morals, God would mete out a severe judgment to him. A short time afterward this priest perished in a miserable manner—in the founding of a church bell the mould burst and he was caught in the molten metal and burnt to death. Innumerable instances of a similar nature were related of Bridget and greatly added to her reputation as a prophetess and a foreteller of future events.

While still at the court of Stockholm Bridget had several revelations, of which the following is typical: "I saw the heavens very dim and darkened, although the sun and moon were shining brightly. Good and evil angels seemed to be fighting with the sun and moon. The bad angels did not get the upper hand until a terrible dragon appeared, before which the sun first paled and then became black and the moon fled behind the earth. And then, when I looked at the earth, I saw that it was full of reptiles and serpents which devoured everything on its surface and killed the inhabitants with their tails until the sun fell from the heavens and the place of the moon was found no more." This vision, which remained a mystery to Bridget for eleven years, and probably had reference to the future calamities of the Church, is a typical example of mediæval religious mysticism.

It is said that after leaving the court Bridget and Ulf returned to Ulfosa, although their movements at this period are somewhat obscure. Bridget, who had intended to fit up the old castle somewhat more luxuriously, is said to have experienced one day a violent blow on her head and heard a voice saying, "When I hung upon the cross, I had no place whereon to rest My head, but thou seekest comfort and rest for thine." From that time on she is said to have slept upon some straw covered with bearskin or on the bare floor, and to have worn a shirt of horsehair next to her body, which is known to be a very severe physical discomfort. At the time of the birth of her last child, which caused her much suffering, she had a vision of the Holy Virgin, who is supposed to have safely delivered her.

As already indicated, Ulf Gudmarson died at the Monastery of Alvastra in the year 1344. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Monastery and Church of Alvastra are situated about twelve miles from Vadstena, in a beautiful location at the foot of Mount Omberg, in Ostrogothia, near Lake Vetter, and the picturesque ruins of the monastery are still to be seen. Shortly after the death of her husband Bridget secured permission to take up her residence in a house situated on the northern side of the monastery church at Alvastra, and not, as has been stated, in a cell in the mon-

astery proper. This would have been quite impossible owing to the severe rules of the Cistercian Order, which required the strict separation of monks and nuns. According to a tradition, Bridget is said to have lived in this secluded retreat for a period of about four years, which is not strictly in accordance with the truth, as she seems to have been much inclined to travel, her lodging, of course, being reserved for her during these periodical absences.

Among other things, it appears that the prior or abbot of Alvastra had accorded Christian burial to an excommunicated person, which was considered a serious offense against ecclesiastical discipline. Bridget, who had been present at the Requiem Mass, was told in one of her visions that the prior had been tempted by avarice to this action and that God would soon cause the prior's death. When she had told the prior of these revelations he became sincerely penitent and died three days later, as it is canonically termed, "a good death." At Alvastra Bridget also met the monk Peter Olafsson, well known for learning and piety, who became her future confessor and accompanied her on her foreign pilgrimages.

In one of her visions at Alvastra Bridget claimed to have beheld her husband in Purgatory, and he told her that God had especially reproved him for his fondness of banquets, the fact that in his young days he had loved wine "not wisely, but too well," for his love of the chase, horses and hounds, rich clothing and furniture, etc.

Bridget's life at Alvastra was of a very austere nature. At the time of her husband's death she had donned a rope of horsehair around her body, tied into many knots, and from her knees to her ankles she wore the same kind of cords tightly bound. These were never removed, not even in illness. Over a shirt, also made of horsehair, she wore a dress of coarse homespun material, and the only linen she used was a veil; linen had at that period only recently been introduced in Sweden and must have been considered a luxury. She fasted on four days of the week and her nights were mostly spent in prayers. On Fridays she subsisted only on bread and water, and she was in the habit of chewing gentian root, in imitation of the gall and vinegar given to Christ on the cross. Every night she recited the Rosary, sometimes prostrate on the floor in the form of a cross, and at other times she used to kneel and kiss the ground at each Ave Maria.

While at Alvastra she is also said to have predicted the death of a lay Brother named Gerrechinus, one of the inmates of the monastery, who had appeared scandalized by the thought of a woman becoming a postulant there. He is reported to have said, "What would our holy father, Bernard (of Clairvaux), have said to this?"

He would not even look at his own sister unveiled." The Brother, however, did not give expression to his thoughts, but kept his own counsel. Finally it was announced to him in a vision that Bridget knew the secret of his thoughts, and that she would shortly predict his own death. Seeking an interview with Bridget, the latter at first refused to see him, but at length consented and told the Brother that he would die within one year, which he did while Bridget was still connected with the monastery.

After one year's seclusion in her cell it appears that she received a direct divine command to proceed to Stockholm, where she met her sons Birger and Karl at the court of King Magnus. As she had been assured in advance that God would inspire her speech, she intrepidly demanded an audience of the King. In a speech of burning eloquence she reprimanded him for his immorality and tyranny and threatened him with divine vengeance in case he did not abandon his evil course. At the request of Queen Blanche she remained at the court for some time, although subject to much persecution by certain people, who were either jealous of her prominence at court or entertained doubts as to her prophetic powers. Even among the clergy she had her enemies, and one of these was Hemming, Bishop of Abo, in Finland, who once invited her to dine with him and induced her to partake of some of the choice dishes that were served. At heart he was scandalized at the thought of a professed ascete indulging her appetite to such an extent, and shortly afterward his thoughts were revealed to Bridget through divine channels. She then told him of this revelation, reproved him on behalf of the Lord and their acquaintance later ripened into friendship.

Bridget's austere life and the many privations and tortures to which she voluntarily submitted herself at length undermined her health and she fell seriously ill. This was no cause for wonder, as we are also told that this frail little woman was in the habit of depriving herself of water to quench her thirst until she could hardly speak, and that on Fridays she used to drop on her bare arms the burning wax from the candles lighted before the altar in the chapel of the monastery. Although cared for by as competent physicians as the period afforded, her malady and subsequent convalescence were slow and tedious.

Shortly after Bridget's recovery from this illness she claimed to have received a divine command or inspiration to found a new religious order, and that the Lord had dictated its rules to her word for word. When the idea of establishing a new order first occurred to Bridget cannot now be definitely stated, but that it happened while her husband was still alive is shown by the fact that the lat-

ter before he died donated a house and lot to the intended convent. In addition to this, not less than thirteen distinct pieces of property were presented to Bridget for this purpose by King Magnus and Queen Blanche, but only the property at Vadstena eventually came into the possession of the convent. The new order, which was Bridget's chief religious accomplishment, has been variously referred to as the Order of the Most Holy Saviour (*Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris*), St. Salvator, the Order of St. Bridget, or the Brigantine Order, and was created in honor of the Virgin. It was to consist of sixty Sisters and twenty-five monks, the monks and nuns, however, to be kept in separate houses communicating with the church and the lower choir, and the nuns' choir was to be placed above in such a position as to enable them to listen to the offices of the monks. The number of priests was to be thirteen, in honor of the apostles, including St. Paul; four deacons, in honor of the four great Latin fathers of the Church, Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, and eight lay Brothers, making twenty-five monks, together with sixty Sisters, or in all, eighty-five members, representing the thirteen apostles and the seventy-two disciples. Of these, the priests were to be occupied solely in the divine service, prayer and study; in addition to which they were to preach to the people every Sunday in the secular language. Severe, chaste and abstemious living and much fasting were strictly prescribed. On their vestments the members of the order wore the insignia or symbol of Christ's passion, consisting in the case of the Sisters of a circle of white linen worn over the veil with five small pieces of red cloth, in remembrance of the five wounds of Christ and His crown of thorns, and they also had to wear a gold ring as mark of their espousal of the Saviour.

The priests wore, sewn on the left side of their mantles, a cross made of red cloth with a piece of white cloth in the middle, in the form of a Host. The deacons had white rings on their mantles, on which were sewn four pieces of red cloth, resembling tongues and emblematic of the Holy Ghost. Finally, the mantles of the lay Brothers were marked with a white cross, on which were likewise five red patches.

The abbess was to be elected as general superior by the advice and consent of the Bishop of the diocese, and she was to choose a priest as confessor of the convent, with the consent of the full chapter, and he in his turn was to receive his credentials from the Bishop. To the former the monks should owe the same allegiance as the nuns to the abbess. The Bishop of the diocese was to be the general visitor or superintendent of both monks and nuns and their general arbiter; the reigning sovereign was to be their patron

and protector, but the court of last appeal was, of course, to be the Pope. In all matters not expressly dictated by the constitution or rule of the order, which consisted of twenty-four chapters, the rules of either St. Benedict or St. Bernard were to apply.

Bridget claimed that all of these rules and suggestions which applied to her order had been dictated to her personally by the Lord in her revelations, she writing them down in Swedish and Master Mathias translating them into Latin, a function which was later transferred to Brother Peter Olafsson. The latter, it appears, was troubled with conscientious scruples and doubts as to the genuineness of the revelations. Once when he was kneeling down before the Sacrament, beseeching God to enlighten him and had almost decided that he was too humble and unfit a creature for so holy a duty, he was struck a blow by an unseen hand which stretched him prostrate on the floor of the church and made him unconscious for some time. Upon recovering, however, he realized that God had chastised him in so effective a manner for his doubts, and he decided to comply with the divine command. What an incentive to righteousness if the Lord would walk about boxing people's ears as a fatherly correction in our own day, as He seems to have done in times of old! The following day Peter went to see Bridget about the matter, and she at once forestalled him by stating that God had already acquainted her with what had happened to his servant Peter. This episode is significant as indicating to what extent it was at that time popularly supposed that God interfered in the minute affairs and daily lives of men. Shortly afterward Peter was elected prior of Alvastra Monastery, during the occupancy of which office he continued to translate Bridget's revelations into Latin. In so doing he was commanded not to use his own discretion in the matter, but to follow literally the revelations as put down by the saint. The Lord, however, enjoined him afterward to write an explanation of the degrees of humility taught him by the rule of St. Benedict and a few other secular matters, which are contained in the "*Additiones*" to the rules of the Brigittine order. -

It was about this time that the town of Vadstena was selected by divine command as the site for the first convent of the new order. Bridget now decided to visit Vadstena and she traveled to that town on horseback, accompanied by a few friends, as was the custom of the time. While absorbed in prayer on this trip she is said to have had one of her most wonderful visions, the original description of which is to be found in the fifth book of her "*Revelationes*," commonly called the "*Liber Questionum*." Upon her arrival at Vadstena she carefully inspected the apartments of what

some have called her ancestral castle, now to be transformed into a convent. While doing this, God is supposed to have given her minute and detailed directions as to the rebuilding and arrangements necessary for such a purpose.

We have now arrived at a most important epoch of Bridget's life and one which would prove the crowning point of her career. For a long time it had been her pious intention to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The objects which prompted her to undertake this long and for that period troublesome and expensive journey were several, the chief ones being to obtain the Papal sanction for her order and to secure a larger sphere of action for her mission which was the moral uplifting of the period.

It will be remembered that at this time the Roman Pontiffs, owing to the tempestuous state of Italian politics and especially the factional strife of the Roman nobility, had taken up their abode at Avignon. This city remained the seat of the Papal Court from 1309, when Clement V. established his residence there, until 1376, or three years after the death of St. Bridget, when Gregory XI. left it and returned to Rome. Immediately following the last mentioned date a period intervened which is called the great schism of the West, during which two anti-Popes, Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., took up their residence at Avignon, while at Rome, on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, Bartolomeo Prignano was elected Pontiff by a majority of the Conclave under the name of Urban VI. This condition continued until the Council of Pisa in 1409, at which both Popes, the Roman Pope Gregory XII. and the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII. (Pedro Luna) were deposed and Alexander V. was elected in their stead. The latter, however, died a few months later and was succeeded by John XXIII., who convoked the famous Council of Constanz in 1414, at which John Huss was burned as a heretic, and during which not only the action of the Council of Pisa was confirmed, but John XXIII. himself deposed and Otto Colonna elected as his successor, under the title of Martin V. One of the claimants, however, Benedict XIII., maintained obstinately his right to the Papal chair and title until his death in 1424, although the schism may be considered to have come to an end in 1417 with the election of Martin V.

This digression from our subject has been necessary in order to comprehend the condition of the times and the difficulties which Bridget had to face. Peter Olafsson had asked and obtained from his superiors leave for himself and another monk also named Peter to accompany Bridget to Rome, both of whom from this time on remained her companions until the end. It was probably toward the close of A. D. 1346 that Bridget finally left Alvastra, never more

to return, taking also with her a third priest named Magnus Petersson and a retinue of a few pious Swedish women; some maintain, however, that she went to Rome accompanied by a much larger escort. In view of the primitive traveling facilities of the period, the extent of the journey and the variety of climates the pilgrims had to encounter, one can hardly refrain from admiring the pluck and religious zeal which must have animated this little party of northern pilgrims. In the Latin text of Bridget's revelations it is stated that the travelers passed through the town of Stralsund. As there existed considerable commerce between this city and Sweden, it is very likely that they arrived on some merchantman plying between the two places. Quite an extended stay was made at Milan, where Bridget performed her devotions at the shrine of St. Ambrose. One of her friends and companions, Ingeborg Lorensdotter (*Laurentii filia*, or daughter of St. Lawrence) married to one Nils Dannäs, died while the pilgrims were in Milan. Later manuscripts also mention a visit to Genoa, where Bridget is supposed to have secured passage for herself and company by sea to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, from which place they proceeded by foot to the Eternal City.

In the spring of 1347 the travelers are said to have reached Rome. This cautious statement is advisedly made, as historians differ as to whether she started on her journey in 1346, some maintaining and, as it appears, on good grounds, that it was in 1349, while still others fix the year 1350; but at any rate, it would appear that they had reached Rome before the close of the year 1349. The party found Rome in a state of deplorable desolation and bewilderment. According to Muratori, there was no respect for the law, no safety for person or property, no reverence for womanhood and no pity for the poor. All the churches were neglected, and in St. Peter's and St. John Lateran sheep, goats and cattle were grazing up to the very altar steps. Another contemporaneous historian sums up the condition of Rome at this time as follows: "The city of Rome was in the direst distress. There was no responsible government. Every day and everywhere there were fights and robberies. Men violated nuns, even children, and wives were torn away from their husbands. Outside of the gates of Rome laborers were robbed on their way to work. Pilgrims were plundered and murdered. Priests turned miscreants. There was no crime, no injustice which was not practiced without restraint. There was no security for life and limb. The power of the sword was supreme, against which self-defense, organized between friends and relatives, was the only alternative. Multitudes of armed people could be seen daily." This is a

graphic description of the condition of Rome when Bridget arrived in that city.

On August 18, 1349, Pope Clement VI. had invited all faithful Christians to Rome in order to celebrate the Papal jubilee fixed for the year 1350, although this event had originally been set for the beginning of each century only, the last jubilee of this character having been celebrated in 1300. It was partly in obedience to this summons that Bridget had decided to visit Rome, and her other motives are already known.

Upon their arrival the Swedish pilgrims took up their abode in a house near the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. The daily routine of Bridget's life remained practically the same as it had been in her cell at Alvastra, although she never lost sight of one of the main objects of her pilgrimage, viz., to bring about the return of the Pope from Avignon to Rome. Although, owing to her great modesty this task was somewhat distasteful to her, she claimed to have received a divine command to communicate God's desire to the Pope. This she did in a personal letter addressed to Clement VI., and the letter was delivered to the Pope by Alphonso de Vadaterra, Bishop of Jaen, one of Bridget's personal friends. It seems that the Pope, who was well acquainted with the virtues and reputation of the Swedish Princess,⁵ was doing all in his power to bring about such an improvement in the state of affairs at Rome as to make it possible for himself to return to that city. The factional warfare between the Colonna and Orsini and other great Roman families and their partisans was but slightly checked by the patriotic efforts of the renowned Cola di Rienzi, "the last of the Roman tribunes" whose history and deeds have become better known through the famous novel of Bulwer Lytton. Rienzi, whose real baptismal name was Cola Gabrini di Rienzi, belonged to the plebeian strata of Roman society, his father having been an innkeeper. Having been able to devote some time to studies and the acquirement of knowledge, he was appointed by the Pope Apostolic Notary on the occasion of an embassy sent by some of the most prominent citizens of Rome to entreat the Pontiff to return to the Eternal City. Rienzi addressed the Pope with great eloquence, drawing with all the force of his knowledge and conviction a true and terrible picture of the cruelty and injustice of the Roman barons and of the great confusion, vice and disorder prevalent among all classes of society. This event took place in the beginning of 1343. At this time Rienzi's ambition, inflamed by a

⁵ Bridget was usually referred to under this title during her sojourn abroad, and by some of her biographers. The title was not quite correct, however, as she was not a member of the reigning house, but only of one of its branches.

private grievance, said to have been the murder of his brother by a faction of the nobles, so vividly described by Lytton in the first chapter of his novel, had led him to assume the rôle of a political reformer and social liberator. At about Whitsuntide, 1347, Rienzi was all-powerful in Rome, where he intended to establish a republican constitution after the pattern of the early Roman Republic. As by this time the majority of the Roman nobility had returned to their country seats for the summer, Rienzi deemed the time opportune to strike a decisive blow for the liberty of the Roman people. He issued a proclamation summoning the people to the Capitol, where he read to them the articles of a new constitution drawn up by him, having for object the restoration of peace and order, which was received with unanimous applause and enthusiasm. The people hailed him as their tribune, a title and office which he consented to share with Raymond of Orvieto, the Papal vicar. The new constitution having received the Papal sanction, the nobles did not as yet dare to interfere. The situation in Rome was changed with the suddenness of magic, the laws were again enforced, public safety respected, the churches restored and public depots established for the free distribution of grain among the poor. The story of this meteoric rise of Rienzi in popular favor and his equally sudden fall, occasioned by his offending the Pope through his attempt to elect a Holy Roman Emperor by direct popular suffrage, has furnished a fruitful theme for works of truth and fiction. He had almost succeeded in introducing order and safety into the city when his quickly acquired prominence brought about an attack of megalomania, which resulted in his fall, on December 15, 1347. Former conditions at once returned, and in an aggravated form, as the patricians now felt called upon to revenge themselves on the mob for its presumptions. To add to the general perplexity there occurred in Italy in 1348 a series of violent earthquakes, the effect of which was powerful at Rome; the Church of the Twelve Apostles as well as a gable of the Church of St. John Lateran were demolished, not to mention many other disasters of a similar kind.

Before leaving the subject of Rienzi, a few particulars concerning the ascendancy and fall of this remarkable man may be found interesting. About the middle of the fourteenth century the eyes of the world had become opened to the glories of the creations and culture of the ancients and their deep significance in relation to the progress of human civilization. A reunion of mediæval and antique culture and civilization seemed to take place, and with the conditions a new result was being effected. The spirit of the Middle Ages had already been in a state of slow development for

centuries, and it was this new culture, created by itself and largely nourished by its own resources, that at this time discovered the marvels of antiquity and found in them a new and worthy ideal. This movement has been called the Italian renaissance, as it commenced in Italy at this period and was followed later by the rest of Europe. Rienzi, a man of great although highstrung genius, greatly gifted by nature, an Italian by birth and instilled with the loftiest patriotism, devoted an enthusiastic attention and earnest study to the numberless relics of ancient culture then, perhaps more than now, to be found in Rome. Being also endowed with a magnificent eloquence, this fact together with the personal magnetism he exercised on all those who knew him contributed to make him an ideal hero of the masses, albeit he descended to the tactics of a demagogue when confronted with disaster. He assumed the title and power of a tribune and bombastically styled himself "*Nicholaus, severus et clemens, liberatais, pacis justitiaeque tribunus, et sacre Romane Reipublice liberator,*" and there is little doubt that Rienzi might have accomplished his purpose of delivering Rome from the tyranny of the nobles had not his sudden elevation turned his head. He was a personal friend of the great Petrarch, who on several occasions encouraged him and urged him on in his difficult and dangerous task.

But to return to St. Bridget of Sweden. She was now at liberty to pursue her favorite occupation, that of worshipping at the various churches and holy places that abounded in Rome, one of her most favorite shrines being the magnificent Church of St. Paul on the road to Ostia, which was afterwards burnt down as late as 1823. It appears that in this church there was a crucifix before which she often prayed. Once the figure of the Saviour on the cross is said to have become animate and to have spoken to her, promising a great reward to all who would recite fifteen prayers in honor of His passion, as it had been revealed to her at Alvastra. The Lord also told her from the crucifix to add one "Pater noster" and one "Ave Maria" to each of the fifteen prayers, and that by doing so for a whole year she would honor each of His sacred wounds, the number of which, according to this revelation, is 5,475. Up to within comparatively recent times the people of Rome venerated this crucifix as the one which "spoke to St. Bridget."

At this time in her career the saint, at the suggestion of her confessor, is said to have commenced the study of Latin, the grammar of which she appears to have found rather dry and difficult. She was in the habit of complaining that it kept her away from her religious duties, but she soon obtained sufficient knowledge of the language to express herself freely in it.

The following account of Bridget's daily life in Rome at this time is said to be authentic and therefore of great interest. She devoted herself almost entirely to pious exercises, confining herself to her private chapel or wandering about, visiting the many churches and shrines of the city, and also gave part of her time to works of charity. We know how her own time and that of her retinue was arranged during the stay in Rome (see "*Revelationes*," IV., p. 117). Four hours were allotted to sleep before midnight and as many hours after midnight (this would seem to be an ample allowance according to modern ideas). Whoever cut short the hours allowed for a night's sleep was entitled to a special increase in salary or other privileges. It is quite certain that Bridget habitually curtailed her own sleeping hours, and the day's work seems to have commenced at 4 o'clock in the morning. From 4 until 8 o'clock A. M. Bridget and her people were engaged in reading the canonical hours, i. e., the prayers fixed for the morning exercises, and devoted themselves to pious deeds, habits and useful "manners," so that no hour would be wasted in a useless or unprofitable way. The interval between 8 and 10 A. M. was occupied in partaking of the morning meal (this would also seem quite a liberal time allowance even judged by modern standards). A reduction of this time, however, would be graceful and acceptable to God. From 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. the time was devoted to legitimate, menial or necessary work, or such matters as were necessary and required for their daily needs. From 4 to 6 P. M. there were vespers, night service and other religious observances. The two hours from 6 to 8 P. M. were allotted to the evening repast as well as refreshment, recreation and the "permissible solace and relaxation of the body." At 8 o'clock everything pertaining to the daily duties was dismissed, night commencing at that hour. In the morning from 4 to 8 o'clock strict silence was observed; if words had to be spoken, they were to be short and succinct, and brief answers were to be made to necessary questions. As Bridget had priests and monks in her company, it was not necessary for her to attend public worship in the churches, but her devotions and those of her suite could be performed in their apartments.

At this period, or about A. D. 1348, the whole of Europe was afflicted with a terrible calamity, a plague which is known in history as the "Black Death." It was probably identical with the bubonic or pneumonic plague at present raging in the East, but at that period much more fatal in its ravages than at the present time, when medical science and sanitation have accomplished so much towards lessening its horrors. Indeed, we are told that almost all those seized with the malady were doomed to certain death within

two or three days from the first attack. Like the present plague in the East, that of 1348 is said to have originated in China or Tartary, whence it spread westward along the various caravan routes, reaching Constantinople by way of the northern coast of the Black Sea, and thence to the seaports of Italy and finally Rome. From Germany and France it spread to England, and from the latter country across the North Sea to Scandinavia, where its ravages were such as to depopulate entire parishes. Fully one hundred years later the ruins of deserted churches and chapels were accidentally discovered in the depths of the forests, indicating the former existence of populous and flourishing districts. Three years after the appearance of the plague it reached Northern Russia, where it gradually diminished in virulence and finally disappeared. It is estimated that about thirteen million people had perished in China from the scourge and twenty-four millions in the rest of the Orient, while in Europe it is said to have destroyed, according to a moderate estimate, over twenty-five million human lives. Even the sea was not exempted from this awful visitation, and history records instances of ships having been found adrift with their crews killed by the pestilence, piled up in putrefying heaps on the decks and carrying the curse of infection to the places where they landed. It was natural that such a universal calamity should have caused an almost entire paralysis of human energy and morality, as it tended to dissolve all human social and family relations. An overwhelming consciousness of sin appears to have overcome many in that superstitious age, and the religious confraternity of the "Flagellantes" is said if not to have originated, at least to have become most conspicuous at this period. They undertook to expiate the sins of the people and to avert the divine wrath by practicing bodily torture and the chanting of prayers and litanies. Bulwer Lytton quotes one of these in his "Rienzi":

"By the Mother and the Son,
Death endured and glory won,
Save us, sinners though we be,
Miserere Domine!"

Processions of these people are said to have marched from city to city robed in sombre vestments marked with red crosses on the breast, back and cap, the latter covering their entire faces with the exception of the eyes. They habitually walked with their faces turned downwards, carrying triple scourges provided with iron points with which, at stated intervals they lacerated their bodies.*

It is also a historical fact that at this period the unfortunate

* See Sir Conan Doyle, "The White Company."

Jews were subjected to a widespread persecution based on the prevailing belief, fanned by religious and racial prejudice, that they had caused the plague by poisoning the public wells. To add to the terror of the times, the people in some place rose *en masse* to exterminate the entire Hebrew race, and in the German city of Mainz alone no less than 12,000 individuals of this suffering race were put to a horrible death by fire, sword and drowning. Indeed, many of them seem to have preferred self-destruction to the tortures inflicted upon them by the fanatical and ignorant masses.

Bridget is said to have referred to this pestilence in her writings by the expression "the plague which overwhelmed the kingdom," and the remedy she proposed consisted in establishing rules of moral conduct, the abolishment of earthly vanity in the shape of extravagant clothes, the free giving of alms to the needy, and finally she advised all parish priests to celebrate Mass once a month in honor of the holy trinity, in order to avert the wrath of God. The advice offered by Bridget must have been rather ineffectual, and it appears that she escaped from Sweden just before the plague reached that country, and that when she arrived in Italy the pestilence had already spent most of its fury. At Avignon, where Pope Clement VI. remained during this awful visitation and gave great material assistance in alleviating the sufferings of the people, 120,000 persons are said to have perished from this cause, nearly double the number of the present day inhabitants of that city.

At Rome Bridget, assisted by her companions, devoted herself with untiring energy and charity to the relief of her suffering fellow-men, and it appears that none of her immediate company was ever attacked by the plague. Some characteristic anecdotes are related in connection with this trying period of the life of St. Bridget. A male scion of the great Roman family Orsini had been dangerously ill for some days, presumably from the prevailing disease, and was finally given up for lost by the physicians. The mother of the child, who was expecting its death at every minute, suddenly bethought herself of Bridget's alleged powers and exclaimed, "If only the Lady Bridget were here! Her touch would cure my son." A few minutes later, as if in response, Bridget herself unexpectedly entered the room, spoke a few words of comfort to the mother and finally requested to be left alone with the sick child. Bridget is said to have prayed earnestly at the bedside and to have ministered tenderly to the sick child. Finally she recalled the mother and told her that the child, upon awakening, would be cured. The event is said to have justified Bridget's prediction.

A certain woman who had led a life of dissipation and shame

had finally repented and expressed her desire to reform. According to tradition, she was so badly tempted by the devil that she was about to relapse into her old life, feeling powerless to resist the evil impulses which beset her. One day she met Bridget and confiding to her her tale of woe, asked for the saint's intercession. In the presence of several credible witnesses Bridget then walked up to the woman and in a loud and commanding voice exclaimed, "Depart, Satan; thou hast tormented this creature of God long enough!" The woman immediately recovered from her "devil-possession," and shortly afterwards, it is said, she "died a good death." A more enlightened age would probably have ascribed this and several similar incidents to so-called hypnotization or auto-suggestion, but a truthful account of Bridget's life would be incomplete did it not refer to any of the so-called "miracles" wrought by this saint, which perhaps earned for her the greater part of her contemporary fame. As a consequence of many real or supposed miracles of this nature, Bridget's reputation rose to a great height not only in Rome and Italy, but throughout Europe her name was on every tongue, and she was everywhere loved as a great and disinterested philanthropist and benefactress of the poor and distressed. However, she never allowed her fame to increase her self-esteem, but, on the contrary, she seems to have become even more humble and self-denying as the years passed by. She even went to the length of voluntarily parting with a considerable share of her fortune and joined the poor as a mendicant in the cause of religion and charity. Thus she literally followed the Saviour's advice, "Give away thy goods, and come and follow Me." She was also in the habit of lodging and feeding in her house poor and needy pilgrims from all parts of Europe, although, of course, she paid special attention to the needs of her own countrymen.

At this time Bridget had become the centre of spiritual life in Rome, and her influence extended to all classes and members of society. The poor loved her as a benefactress and personal friend, while the rich and noble considered it an honor to associate with a princess so closely related to the royal family of Sweden. At this time and particularly after the abatement of the great plague Rome was annually visited by an enormous number of pilgrims, who came partly to expiate their own sins and partly as a measure of thanksgiving to God for permitting them to escape as a measure. The Papal Legate, the Cardinal da Ceccano, exerted himself to the utmost in taking measures for the safety and comfort of the pilgrims and providing them with the necessities of life, which could have been no small task in those days. Fearing a scarcity of food if the foreign influx became much greater, he decided to curtail the

time fixed for gaining the indulgences incident to a Papal jubilee year. This measure, however, aroused the ill-will of many selfish and mercenary people in Rome, as it tended to shorten the stay of the pilgrims in the Eternal City and diminish the profit to themselves. Finally, when the discontent of the Romans had grown to alarming proportions, Ceccano reproved the people in a spirited sermon for their selfishness and violence, which had made it impossible for the Pope to return to the Eternal City. Becoming more inflamed, the mob made an attack on the Cardinal's palace; some of his household were wounded and even his own life was attempted. At this juncture Bridget openly espoused the Cardinal's cause and raised her voice in reprobation of the people who thus had allowed themselves to desecrate the jubilee year then being celebrated in Rome. In a fervent appeal to the Papal vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, she implored him to take rapid and vigorous action and punish the Cardinal's assailants without delay. The Papal vicar, however, resented her interference and persuaded himself and others that Bridget's revelations were merely the phantastic visions of a fanatical and excitable woman. The popular fury increased daily, and the only result of Bridget's advice was to turn the popular rage from the Cardinal to herself. She suddenly became the object of a most violent popular resentment and was insulted and slandered everywhere; finally she was accused of being a witch and the terrible cry was raised: "Burn the heretic!" With her accustomed composure, Bridget at once implored divine assistance, and in reply she received a direct command from God to remain in Rome and weather the popular storm, being told that no harm would befall her. At the same time she was consoled by a vision of the Virgin Mary, who enjoined her and her companions to sing the hymn "Ave Maris Stella" ("Hail Star of the Sea") in her honor every evening, a practice which is still continued by the members of the Briggittine order. Shortly afterward, however, the tide of popular resentment turned and the love and veneration of the fickle Romans for the saintly Swedish woman became stronger than ever before. At this juncture, undoubtedly inspired by a divine suggestion, she suddenly decided to repair to Castel Nuovo, a dependency of the great Abbey of Farfa, considered third in rank of the great Italian monasteries, the two others being Nonantula and Monte Cassino. This great Benedictine abbey had undergone many vicissitudes of fortune during its long existence, and a deplorable moral degeneration had been caused by the great prosperity and enormous revenues which it enjoyed. Such was the state of affairs at the time of Bridget's visit, and with the zeal and promptitude so characteristic of her she determined, if pos-

sible, to institute reforms. During Bridget's stay at Farfa she must have reflected on the life of the pious and austere Benedict of Nursia, the founder of monasticism in Italy and the Occident. The mental parallel which she drew between the latter and abbot then in charge could not have resulted in favor of the latter. The abbot very seldom celebrated Holy Mass; he did not wear the dress prescribed for the Benedictines, and to use Bridget's own words, "his heart, in which God should dwell, belonged to a wanton woman; he did not consider his own property sufficient, but was covetous of that of others; he had promised to practice self-denial, yet consulted his own pleasure and comfort in everything." She addressed the following remonstrance to him: "Thou, reverend abbot, who shouldst be a model for the other monks, art a worshipper of courtesans, as witness thy sons, for the sake of whom thou art in ill repute. Thou shouldst be an example for the poor and take care of the needy, but thou showest thyself as a great man, thanks to the alms that thou hast received. Thou livest rather in palaces than in a monastery. Thou shouldst be a teacher and as a *mother* to thy brethren, but thou hast become a church warden and a stepmother. Thou amusest thyself in pleasures and magnificence, but they repine in sorrow and affliction all day long. Therefore, if thou dost not return to the paths of rectitude, God shall drive thee out of the palace, thou shalt not commune even with the least of thy brethren, but thou shalt not, as thou believest, return to thy native land (France), nor enter the kingdom of God." It is reported that the abbot did not need Bridget's warning, but was deposed from his office and died a miserable death without benefit of clergy. The abbey, however, is said to have undergone a thorough reform and house cleaning as a result of Bridget's visit.

While at Farfa Bridget experienced a great happiness: her daughter Catherine located her there and paid her a visit. It seems that the desire of seeing her mother again and of being present at the jubilee celebrations had decided Catherine to undertake the long journey to Rome. She appears to have been of a very impulsive nature, and this desire must have become so overwhelming that she could neither eat nor sleep. Finally her husband gave a reluctant consent to the pilgrimage and, accompanied by two ladies and a male relative, the Chevalier or Knight Gustavus Tunesson, of the famous Syure family, and servants, Catherine set sail across the Baltic to Germany, and in due course arrived in Rome. In the extreme heat of a Roman summer and agitated by the greatest anxiety, she wandered with her escort during eight days through the streets of Rome and visited its holy places, but nowhere was her mother to be found, nor was there any indication of her where-

abouts. Their joy and happiness can therefore easily be imagined when one day they met Bridget's father confessor, Peter Olafsson, at a service in St. Peter's. It appears that during his stay at Farfa Peter had experienced a mysterious foreboding which prompted him to go to Rome, where he found Catherine and relieved her distress.

Some historians assert that when Catherine arrived in Rome her mother Bridget was in Bologna, while others maintain that the latter was still in Farfa, where she was visited by Catherine. However this may be, it seems that after leaving Farfa, Bridget proceeded to Bologna, in order to visit the great Dominican monastery in that city. The latter she found in almost as unsatisfactory a condition as that of Farfa, although here she was received with hospitality and courtesy by the prior, who had heard of her fame and been forewarned of her arrival. This fact naturally made her task the more difficult, as efforts were made to conceal from her the true state of affairs. At last she intimated to the prior that deception and concealment were all in vain, as she was well aware of the condition of things at the monastery; the prior at once took alarm, having heard of the fate of the others, and became very repentant, outwardly at least. Falling on his knees before Bridget, he offered to resign the office which he had maladministered and to take his place as a simple monk in the ranks of his brethren, but Bridget refused to sanction this step. On the contrary, she quieted his fears by telling him to go to work earnestly and endeavor to effect reforms. Historical records show that the prior, at least partially, succeeded in this task.

Mother and daughter now returned to Rome and it was decided that, Catherine's young husband having just died in Sweden, she should remain in Rome with her mother and that, having fore-sworn the world, she should become her mother's companion and associate in her pious and charitable activity. At Rome they took up their lodgings in a house owned by Cardinal Hugo Roger, brother of Pope Clement VI., Bridget having removed from the house near the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, at the Campo dei Fiori, where she had resided during the first four years of her stay in Rome.

We are told that at times Bridget and her daughter found themselves in reduced financial circumstances due in a measure to their own reckless charitable donations, their lavish hospitality and the irregularity of the remittances sent them from their own country. This circumstance is easily explained in view of the extraordinary conditions in Rome at this period.

After the death of Pope Clement VI. in December, 1352. In-

nocent VI. was elected as his successor, but with this Pope Bridget was not personally acquainted. She knew, however, that he was firmly resolved to bring about the return of the Pontiffs from Avignon to Rome. The condition of the *Patrimonium Petri* was most unsatisfactory to the Church, and the temporal authority of the Pope had become a mere shadow of its former self in many of the districts. A resort to arms was therefore deemed inevitable, and this undertaking was intrusted to the famous Spanish Cardinal Egidius Albornoz. Bulwer Lytton in his famous novel refers to this prelate as proudly styling himself "Prince of Aragon, Cardinal of Spain." The Pope delegated his authority in Italy to Albornoz, with the exception of Naples and Sicily. Within the short space of four months Albornoz restored the Duchy of Spoleto and the whole of the patrimony to the Church by prudent diplomacy as well as good generalship.

Quite characteristic of prevailing conditions at Rome were the precautions taken to protect Bridget's young daughter Catherine, who was only eighteen years old, on her arrival in Italy, and said to have been very beautiful. While the mother, accompanied by her confessor, made the daily rounds of the various churches to perform her devotions, Catherine was generally obliged to stay at home, in order to avoid dangerous attention. It even happened when she went out in company with others that she was exposed to insult or danger from undesirable suitors, as is shown by the following incident. One day Catherine, in company with some Roman ladies, went to the Church of St. Sebastian outside the Walls in order to attend Mass, their way leading through a vineyard, when it was noticed that one of Catherine's rejected admirers was lying in ambush for her. All of a sudden, however, a frightened stag or deer rushed past the company and the man gave chase, while the party of ladies effected their escape. Catherine encountered many other adventures of a similar nature, but managed to escape them all unscathed.

A very large part of Bridget's work in Italy consisted of attempts to reform the clergy, and in this respect she was a true forerunner of the reformers. In this fact her real greatness is to be found and that which most of all has entitled her to fame and the remembrance of posterity. Nevertheless, she was a very pious Catholic and did not, like the later reformers, advocate any changes in the Catholic creed or ritualistic practices. For this reason she did not lay herself open to the serious charge of heresy, which brought so many of her followers to excommunication and the stake. Unfortunately, Bridget's advice and admonitions went unheeded by the authorities of the Church, and it is quite safe to as-

sume that had the efforts of this remarkable woman and others animated by the same spirit been crowned with success, subsequent events in the history of the Church and the Christian world would have been greatly modified, and the great cataclysm which overwhelmed the Church in the sixteenth century would at least have been partially averted.

Bridget's reforms commenced in the very highest places. With unsparing severity she rebuked the moral laxity and worldly tendencies of the princes and Bishops of the Church, and history records several instances of her success in this direction. Encouraged by this success, she is said to have formulated under divine inspiration a collection of rules for the guidance of Bishops which was distributed far and wide and in many instances produced beneficial results. In doing this she insisted upon the importance of the maxim "practice what you preach," and exposed the fallacy of the recitation of high-sounding litanies and verbose prayers destitute of the living spirit of charity and true contrition for sins. In a word, she advocated a religion and a faith of the heart combined with good deeds and moral conduct and not a religion of mere empty and hollow ritual, mummary and mouth-worship.

Bridget's great reputation for sanctity and her high social position facilitated her admission into convents and other ecclesiastical establishments, which fact enabled her to observe the rule she had laid down for her own guidance, i. e., to begin her reforms at the top. She was aware that the admonitions of superiors are worse than useless unless accompanied by good example, and she therefore made it a point to become intimate with the superiors, and wherever she succeeded in this, the very best results were generally obtained. Bridget's utterances were characterized by the greatest energy and fearlessness, nor did she spare the very vicars of Christ themselves. One of these, Clement VI., who has already been mentioned, reigned at Avignon between 1342 and 1352. He was a Frenchman by birth, a man of learning and a lover of science and art; he surrounded himself with regal magnificence while the Papacy was becoming more and more subservient to the French monarchy and life at the Papal Court was distinguished by everything but virtue. Far from meditating a return to Rome, Clement instead acquired the city of Avignon by purchase. His successor, Innocent VI., also of French nationality, whose reign lasted from 1352 to 1362, did not walk in his predecessor's footsteps. Innocent was a serious-minded, austere and just man, who endeavored to cleanse the Papal Court and restore order within Italy. Toward the latter part of his life he experienced a desire to visit Rome, but this

was never carried out, owing to the feebleness of his advancing age. After Innocent's death another Frenchman was elected Pope, under the title of Urban V., and he finally came to Rome in 1367, only to again return to Avignon toward the end of the year 1370. His successor, Gregory XI., at last transferred the Papal residence to Rome. Primarily, however, it was not the needs and interests of the Church, but political reasons which prompted the visit of Urban V. and the final return of Gregory XI. We shall later return to the subject of Bridget's admonitions to Clement VI.

It appears that the companionship and assistance of her daughter Catherine were of the greatest importance to Bridget, who had now grown old, as the daughter was a living example of what the mother's teachings could accomplish under favorable conditions. Catherine is described at that time as a very beautiful girl of a dazzling clear northern complexion and blue eyes, and as forming a sharp contrast to the somber and almost shabby weeds of her mother. Catherine proved herself a powerful auxiliary to the older saint in her missions to the magnificent Roman *palazzos*, as in addition to her beauty she possessed a charming attractiveness and natural grace of manner and conversation which were much appreciated by the Roman aristocracy. Her cheerful presence was always welcome to the poor patients in the Roman hospitals, and within a short time she had formed quite a club or society of patrician disciples who emulated her charitable example.

Outside of her own immediate family circle one of Bridget's greatest friends in Rome was Alfonso, or Alphonsus de Vadaterra, Bishop of Jaen, a Spaniard by birth, who has already been mentioned. Alphonso's relatives had for many years resided in Siena, and with him Bridget became very intimate, as he seemed to be in closer sympathy with her work and herself personally than even her own countrymen and companions. After Bridget's death Alphonso became one of the most zealous champions of the truth of her revelations as well as a most trustworthy eye-witness of her virtues and miracles.

It may be well for the purposes of this account of Bridget's life to turn our attention for a moment to the events transpiring in Sweden during Bridget's absence abroad. Eric, the second son of King Magnus and Queen Blanche, as well as the Queen herself, died in 1363, and it was rumored that they had died of poison, in Eric's case administered by his own mother, and the Queen by an unknown hand at the wedding of her eldest son Haakon to Princess Margaret of Denmark. This princess afterward became known as the great Queen Margaret, surnamed the Semiramis of the North and celebrated as the founder of the Union of Calmar. That

famous historic event brought together under one monarch the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Sweden, Norway and Denmark and took place in 1397. The union continued until 1523, when Gustavus Vasa, prompted by the cruelty of the Danish King Christian II., surnamed the "Tyrant," finally established the political independence of Sweden. King Magnus himself had become an object of aversion to his subjects and, having been excommunicated by the Church, was dethroned and put into prison. His nephew, Albrecht of Mecklenburg, was now made King of Sweden. After an imprisonment of seven years, Magnus is supposed to have been drowned while crossing the sea to Norway. Bridget's brother Israel, who refused the royal dignity offered to him upon the dethronement of Magnus, had participated in one of the latter's expeditions against the infidel Finns and Russians. These crusades had been undertaken chiefly at the instigation of Bridget, who in this respect was, as in many others, merely a child of her own time. Having joined the army in Livonia during Magnus' second expedition, which was a crusade in name only, Israel died in the city of Riga in the year 1351, after Bridget had left Sweden.

At about this time (probably in the autumn of 1365) Bridget claimed to have received a divine command to proceed to the south of Italy and visit Naples. Before that, however, she had undertaken a journey to Assisi, where she visited the tomb of St. Francis, the famous founder of the order of Franciscans. Other places visited about this time, although the dates of the visits as well as their connection with the Naples journey are rather doubtful, were Amalfi, where she worshipped at the shrine of St. Andrew; Benevento, where reposed the relics of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, and Ortona on the Adriatic, where the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas had been preserved since the year 1258. She also visited Monte Gargano, rendered famous by a pretended apparition of the Archangel Michael; Manfredonia, also on the Adriatic, somewhat south of Monte Gargano; Bari, where rested the remains of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in Asia Minor, and Salerno, where the great Pope Gregory VII. (Aldobrandeschi) died in exile in 1085, because, as he said, "he had loved justice and hated iniquity." It is probable that Bridget proceeded to the south of Italy along the eastern or Adriatic coast and that Naples was her headquarters, whence she made excursions to Sorrento and Amalfi, and probably also Benevento.

In Naples peculiar conditions prevailed at this period. The country was governed by the famous Queen Joanna, a daughter of Duke Charles of Calabria. She had first been married to King Andrew of Hungary, afterward with Louis of Tarentum, and was

at this time the consort of James of Mallorca. The last named, however, was excluded from any share in the government of Joanna's kingdom. The court of Naples was a brilliant one and famed for its luxurious habits and aristocratic manners as well as its preferment of literature and art. The moral reputation of the Queen seems to have been somewhat doubtful, although at this day it is difficult to determine the exact truth in the matter. That she displayed great fondness for pleasures and enjoyments seems beyond a doubt, but this fact did not prevent her from paying the most flattering attention to Bridget, who about this period had reached the summit of her fame. Catholic biographers of St. Bridget are, as a rule, very severe in their judgment of Queen Joanna, although they acknowledge the fact that she extended every possible courtesy and attention to the saint.

While in Naples Bridget was once visited by a young man named Eleazer, who requested her assistance and advice. The following letter was written by Bridget in reply, and as it is very characteristic of the saint and of the period in which she lived, it is here reproduced with but a few changes and abbreviations: "As it is thy desire to have for thy only object obedience to the will of God and to honor Him, so far as possible, in word and deed, to devote thyself to Him with thy person, goods and all thy energies, as long as thou shalt live, in order to give thy soul into the keeping of thy Creator, and to preserve it pure and clean from all filthy desires of the flesh: thou must carefully watch the foundation, i. e., thy reason, so that nobody shall be able, to the detriment of thy soul, to undermine that foundation. By those endeavoring to undermine it I mean the persons who will say to thee: 'Sir, remain a layman, and marry a beautiful, noble and rich woman.' Perhaps others will say: 'If thou wishest to become a priest, study the fine arts (i. e., science), and become a Master (*Magister*), obtain as much as possible, by prayers or gifts, of the goods and revenues of the Church, and thou shalt become honored by the world for thy knowledge, and thou shalt be glorified by thy worldly friends and many servants for thy abundance of riches.' Should any persons try to persuade thee in such a manner, then thou must cause the watchman, i. e., thy reason, to reply that thou wouldst rather brave all the temptations of the flesh than lose thy chastity. Say furthermore that thou wouldst acquire a knowledge of science and the fine arts for the glory of God, in defense of the true faith, for the benefit of good men, in order to correct the failing and erring ones, and for the advantage of all those who need thy counsel and instruction. Thou must not covet more in this world than what is required for the support of thy body and thy neces-

sary servants, nor that which is superfluous, because a desire for the latter springs from empty vanity. Thou shalt also say that in case thou, through the mercy of God, obtainest some high and dignified station, thou shalt use it entirely for the benefit of thy neighbor and the glory of God. Thus will the watchman, the reason, drive away those that seek to undermine the foundation, or thy good will. Besides, reason must carefully see to it that nobody endeavors to surmount the high wall. By the high wall I mean love, which is higher than all the virtues. Thou must be convinced that the devil has no greater desire than to leap over that wall, for which reason he continuously uses his best efforts to overcome divine love with worldly love, the love of the flesh. Therefore, my dear sir, as often as worldly love endeavors to gain precedence in thy heart over the love of God, then immediately let the watchman reason say, in accordance with the commandment of God, that thou wouldst rather die, soul and body, than offend God, who is so good, by word or deed. Do not think about thy own life or goods or property, nor the favor of relatives or friends, but only seek to please God and honor him in everything. Thou must voluntarily expose thyself to all kinds of difficulties rather than to cause harm and misery to befall any of thy relatives. I have spoken about walls. By these I understand the four felicities of the heavenly Kingdom, which man should wish for in his heart with a meditative vigilance. The first is, to fervently desire in one's own heart to behold God Himself in His eternal glory and the imperishable treasures which he who has once received them, shall never lack. The second is a desire always to hearken to the lovely voices of the angels in praising and glorifying God, without intermission. The third is the desire to praise God eternally, like the angels, out of the fulness of the heart, and with a fervent ardor. Finally, the fourth is to eagerly desire the eternal consolation of the angels and the holy and blessed souls in heaven. Just as a man who always is in a house, wherever he turns, has four walls surrounding him, so shall he also have who, night and day, of all his heart desires these four things: to behold God in His glory, to listen to the angels praising God, to love God in common with them and to participate in their consolation; in reality, wherever he turns and whatever he may be doing, he shall always remain unharmed within these four walls, nay he shall already in this life and in the society of angels, enjoy the association with God. My beloved sir, how much do not enemies wish to break through these walls, deprive the heart of such inward joy, and instead to turn thy desires in another direction, which may be very injurious to the soul. Therefore reason must carefully watch the two roads

through which the enemy usually approaches, namely, sight and hearing. Through the ears there enter into the heart the enjoyment of worldly songs, of various musical instruments,⁷ of useless fiction and the praise of men. The more man, by means of the first named, rouses his own pride, the farther he becomes separated from the humble and lowly Christ. The watchman reason protests against such a pleasure by saying, 'as the devil hates all the humility which the Holy Ghost instills into the heart of men, so shall I, with the powerful help of God, detest all the pomp and worldly vanity which the evil spirit, with his destructive fire, makes alluring to the heart. This shall be unto me like the loathsome stench of a corpse!' Through the sense of sight the enemy approaches bringing with him various tools, in order to break through the walls, such as many kinds of metals made into several different shapes and forms such as precious stones, gorgeous clothes, palaces, castles, real property, lakes, forests, vineyards and a great many other things which afford great revenues and prosperity. Therefore the watchman reason must, before such things penetrate into the heart, arm himself for defense and say, 'if any such goods come into my possession I shall preserve them in a place where neither thieves nor moths need be feared, with the help of God I shall not offend my Lord by coveting the goods of others, nor segregate myself from the society of those who serve Christ.' By the doors of this house I mean everything which is necessary for the body, such as food, drink, sleep, vigil, occasional grief, and occasional happiness. The watchman reason must therefore carefully guard these doors. In the consumption of food and drink great care must be taken that the foe does not lead to excess and luxuriousness, which render the body useless for the service of God. One must also be carefully on guard against the insinuation of the foe in the shape of an excess of abstemiousness, which renders the body incapacitated for all manner of actions. The watchman must also see to it that thou dost not become guilty of luxury for the sake of worldly honor and the favor of men, whether thou be all alone with thine own or in the presence of strangers, and for the love of God, treat every one with sufficient hospitality, avoiding, at the same time, too many and dainty dishes. The watchman should also carefully direct moderation as regards sleep, even as thou shalt be moderate with respect to food and drink, in order that the body may be comfortable and alert for the honor of God, and in such a condition as to be fit for the vigilant service of God and all honorable work. Should any sorrow or bitterness befall thee, then the watchman

⁷ No sacred or organ music was ever allowed at the services in the Brigittine convents.

reason, accompanied by his friend piety, should hasten to aid so that thou mayest not be dangerously induced to forsake the grace of God, through wrath or impatience, and thereby arouse God's anger against thee. And further, should thy heart be filled with joy and happiness, let the watchman so much the more earnestly enjoin thee, through the grace of Jesus Christ, to observe moderation in thy comfort and contentment."

It will be seen that this letter of Bridget's is not without a certain blunt literary merit and tends to prove the assertion that her influence on mediæval Swedish language and literature was of great importance. Young Eleazer remained a most devoted friend of the Swedish princess, took holy orders and was at the time of his death a Cardinal of the Church.

Bridget's journey to Naples and her stay in that city were of some duration and it is important to fix its date so far as possible. Hammerich believes it was commenced in 1369 or 1370, alleging as evidence a Papal passport for Bridget and her children dated November 13, 1369, wherein besides Karl, Birger and Catherine, Bishop Thomas of Weixio (Växjö) was also mentioned. On his return to Sweden Bishop Thomas found King Magnus in prison and the kingdom in great confusion. In addition to this it appears that Catherine, in her testimony given in connection with the investigation of Bridget's claims to beatification, mentions the year 1370 as the date of her mother's first visit to Naples. There exists at least an intimation that this date was not the one originally given.* There is no original statement or tradition to the effect that the sons accompanied the saint during her first visit to the Neapolitan kingdom. The passport mentioned refers, without a doubt, to the second journey to Naples, which was continued to the Holy Land. That Bishop Thomas participated in the first journey is also quite certain. He went to Rome on a short visit, but was persuaded to remain somewhat longer than he had intended. Bridget was in Rome in the month of July, 1365, and Bishop Thomas visited the town of Abo, in Finland, at midsummer of the same year and is not mentioned after that time in any Swedish original manuscript until the end of August, 1366. In the meantime he could have had sufficient time to visit Italy. On the whole, it seems most probable that Bridget commenced her first journey to Naples in the fall of 1365. In part 2, p. 196, of the Roman edition of her "*Revelationes*" (1628), it is said that she received a summons to proceed to Jerusalem in May, 1371, at which time she had lived in Rome for many years after the return from the first pilgrimage to the Neapolitan Kingdom. If Bishop Thomas had re-

* See Comtesse de Flavigny, "*Sainte Brigitte de Suede*," p. 334.

turned to Sweden at a time when the King was in prison and the kingdom in great confusion, it would be quite inconsistent with a return in the fall of 1366, and hence the first expedition to Naples must have been undertaken before the return of Pope Urban V. from Avignon to Rome.

The last mentioned event is of great importance for the history of the period. Urban V. left Avignon April 30, 1367, and set out for Italy. The cities of Naples, Venice, Genoa and Pisa sent fleets to Marseilles to transport and accompany the Pope, constituting a squadron of twenty-five galleys. He landed at Genoa, Pisa and Corneto and paid a visit to Viterbo, where Cardinal Albornoz, who was on his deathbed, expired before the departure of the Pope. The latter was received everywhere with great homage and jubilation. On October 16, 1367, Urban made his solemn entry into Rome. First in the Papal procession, at the head of a thousand horsemen, rode Nicolo d'Este, Count of Ferrara, followed by the entire College of Cardinals and the Pope in person, the bridle of the Pontiff's horse being held by the Duke of Savoy. Then followed the ecclesiastical banner floating high over the head of the Pope, carried by Rodolfo di Camerino. The number of priests and members of religious orders alone in the procession was estimated at two thousand. The Pope at once proceeded to the Basilica of St. Peter's and, having mounted his throne, distributed indulgences to all present. On the 18th of October he took possession of the Church of St. John Lateran, and on the 30th the Pontiff officiated at High Mass in St. Peter's, for the first time since the reign of Boniface VIII.

Although Bridget is not mentioned in any of the manuscripts describing the Papal entry into Rome, her enthusiasm over the glorious period which now seemed to dawn for the Church may be easily imagined. Her hopes and expectations were, however, doomed to disappointment, although at this time she could not have entertained any serious forebodings. It is quite certain that she witnessed the triumphal procession, as she was in Rome at the time, and some of her many aristocratic friends must have afforded her an opportunity of beholding the inspiring spectacle. Although the political authority of the Pope was no longer the same as of old, yet some of the ancient glamour must have returned at this time. Urban was personally visited by Queen Joanna of Naples, the King of Cyprus and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. On the 21st of October the Pope and Emperor made their joint entry into Rome, the Pope riding on horseback and the Emperor and the Count of Savoy walking at his side and holding the bridle of his horse. During the Solemn Mass at St. Peter's the Emperor

officiated as deacon, and in the course of the following year Urban was visited by the Byzantine Emperor.

As early as 1353 Bridget is reported to have received a divine command to stay in Rome until she should be allowed to behold the Pope and the Emperor in the Eternal City, to both of whom she was to convey the commandment of God. It will be admitted that Bridget was not deficient in courage or initiative, a feature of her character which would have done honor to the most independent and liberty-loving American of our day. She visited Urban V. at Montefiascone, where the Pope had retired in order to escape the intense heat of a Roman summer. She was presented to him by her friend, Nicolas Orsini, Count of Nola, who according to his own statement had to serve as interpreter, Bridget not being well versed in grammar and not understanding French, the Pope's native tongue. She proceeded to tell him of the many years she had awaited his return to Rome, not only with a view to the welfare of the Church, but also for a particularly cherished object, that of securing the Papal sanction for her new order. Urban received Bridget with special marks of esteem and attention, but the sanction could not be granted immediately. On behalf of the Saviour she made the following statement to the Pope: "Thy time is short and thou must take care to save the souls which have been confided to thy care. I am giving thee this rule of a new order which I have personally dictated and which shall be inaugurated and maintained at the Convent of Vadstena, in Sweden. As thou art my vicar on earth, it is my desire that thou shalt confirm and strengthen this order with thy blessing. I have endowed this convent with a spiritual gift, bestowing on it all the indulgences to be obtained at the Church of St. Peter's in Vincoli, at Rome. Confirm, therefore, before men on earth that which has been sanctioned and decided upon for all of my Heavenly Host. The fact that thy soul received spiritual consolation when thou for the first time obeyed my command may be a token to thee of the truth of my words." The Emperor was next requested to bestow his sanction on the order and at last, on August 5, 1370, a Papal bull was issued in which the Archbishop of Upsala and the Bishops of Strängnäs and Växjö were commanded to assist in the constitution and arrangement of Bridget's new establishment. The latter should submit to the general rule of St. Augustine, with certain minor changes and additions, but Urban reserved to himself a more detailed scrutiny and consideration of the new rule.

Bridget's anxiety to secure the Papal sanction was intensified by the fact that rumors were commencing to circulate to the effect that Urban had the intention of again abandoning Rome. These

rumors were subsequently verified, and on the 22d of May, 1370, Urban was visited at Montefiascone by emissaries from Rome who earnestly entreated him to return to the capital. In reply to this the Pope said that the Holy Ghost had brought him to Italy, but that the same Spirit now required his presence elsewhere for the glory of the Church, and that if he were not bodily with the Romans, he would always be with them in the spirit.

Bridget, thoroughly alarmed lest her entire mission should fail, decided to send an admonition to Urban through some emissaries. Nobody, however, could be found plucky enough to undertake this dangerous task, and therefore Bridget resolved to attend to the matter in person. Her message, which was a sharp one, read somewhat as follows: "Urban, who was tired and disgusted with the labor in God's service, preferred his physical comfort; his native country, France, was too dear to him, his earthly friends allured him, and the latter countenanced his predilections and wishes more than the honor and will of God or the benefit of his own soul. Should he return to the country in which he had been elected Pope, he would soon be so badly stricken as to make him grind his teeth, his sight would be dimmed, all his limbs would be trembling, the flame of the Holy Ghost would gradually become extinguished within him, all the prayers of God's friends in his behalf would be without avail, the love of his people for him would become null and he would be called to account before God for two things—first, for what he had accomplished during the time that he had occupied the chair of St. Peter, and, second, for what he had omitted to do of all that which he in his great office had been enabled to perform for the glory of God." Little wonder that Bridget met with difficulties in finding persons willing to convey such a message to the visible head of the Christian Church. Her own courage in personally admonishing the Pope is certainly to be admired, and we may indeed wonder in what manner Urban could have received such a severe and threatening message.

The warning was, however, without effect. On the 7th of September, 1370, Urban V. boarded a ship at Corneto and arrived in Marseilles on the 16th of the same month. On the 19th of December following he died. It should be borne in mind that these events are emphatically stated in the "*Revelationes*" as written down by herself in the order of their occurrence, and that all of the others are details of historically proved authenticity. As Urban's successor was elected Pierre Roger de Beaufort, who assumed the name of Gregory XI. and who had been present at the time of Bridget's severe address to Urban V. In 1377 Gregory XI. finally returned to Rome, but Bridget was then dead and Gregory him-

self died the following year, 1378, from which time dates the commencement of the great schism of the West.

Bridget also visited Gregory XI. repeatedly and delivered to him one written exhortation and solicitation after the other. Time and space prevent a detailed description of these, although most of them are still in existence. It may be added, however, that Bridget was not alone in her desire that the Pope should return to Rome; the great poet Petrarch and St. Catherine of Siena were of the same opinion and animated by the same hope. Before leaving the subject of Bridget's addresses to the Popes, it should be mentioned that she had already approached Clement VI. and Innocent VI. with very sharp demands for needed reforms in the Church, in which she fearlessly describes the corruption and immorality of the clergy and the moral condition of the period. Her language is that of the most impassioned reformer; she did not scruple to call things by their proper names, spared nobody and wielded a merciless and unrelenting lash on the vice and degeneration into which the Church apparently had sunk.

As a proof of the fact that Bridget had no intention of returning to her native country may be cited the visit paid to her by her two sons, Birger and Karl, both of whom were interested in the politics of the Scandinavian Kingdoms. In Swedish original manuscripts there is no mention of Karl's presence subsequent to February 25, 1369. The approximate date of their arrival in Italy is established by the fact that they were presented by their mother to Pope Urban V., who returned to France on April 17, 1370, and their arrival in Italy must therefore probably have taken place toward the latter part of 1369 or the early part of 1370. The tradition of their meeting with the Pope and documents relating to that event were carefully preserved in the convent at Vadstena. According to an ancient custom, Birger appeared dressed in long clothes, which was at this period of transition from ancient to modern customs still considered as the best and most correct form, and wore a girdle; in short, he was clad "in the most becoming manner." Karl, on the contrary, was attired in the costume of a knight, together with a silver belt, collar and other ornaments and a tunic of ermine. Attached to this tunic there were a number of animal skins, which must at least have been partially stuffed as they were said to have looked very life-like; they were arranged in double rows, one above and the other below the belt, every other animal having its head turned upward and the other downward, and each had a gold ring in its mouth and a jungle at the neck. For a few moments the Pope scrutinized the two brothers and then said to Birger: "Thou art thy mother's son;" and then to

Karl: "Thou art a son of the world." The mother fell on her knees before the Pontiff, imploring the remission of their sins, whereupon the Pope, lifting the heavy belt which Karl wore, replied: "It must be sufficient penance for him to wear this great weight." Bridget at once retorted: "Holy Father, just take away his sins. I will take good care to relieve him of the belt."

In a petition to Pope Urban Bridget requested his sanction for a new devotion termed the Brigittine Rosary, and in its confirmation by him and later Popes many indulgences and favors were conferred upon it. This rosary consisted of ten decades, each ending with a "Credo" instead of the usual "Gloria," and the whole concluding with three Ave Marias, to represent the number of sixty-three years, which is generally believed to have been the age of the Virgin Mary at her death. Bridget subsequently addressed a petition in writing to the Emperor Charles IV. in order to secure his sanction of the new order, which was considered necessary, and this petition she forwarded early in 1368 to the Emperor, who was then in the city of Prague, Bohemia. In the month of October of the same year Urban again visited Viterbo to receive the Emperor, who as already stated, accompanied the Pope to Rome, where the former gave an audience to Bridget and received her with distinguished attention. After a space of twenty years Bridget had thus accomplished her mission and beheld the fulfilment of the Virgin's promise that she should live to see both the Pope and Emperor at Rome and be allowed to address them personally. Bridget had been none too prompt in obtaining the Papal and Imperial sanction for her new order. The conditions in Rome were far from improving; the Church had taken a false step in the creation of six French Cardinals, and Urban, who had for some time been discouraged and disgusted with the feuds and disorders of Rome, announced, in the spring of 1370, his intention of returning to the city of Avignon. In the meantime war had again broken out between France and England, adding to the disquiet and turmoil of the times. In the town of Montefiascone, while on his return journey to Avignon, Urban issued the bull which granted the confirmation of the Brigittine order. It authorized her to found monasteries and convents for both men and women on the plan outlined by her, and confirmed at the same time the now completed cloister at Vadstena. Until sufficient time could be had to examine closely into the details and merits of the new order, its convents were to be governed provisionally by the Augustinian rule. The official title of the order was *Ordo Sancti Salvatoris*, or *Sanctissimi Redemptoris*, but it was popularly called the Order of St. Bridget or the Brigittine Order. The Bollandists, however, are

authority for the opinion that Urban V. confirmed the Brigittine rule also, but Bishop Gonsalvo Durante in his preface to the rule maintains that Urban VI. was the Pontiff who formally confirmed it. It appears that both Urban V. and Gregory XI. examined the rule, but they died before it could be confirmed. The wording of the bull of canonization also supports this view. Within a comparatively short time the new order was recognized throughout the greater part of Christian Europe and had representatives in Portugal, Italy, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, England and Norway. At the present day six Brigittine convents are in existence, exclusive of the Spanish congregations founded by Maria de Eschobar—namely, one in Bavaria, at Altomünster, two at Weert and Uden, in Holland, two in Mexico and one at Chudleigh, in England. In one of these there still exists a souvenir card printed with figures of St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine. On the reverse of St. Bridget's card is the following legend:

*"Rosa, rorans bonitatem,
Stella, stillans claritatem,
Birgitta, vas gratiae,
Rora coeli pietatem,
Stilla vitae puritatem
in vallem miseriae.*

V.: *Ora pro nobis, beata mater Birgitta, sponsa Christi predilecta,*
R.: *Ut ad coelestem patriam sit ipsa nobis via recta."*

Only second in importance to the original mother convent at Vadstena was the celebrated Brigittine monastery of Syon House at Isleworth, in England, which was during the fifteenth century like its prototype at Vadstena an ecclesiastical centre of great importance and influence. As a measure of thanksgiving for his celebrated victory over the French at Agincourt in 1415, Henry V. of England founded two royal monasteries on the banks of the Thames, one of which was the Brigittine monastery of Syon House, now at Chudleigh, in Devonshire, and the other the Carthusian Monastery at Sheen. For the purpose of initiating the new Syon House Monastery, Queen Philippa, the consort of Eric XIII. of Sweden, surnamed "of Pomerania," and daughter of King Richard II. of England, sent a company of Brigittine monks and nuns from Vadstena to England. Philippa herself lies buried in one of the vaults of the monastery Church at Vadstena, where her tombstone, containing an inscription reciting her great piety and a testimony of the love in which she was held by the people, may still be seen.

Let us again return, but for the last time, to Bridget herself. She was now well advanced in age, her seventieth year fast ap-

proaching, and she felt herself divinely inspired to accomplish another duty which still remained undone, i. e., a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.* Her preparations for this long journey were very few and quickly made, two of the articles which she brought with her being still kept as relics in the Brigittine Convent of Altomünster, in Bavaria. One of these is a staff of rough hawthorn wood and the other a drinking cup of boxwood, on the bottom of which were carved the words, "*Jesu Naz. Rex Jud. Miserere.*" This latter expression she is said to have used whenever she drank water. She is also reported to have planted the tree from the wood of which the cup was made, and a tradition to this effect has been handed down to posterity in the following verse, carved in type on the outside of the cup, but now almost obliterated by age:

*"Hujus erat ligni satrix Birgitta beata
Hoc vase digni viventes cum pace grata."*

As traveling companions, Bridget brought with her the two sons, Birger and Karl, her daughter Catherine, her friend Alphonso of Jaen, Prior Peter of Alvastra and her confessor, Peter Olafsson. At the commencement of the journey Bridget was accompanied as far as Naples by one of her most loyal and faithful friends, the young Roman noble Latino Orsini. Her journey through the Kingdom of Naples appears to have been somewhat in the nature of a triumphal progress, and the inhabitants flocked around her everywhere, endeavoring to prevail upon her to remain with them. At Naples she was even more enthusiastically received than during the former visit, the Archbishop of that city being now an old and valued friend of hers. When Queen Joanna was informed of the approach of the Swedish Princess, she immediately sent her generous supplies and provisions for the coming pilgrimage and entreated her also to pray for her while in the Holy Land. The Queen, who was a true disciple of Boccaccio, had in spite of her moral shortcomings a genuine affection and admiration for Bridget. This fact the latter did not readily appreciate, as no doubt the Queen appeared to the saint a very wicked and sinful creature. It may be mentioned in passing, however, that Queen Joanna's name is still remembered among the peasantry of Provence, of which she was hereditary Countess. In spite of her solemn pledge to the Barons at Aix not to alienate any of her estates in Provence,

* For further information relating to the Brigittine Order consult a recent religious publication of great value, entitled "*St. Bridget of Sweden*," by Francesca M. Steele (Darley Dale), published by Benziger Brothers, New York, chapter vii., pp. 48-57, and for information regarding the Syon House Monastery at Chudleigh, England, see Sir William Dugdale's "*Monasticum Anglicanum*."

Joanna had sold the city of Avignon to the Popes. But as she was the first of the rulers of Provence to give free grants of lands to the peasants and also built the canal which brings water to the town of Draguignan, her memory is held in loving remembrance by the peasants of Provence.

On the occasion of Bridget's last visit to Queen Joanna an incident of great human interest occurred which throws an amusing sidelight on the sombre and austere character of her life contrasted with the gay and luxurious atmosphere of Southern Italy. It appears that Bridget proceeded to the palace accompanied by her two sons, in order to pay their formal respects to the Queen. On being admitted to the audience chamber they were required, in conformity with the strict rules of etiquette of the court, to kneel and kiss the Queen's foot, and according to a tradition preserved in the monastery at Vadstena, Bridget had carefully taught her sons how to perform this act of homage. It is probable that Birger observed her mother's instructions to the letter, but when the turn came to Karl, he rose from his knees, beheld with admiration the handsome face of the Queen, who is said to have been still beautiful at the age of forty-five and, stooping down, applied a resounding kiss to the lips of the lovely Joanna. Instead of being offended by this sudden and impulsive exhibition of undue admiration, the Queen was clearly delighted with such a frank tribute to her charms, and at once fell in love with the handsome and reckless young Northerner. She told him she would be most pleased to have him remain in Naples as her favored guest, and even went to the length of declaring that she would like to marry him some day. It is easier to imagine than describe the effect of this "painful" incident on poor old Bridget, who told the Queen that not only was her wish a grievous sin in itself, as her own husband was still alive, but that Karl himself was a married man. Her reproof of the Queen and her son's conduct was, however, quite in vain and only seems to have rendered Joanna more obstinate in her purpose.

Bridget's case was surely one of an offended and virtuous parent, and she implored the assistance of heaven by means of fervent prayers. Her pious requests were soon granted, although in an unexpected manner. Karl was suddenly taken ill and died after a short illness of two weeks. Alphonso of Jaen gives us a faithful description of his death. It seems that he and others were present at the deathbed, where the last rites of the Church were about to be administered. About eight or ten steps from the bedside Bridget was seated in a chair and as her son breathed his last she arose and approached him, but no sound escaped her nor did she shed a tear. She simply sat quietly with her hands uplifted, evidently prais-

ing God, Who had prevented a great intended wrong. After a period of useless grief Joanna gave orders for a funeral on a magnificent scale and caused the dead man's remains to be interred with great pomp and ceremony in the Naples Cathedral. Karl died on March 9, 1372. In the funeral procession Joanna and Bridget walked side by side behind the coffin; weeping and wailing were heard everywhere, but the old mother appeared calm and unmoved, externally at least, giving no outward sign of sorrow. According to Alphonso of Jaen she was an "immovable pillar of patience," and he expressed her thoughts in the following words: "Depart on thy pilgrimage, my son, blessed by God and by me."

On March 11, 1372, Bridget, accompanied by her surviving son, Birger, her daughter Catherine and the others of her party, embarked for the Holy Land on a ship in the harbor of Naples. Difficulties arose immediately, however; the ship was not able to leave the harbor until the 14th, and after a five days' voyage, the pilgrims reached Messina, where the party stayed for a week. At that period mariners dreaded and avoided, so far as possible, the open sea, and in this instance the coast of Greece was closely followed for protection in case of storms. On March 30 the pilgrims arrived at the island of Cephalonia of the Ionian group, where they rested for two days. After leaving that place they encountered a violent storm, from which they sought refuge at Kos, on the coast of Asia Minor; on April 8 they left the harbor of that island, and on the 13th of April, 1372, after having been tossed about at the mercy of the storm for five days, the pilgrims landed at Famagusta, in Cyprus.

Since the close of the twelfth century the island of Cyprus had been governed by members of the house of Lusignan from the west of France. The most famous of these was Guy de Lusignan, the founder of the dynasty of that name in Cyprus, which had been ceded to him by Richard Cœur de Lion in consideration of his abdication of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1192. Bridget, whose fame had preceded her, was received at Famagusta with open arms by the Queen, Eleanor of Arragon, and her people. They prevailed on the Saint to remain in Cyprus for a few weeks, in spite of her objections to the splendor and luxury of the court, the lawlessness of the inhabitants, and no doubt her own impatience to reach the object of her pilgrimage. It appears that Queen Eleanor applied to Bridget for counsel and advice in her precarious position as actual ruler of the island, as her dominion had for a long period been distracted and torn by dynastic troubles and civic dissensions. Bridget gave her all the assistance in her power, and for a short time acted as the Queen's counsellor and friend.

Before leaving Cyprus for Palestine, Bridget had been advised by many to assume a disguise and stain her face a dark color, in order to avoid danger from the Saracens, but Bridget disdained to act upon this advice, although the conspicuous beauty of Catherine is said to have inclined her in a measure to yield to these entreaties.

Another of Bridget's most remarkable revelations bears the date of this period. She was shown in a vision how her dead son Karl had been received by God in the last judgment. This revelation is said to have occurred to the saint in what might be termed installments or successive stages, like acts in a play, commencing before she left Naples and continuing until her arrival in Jerusalem. The vision represented her son as the accused before the judgment bar of God, the Virgin Mary as his advocate, Satan as his chief accuser and God the Father as the final arbiter and judge. The devil was utterly discomfited and Karl at last acquitted and admitted to the eternal glory of the Pearly Gates chiefly or at least to a great extent owing to the great virtues, ceaseless prayers and severe penance of his mother. This is said to have been one of Bridget's greatest revelations, if not the greatest, and to have continued at intervals during the whole of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

At last Bridget and her companions landed at Jaffa, and starting from this point the party passed through Ramleh, the ancient Arimathia, and Latron, at that time known as the "*Castellum Boni Latronis*." On the third day the Holy City dawned upon their ecstatic vision. At Jerusalem, which she entered on Ascension day, May 13, 1372, Bridget took up her abode and that of her company in the Pilgrims' Hospice; and the holy places which had been purchased from the Sultan of Egypt by King Robert of Sicily and by him committed to the care of the Franciscan Fathers were now thrown open for the inspection and worship of the pilgrims. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre seems to have been her favorite place of meditation and prayer. She also visited Bethany, Genesareth, the Sea of Galilee and Bethlehem, Nazareth, the tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehosaphat and most of the other places memorable in connection with the life and passion of Christ. It does not appear that Bridget devoted herself exclusively to the adoration of relics, a custom at that time perhaps even more prevalent in the Church than to-day. At Bari she had in a wonderful manner secured a piece of bone of the Apostle Saint Thomas; and although she did not make it an object to collect relics, she gathered together a few souvenirs from the places visited, very much in the manner of the ordinary tourist of the present day. As already stated, a couple of these relics are still preserved in the monastery at Alto-

münster, and a list of these and other valuable objects preserved in that place and prepared in 1654 mentions "something" (without specifying its nature) from the place where Christ taught the Lord's Prayer to His disciples and "something" from the place where St. Peter shed bitter tears of repentance after having repudiated his Master.

During the stay in the Holy Land Bridget had an attack of illness, aggravated by her advanced age, her long life of asceticism and self-denial and the discomforts and privations of a long and perilous journey. The exact nature of her malady has never been ascertained, but it was destined to be her last. After a stay of over four months in Palestine, the pilgrims prepared to return to Italy by way of Cyprus, where they again landed at Famagusta on October 8, 1372, and were received with great cordiality by the Queen and the young King. On this occasion Bridget is reported to have addressed a severe admonition to the inhabitants of the island, in which she made a special effort to convert the schismatic Greek element of the population to the Church of Rome, threatening them with dire calamities and the vengeance of God if they did not improve their morals. The house of Lusignan continued to reign in Cyprus until the year 1489, when Queen Catherine Cornaro delivered the government of the island to her native city, Venice.

In the month of October the return of the pilgrims to Italy was resumed, and on her arrival in Naples, Bridget took up her residence in the royal palace, at the invitation of Queen Joanna. The pestilence had again broken out in that city and the Queen and the Archbishop greeted Bridget with the most effusive cordiality, no doubt believing her able to bring about its abatement. As usual, Bridget attributed the reappearance of the scourge to the sins and worldly manners of the population and the court and preached her customary penitential sermon. Her chief points of accusation are very characteristic of the period. The human features were painted in different colors, like senseless images and idols; people desired to appear more beautiful than God had made them; their clothes had an indecent cut and fit; men and women were distorted from their original shapes, and this was done from pride and a desire to appear more beautiful and frivolous than God had created worldly desires. Little heed was given to the passion of Christ, them, in order to excite in the spectators various temptations and how He stood at the pillar while being scourged, hung naked on the cross, covered with wounds and blood up to His eyes, dimmed with darkness, blood and tears, and so forth. The women of Naples conducted themselves like courtesans who loved sensuality, but did not trouble to bear children. When they discovered themselves to

be in a state of pregnancy they procured abortion by means of drugs and herbs, in order to be able to continue their life of pleasure. If those who lived in that manner desired to be saved, they should in the first place repent of their sins with all their hearts; in the second, confess all to their spiritual advisers, and, in the third, partake of the Holy Communion. To Archbishop Bernhard of Naples St. Bridget spoke of two other sins. Many heathen slaves were bought at Naples, but no attempts were made to convert them to the Christian faith or baptize them. In the case of such slaves as were baptized their masters did not provide for their instruction as to what the Church commanded in her sacraments; they sinned in various ways, but did not know how their sins might be expiated. There were men who considered their female slaves no better than bitches and either sold them to others or what was worse, delivered them to houses of ill-fame in order to receive a shameful and abominable profit, or otherwise they kept them in their own houses for the use of themselves and others. There were some who treated their servants so badly as almost to drive them to suicide. God, however, loved these unfortunates, because He had created them and because He came into this world Himself in order to save them. Some resorted to magicians and other miracle-workers in order to gain the affection of men and women as well as of their masters; others desired to elicit from such accursed people information as to what the future might have in store for them, and still others hoped to be cured of their diseases by such people. All such counsellors, male and female, were an abomination unto God, etc.

Bridget also severely reprimanded Queen Joanna. She (Joanna) should confess everything she had done from her childhood up and conform herself to the instructions of her confessor. She should particularly reflect on the manner in which she had conducted herself during her married life and in the administration of her government, because for what she had done she would be called upon to render an account before God. She should pay her debts and return that which she had unjustly acquired and not promise more than she could fulfill. She should not encumber the public with new taxes, but be satisfied with the customary revenues, because God listens to the cries and lamentations of the poor. Her advisers should be righteous and not influenced by greed. She should intrust jurisdiction to those who loved the truth and not be partial, nor try to enrich herself, but be satisfied with what was necessary. Each day, at stated times, she should meditate on the wounds and passion of Christ, because thereby love would be inspired in her heart. At certain times she should assemble around her the poor, wash their feet and console them. She should treat all her sub-

jects with sincere love, reconcile those who were at odds with one another and comfort those who had suffered injustice. She was to give alms in a rational manner and according to her ability, and not oppress some and favor others, but give wise assistance without injuring others. She should not so much consider the amount of penalty imposed as its justice; in the matter of crimes she should take into consideration the nature of the criminal, and wherever she could discern more of the human side of life, there she should bestow her greatest sympathy. She was to provide for the safekeeping of her kingdom after her death, as she could not expect to have any children. She should be satisfied with her natural complexion and the beauty of feature which God had given her, because unusual and gaudy colors are extremely displeasing to God. She must endeavor to acquire greater humility and a deeper repentance of her sins, since she would appear before God as having robbed Him of his souls, wasted His goods and caused His children anguish. In her heart she should always entertain a great fear of punishment, because she had led the life of a prostitute rather than that of a Queen. She was to lay aside all worldly habits, dismiss all female flatterers and use the remainder of her life, which was quite short (Joanna was about 45 years old at this period) for the glory of God, because up to that time she had conducted herself as a person who paid no heed to her sins. She must consider God as her judge. If she paid no attention to the divine voice, God would judge her not as a Queen, but as an ingrate and a renegade and chastise her from the crown of her head to the tip of her toes.

The foregoing is a good example of the frankness and fearlessness which characterized Bridget's advice to both high and low, and the fact that Joanna seemed to take no offense at Bridget's scoldings—for such they must have been—speaks volumes for her character. On the contrary, the Queen continued to befriend Bridget, who was at this time almost destitute of means, and Joanna's generosity alone enabled the saint to return to Rome. Bridget is said to have been deeply grieved at the abominable moral conditions which prevailed in beautiful Naples, but this was not the only fact which caused her distress, as the return of the Pope to Rome, which was her cherished dream, had not yet been brought about. In fact, she did not live long enough to witness it.

Toward the end of February, 1373, Bridget and her companions once more returned to Rome. This time she took up her lodgings in a house at the Piazza Farnese, which was to be her last. She was now utterly broken in health and her physical strength was almost wasted away. It is quite probable that it was this bodily

weakness which caused the many temptations to which she is said to have been exposed during the Lent of 1373. Honored by the great and powerful of the world, she felt tempted to pride on account of her high birth; the desires of the flesh, which had been strangers to her during her early life and marriage, commenced to harass the old woman (she must certainly have imagined them more serious than they were), and even doubts found their way into her soul, hideous doubts, as, for example, whether the Host which was elevated before the congregation during Mass *really* was the body of Christ. Upon the arrival of Easter, however, she at last obtained relief from her obsessions; the warm season was now approaching, and with it her remaining strength ebbed away hourly. On the 17th day of July she had a vision of Christ standing in front of the altar in her room, and He finally released her from her bondage of doubt and anxiety, stating that she was now to become His bride and plight her troth to Him before the altar. As His bride she was also to spiritually preside as mother superior of the convent at Vadstena. In the early morning of July 23, 1373, after having received Holy Communion, administered, according to some, by her friend, Alphonso of Jaen, Bridget expired, uttering the words, "*Domine, in manus tuas commendo animam meam.*" ("Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.")

As soon as the news of her death had spread in Rome, it is said that almost the entire city crowded around her apartments and the vicinity of her house in the Piazza Farnese. On the afternoon of the same day, notwithstanding the humble wish to be buried quietly at night (she had commanded them to bury her secretly at night, but on account of the crowd this could not be done; see "Bollandists," October, p. 461), a long cortege composed of great numbers of the clergy and the highest of the Roman nobility accompanied the body to the convent church of the Poor Clares of San Lorenzo, in Panisperna, on the highest point of the Viminal Hill, which had been a favorite resort of the saint during her life. The body was enclosed in a wooden coffin, and as it was the desire of her relatives to convey the remains to Sweden to be preserved in the convent she had founded, it was also wrapped in cloth. Her son Birger, who during his stay in Palestine had been made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre; Latino Orsini, the Count of Nola and others affixed their seals to the seams of the cloth, in order to avoid future complications. The coffin was then deposited in a marble sarcophagus in the Church of San Lorenzo, in a place which Bridget herself had selected for that purpose.

It should be mentioned that at the time of Bridget's death many writers have stated that her intimate friend Bishop Alphonso de

Vadaterra was absent from Rome on a visit to the Pope in Avignon on some mission on behalf of Bridget, but this does not agree with the statement that the saint had received Holy Communion at the hands of Alphonso just before she died. According to the best authority, however, the Bishop of Jaen was in Avignon at the time of Bridget's death. Upon his return, preparations were immediately made to transport the remains to Sweden, and at the expiration of five weeks everything was in readiness for the journey. There seems to have been some difficulty in connection with the transportation of the coffin and it was therefore decided, after consultation with Bishop Alphonso, to have the flesh removed from the bones before commencing the journey. This task was assigned to the priest Magnus Petersson, who was an experienced anatomist, assisted by some Roman surgeons. The proceeding to be adopted for this purpose—the method appears rather gruesome—was the placing of the body in a tank of boiling water, together with some aromatic herbs. When, however, the hour for this operation had arrived, the seals broken and the coffin opened, it was found, according to the contemporaneous testimony of the above-mentioned Magnus, who was present at the time, that the flesh had entirely disappeared from the bones which were contained in the shroud, white and polished like ivory, as if the body had been in the grave for a period of ten years. The Catholic tradition, moreover, was to the effect that an exquisite fragrance proceeded from the coffin, and that the shroud which had contained the body was preserved dry and intact and did not present a single stain. The relics were now placed in a precious casket, with the exception, it is said, of the right arm, which was donated as a souvenir to the convent in Panisperna. Early in September the pilgrims left Rome, where they had resided for nearly twenty-eight years, embarked at Ancona for Triest and thence proceeded through Carinthia, Lower Austria, Poland and Prussia to Dantzic, where they embarked for Sweden.

While crossing the Baltic a strange incident appears to have occurred, which one of the party described as follows: "As we were on the sea which separates Sweden from Germany (the Baltic), and were quite uncertain, on account of the war, at what port of Sweden we might make the most convenient landing, there appeared suddenly in the sky about midday a dazzlingly brilliant star. It was first observed by a sick child on board, which showed it to us. We were greatly astonished at beholding such a bright star at the hour of noon, in full sunlight, and it seemed to precede and guide our ship." The party finally landed at the little harbor of Söderköping, in Ostrogothia, on June 29, 1374, less than a year after

Bridget's death. It is of interest to know that this little town, which at that time was quite a considerable seaport, now lies far inland, at a distance of several miles from the sea, proving the truth of Ovid's famous sentence:

*"Vidi factas ex aequore terras,
Et procul a pelago conchae jacuere marinae,
Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis."*

In the mountain overlooking this little town and shown in the accompanying illustration iron rings have been found riveted in the rocks, indicating the mooring places of ships belonging to a legendary viking named Ramunder, who had his stronghold in this mountain and for whom it has been named.

From Söderköping the funeral procession, accompanied everywhere by vast crowds of people, proceeded to Linköping, the ancient seat of the Bishop of the diocese, and here Bishop Nicholas Hermansson received the pilgrims and the relics, which were afterward exposed for public veneration in the renowned Cathedral of that city. On July 4, 1374, as tradition has it, the procession reached Vadstena, Bridget's home town. The pilgrims carrying the remains of the famous saint proceeded to the convent gates, which were thrown wide open, the bells sounded their solemn salutation from the tower of the convent church and all the monks and nuns assembled to receive them. According to tradition, the relics were exposed for public veneration in the church for eight days, but the actual enshrinement did not take place until June 1, 1393. The remains of the saint still repose in the same casket in which they were transported across the continent of Europe, and to-day, after a lapse of nearly six hundred years, the bones may be viewed in the sacristy of the "*Klosterkyrkan*" (convent church) upon application to the sexton.

Of Bridget's pilgrim companions the two Peters returned to Alvastra, Magnus Petersson entered the Brigittine order, her own son Birger died in 1390, a year previous to the canonization of his mother and her daughter Catherine was subsequently beatified under the name of St. Catherine of Sweden and worshipped as the national saint *par excellence* of that country during the remaining part of the Catholic period. Meanwhile Catherine, again accompanied by Prior Peter of Alvastra and Peter Olafsson, had returned to Rome at the request of Bishop Nicholas of Linköping, in order to inaugurate and attend the canonization proceedings in that city. Arriving in Rome in the year 1376 (the year of the death of Gregory XI.), the two fathers took up their abode in the Cistercian monastery, while Catherine was again cordially received

by the Poor Clares of San Lorenzo, in Panisperna. Catherine at once secured an audience with Pope Gregory, shortly previous to his death. On the occasion of this visit she was attended by Peter Olafsson who carried the "*Liber Attestationum*," containing an account of all the miracles wrought by Bridget before and after her death, whereupon the usual committee of Cardinals was appointed to investigate into the merits of the case. This committee was headed by the famous Cardinal Joannes de Turrecremata (Spanish, Torquemada.) Meanwhile Gregory XI. died and Bartolomeo Prignano was elected at Rome as his successor, under the title of Urban VI., while at Avignon Robert of Geneva, who styled himself Clement VII. was elected anti-Pope. This gave rise to the so-called great schism of the West. The bull of confirmation of the Brigittine order was issued in December, 1378, Cardinal de Sabran having been appointed to reëxamine it. The prime mover in the cause of the Brigittine order as well as the matter of Bridget's beatification was the daughter Catherine, who labored with this end in view, assisted by another famous saint, Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine of Sweden died, however, on March 24, 1381, long before her filial task could be finished.

Bridget's canonization finally took place on October 8, 1391, accompanied by much ecclesiastical pomp and in the presence of a great number of priests and nobles. From 6 o'clock in the evening of October 6 and throughout the night announcement of the impending event was made by the tolling of all the church bells in Rome; at 7 o'clock the next morning the doors of the Papal chapel in the Vatican were thrown open, Pope Boniface IX. celebrated Solemn High Mass in person and delivered a statement giving the reasons entitling Bridget to a place among the saints of the Church. A solemn procession passed through the Apostolic Palace, many already invoking the blessing and assistance of the newly created Saint, and a plenary indulgence was granted to all who would visit the churches for the purpose of adoring the new saint. At the conclusion of the Mass and sermon Bridget's name was inscribed by Boniface IX. in the "*Liber Sanctorum*," and at midnight thirty thousand lamps were lighted in St. Peter's, in addition to innumerable candles and torches. According to an old account, the Holy Roman Emperor and all the kings, princes and a great number of the prelates of the Catholic world assisted in person at this celebration.

The memory of Bridget is still kept alive in Rome at the monastery church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, where she once lived, in the Catacombs of St. Sebastian and in the Basilica of St. Paul's, where she had made frequent pilgrimages and where several of her

revelations occurred. The crucifix which she adored is still in existence and is uncovered on the first day of each month and on Wednesday of "Holy Week."

At the general or Oecumenical Council of Constanz, held from 1414 to 1418, during which Johann Huss suffered death at the stake, the great French theologist Jean Gerson, the energetic antagonist of religious mysticism, announced his doubts as to the genuineness of Bridget's revelations and the propriety of her canonization. At the subsequent Council of Basel, which commenced its labors in December, 1431, two Germans and one Spaniard submitted no less than 123 extracts from the "*Revelationes*," which they did not consider truly orthodox. The members of the Council were divided into four nations, i. e., the Italian, sections or by committees, one of which was assigned to the consideration of articles of faith. Each of the nations was represented in the last named committee. The aforementioned Cardinal Turrecremata, a Dominican prior, professor of theology and *Magister Sacri Palatii*, residing in the Apostolic Palace, Papal Delegate at the Council; Heymerich de Campo, vice-chancellor of the University of Cologne; Joannes Roberti, Cistercian abbot and professor of theology, and Luigi de Pirano, of the Order of St. Francis and also professor of theology, all of them men of great prominence within the Church, pronounced themselves convinced of the genuineness and truth of the "*Revelationes*." The decision of this Council, however, was adverse to Bridget's cause; the "Revelations" were not approved and the seal of the Council's disapproval was also, and with much greater reason, placed on the pretensions of the Brigittine monks that her Revelations should be entitled to the same credit as the Evangels. But the effect of this decision was insignificant, in view of the existing schism. Pope John XXIII., whose election and authority were doubtful, confirmed the bull of canonization issued by Boniface IX., as well as the rules and constitution of the new order of St. Salvator. Finally, after the schism had ceased, Pope Martin V. (Otto Colonna) confirmed both the canonization and the rule in the year 1419.

Bridget's chief title to fame and the remembrance of mankind lies not so much in her visions or revelations, which have been doubted by many, as in her efforts to bring about reform not from without, but from within the Church. That these were largely unsuccessful was not her fault, but that of the period. As a reformer of the morals of her time and the customs and manners of the Church she holds and should hold an equal rank with such men as Savonarola, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Dante, William Durandus and others of equal fame, while her great piety and devotion to

religion have throughout subsequent ages endeared her name and memory to all the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Tourists in Sweden should not fail to visit the beautiful town of Vadstena, which contains so many interesting relics and places of historic interest dating from a time when the New World was still unknown to European civilization. From a religious and sentimental point of view, it should also become an object of ambition on the part of the faithful to endeavor to obtain possession of the ancient monastery founded by St. Bridget, now desecrated to the uses of a lunatic asylum, as well as the monastery church, which contains many and precious relics from a period when the entire Christian world recognized the See of Rome as its supreme religious authority.

SVEN MAGNUS GRONBERGER.

Washington, D. C.

TWO ELIZABETHANS.

THE age of "good Queen Bess," as some of her admirers were wont to call her, is regarded as of tremendous importance in English history and English literature. To the historian it marks the end of the strong Tudor monarchy, to the *litterateur* it means an epoch of lyric sweetness in song and conclusive strength in drama, to the economist a period of commercial expansion unequaled in the history of the world, to the geographer an age when new lands were discovered and new colonies founded, when Hawkins and Raleigh, Drake and Cavendish, privateers and merchant adventurers, were building Britain's greatness across seven oceans, when bread was cast upon the waters which should return after many years with glory everlasting and the lordship of the sea. It was a time when, in letters and in commerce, men were able to rise quickly to posts of honor. Distinctions between classes never were before, nor have been since, so little regarded as they were then. University wits, masters in arts from Oxford and Cambridge, mingled on the stage and in the taverns with grammar school lads from Stratford and unschooled drunkards from Cheap-side. Then, if ever, was a true democracy of letters. So let it not seem strange that we link together the names of Thomas Lodge, son of the Lord Mayor of London, and Ben Jonson, thundering bricklayer. The one was gentleman born and bred and ever, in the fashion of the time, subscribed himself as such—but he failed at several forms of literature, gained but a few small successes, and then drifted into the obscurity of the medical profession and flitting recusancy. The other began in humbler wise, fought a path for his huge frame almost on the very door of the Mermaid, gained the ear of a literary king who came down out of Scotland in 1603, and as regular writer of court masques reveled in the gorgeous pageantry of nobility. We do not know if the two ever met. We are aware of only two things they had in common, aside from their tastes for scribbling, namely, the remembrance of adventurous younger days and the experience of conversion. Because of this dissimilarity—a dissimilarity which, by the way, exists also in the very tenor of every line they wrote—it is only in our mind's eye that we can see them sitting together at some dusky London tavern, quaffing huge cups of malmsey or sack, making the very mulliered panes of those old windows shake with the roar of boisterous laughter, and seeing in the wraiths of smoke which drifted lazily up against the dark oaken beams—seeing such creatures, persons and places as never were on sea or land, as only their rare spirits could call down to earth:

"Souls of poets, dead and gone!
 What Elysium have ye known,
 Happy field, or mossy cavern,
 Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?"

I.

"Protagoras can know Apelles by his line though he see him not, and wise men can consider by the Penn of auctorite of the writer though they know him not."—Thos. Lodge.

The usage of biography requires that I state at the outset that Thomas Lodge was born probably in 1556 or 1557, and died of the plague in 1625. Says Edmund Gosse:

"If a full and continuous biography of Thomas Lodge could be recovered, it would possess as much interest to a student of Elizabethan manners and letters as any memoir that can be imagined. It would combine, in a series of pictures, scenes from all the principal conditions of life in that stirring and vigorous age. It would introduce us to the stately civic life of London city, to Oxford in the early glow of humanism and liberal thought, to the dawn of professional literature in London, to the life of a sailor on the high seas, to the poetry of the age, and then to its science, to the stage in London and to the anatomical lecture-room in Avignon, to the humdrum existence of a country practitioner, and to the perilous intrigues of a sympathizer with Catholicism trembling on the verge of treason."¹

Such is usually the case of any man who makes a name, but not a great name, in the field of letters. The man of genius overcomes obstacles, blazes his own single trail and the world makes a beaten path to his door. But he who is not so successful touches the life of his age in many ways. Thus in Defoe we find a truer reflection of his times than in Addison, in Southey a fuller landscape than in Byron, in Lodge a more typical view of Elizabethan days than in Shakespeare. The one is confined to letters, the other touches on nearly every phase of contemporary politics, commerce and thought. In one we get an idea; in the other ideas. And justly has Mr. Atkins said of Lodge: "His restless, unsettled career was typical of his age."

It is almost characteristic of the spirit of colonization and the lure of scarce discovered lands that Lodge's first book defended something which did not yet exist. He had been to the Merchant Taylor's School, attended Trinity College at Oxford and was in

¹ Edmund Gosse, "Seventeenth Century Studies," p. 1. This memoir by Mr. Gosse can be supplemented only by Sir Sidney Lee's excellent article in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and by a German study, R. Carl: "Neber Thos. Lodge's Leben und Werks. Eine Kritische Untersuchung im Ausschuss au David Laing. In Anglia." Vol. X. (1887), pp. 235-289.

residence in Lincoln's Inn, probably "eating his way to the bar," as the phrase goes, when Stephen Gosson issued "The School of Abuse" in 1579, attacking an evil which then scarcely existed, attacking even before it commenced, that great activity of heart and mind which has made memorable two words in all the English language—"Elizabethan Literature." There was a certain unforeseen justice in Lodge's answer: "No meruel though you disprayse poetrye, when you know not what it meanes! . . . Then that have knowledge what comedies and tragedies be wil comend them, but it is sufferable in the folish to reprove that they know not." At any rate, Lodge was prompt in reply. We are ignorant as to the name of his tract, for the title pages of both existing copies are lost. We are ignorant of his motive, for though it was charged that the players advertised for a supporter to their cause, there is no certainty as to why Lodge in particular took up the gauntlet. But take up the gauntlet he did, and in no uncertain or delicate terms assailed the Puritan. He told Gosson that that Puritan was trying to raise up a new set of unnatural stoics, that he had forgotten his learning since leaving college, and that he never gained proper instruction from his reading. Lodge defended literature on somewhat the same grounds as Sidney. "A heavenly, a perfect gift," says Lodge. "To teach and delight," added Sidney. Lodge's pamphlet, though not comparable to Sidney's fine philosophical study, yet deserves credit for being the first in the field.

But it is noteworthy that Lodge can point with pride to no British publication and has to be content with mentioning the classics as proof of his contention. His next care was to produce what he had praised. Records for these years are very scant, but we at least know that in 1584 he produced an "Alarum Against Usurers," a tract somewhat of the type we usually associate with Desher, and in 1589 "Scilla's Metamorphosis," a classical poem in the decorative manner of romance. In the latter he declares his intention

"To write no more of that whence shame doth grow
Or tie my pen to penning knaves' delight,
But live with fame and so for fame to write."

Scholars have been inclined to interpret this as a decision to abandon writing for the stage, but there is doubt as to whether or what he had written in a dramatic vein before. We do at least know that he associated no longer with cheap scribblers, but rather with Daniel and Drayton, and then took himself far afield.

Lodge's next published work was his most famous "Rosalynde," 1590. Significantly he says in his preface "to the gentleman readers:"

"Room for a soldier and a sailor, that gives you the fruits of his labors that he wrote in the ocean, when every line was wet with a surge and every humorous passion counterchecked with a storm. If you like it, so; and yet I will be yours in duty if you be mine in favor. But if Momus or any squint-eyed ass that hath mighty ears to conceive with Midas, and yet little reason to judge, if he came aboard our bark to find fault with the tackling, when he knows not the shrouds, I'll down into the hold and fetch out a rusty pole-axe that saw no sun this seven year, and either well baste him or heave the cockscomb overboard to feed cods."

This was the spirit of an adventurer who heard the winds and the waves roar, who boarded a Spanish galleon with as light a heart as he cribbed stanzas from any French or Italian book. No mere chance led this young man on the seas abroad. It was the spirit of the age. And his discoveries were not merely reckoned in peoples and lands or Spanish doubloons. He sailed, about 1588, for the Azores and the Canaries, where, perhaps under the very guns of Angra, he wrote this prose romance, modeling partly after the pseudo-Chaucerian "Tale of Gamelyn" and partly after his own fancy, but modeling so well that Shakespeare was content to adopt it almost unaltered for the immortal plot of "As You Like It." Says Mr. Grey: "It has been treated merely as a source, as a thing of no value in itself; the interest it has aroused has been antiquarian rather than literary." But there are situations in it which are unforgettable: Where Rosader woos Rosalynde in the person of Ganymede in a courtly and courteous style the world has unhappily long forgotten, where Rosader saves from a lion the brother who has done him wrong, where Rosader refuses aid and nourishment until his old and feeble friend Adam is properly relieved. The style is after the balanced manner of Lyly—rhetorical, allusive, figurative, conventional. And this influence of the author of "Euphues" is seen in the very sub-title of Lodge's book, "Euphues' Golden Legacie;" it is seen in passages of "The Wounds of Civil War," "A Looking-glass for London and England;" "The Life and Death of William Longbeard," particularly in the romance "Euphues' Shadow," sent from America and pushed through the press in 1592 by poor, unfortunate Robert Greene. Whether this imitation of the cantly phrase of Lyly was due to a probable personal connection at Oxford, or to the prevailing mode of the time, it is difficult to determine. But it matters little. There are passages in "Rosalynde" that have an undying charm. When Sir John of Bordeaux bids farewell to his sons, there are sentiments as fine and almost as well expressed as the advice of Polonius to Laertes. This personal romance in prose, which incidentally has nothing at all to

do with the sea, may stand on its own worth—not very high, perhaps, but yet high enough to be read, admired and loved for many generations to come.

It is not true, as Mr. Atkins has said, that in Lodge's next important work, "Phillis" (1595), "environment worked only by contrast." This, like "Rosalynde," was "hatched in the storms of the ocean and feathered in the surges of many perilous seas."² In "Rosalynde" there were pastoral fields instead of sea waves, but in "Phillis"—one of those curious sonnet sequences so popular in the last decade of the sixteenth century—there are references aplenty to "the wat'ry world, where now I sail." For these delicate complimentary songs, surpassed only by the charming lyrics which dot the letter-press of "Rosalynde," are never far from "the wrestling waves." Sea nymphs are under the bow and Cupid is at the helm. The poems were written on another adventurous expedition into waters ruled by proud Castile and lordly Aragon, when Lodge shipped with the great seaman Cavendish to South America, Brazil and even the Straits of Magellan. They were written in the pastoral vein, to a shepherdess at home tending her flocks on gentle slopes; but they do not completely forget, in their imagery, the rush of water past the ship or the hiss of a foaming wake. They are neither pure pastorals nor pure piscatories. They blend the two. One is an elegy at parting, when

"The winds are fair, the sails are hoisted high,
The anchors weighed."

Another, Sonnet XI., is entirely and completely concerned with the imagery of sea scenes:

"My frail and earthly bark, by reason's guide,
Which holds the helm, whilst will doth wield the sail,
By my desires, the winds of bad betide,
Hath sailed these worldly seas with small avail,
Vain objects serve for dreadful rocks to quail
My brittle boat from haven of life that flies
To haunt the sea of mundane miseries.
My soul that draws impressions from above,
And views my course, and sees the winds aspire,
Bids reason watch to 'scape the shoals of love;
But lawless will enflamed with endless ire
Doth steer em poop, whilst reason doth retire.
The streams increase; love's waves my bark do fill;
Thus are they wracked that guide their course by will."

And yet Mr. Atkins insists that environment worked only by

² Lodge, in the dedication to "Rosalynde."

contrast,³ and Miss Crav that "as far as the imagery of the sonnets is concerned, the pageantry of day and night at sea might have passed before blinded eyes!"⁴ We can only conclude that the eyes of these two editors were blinded when they turned past the pages containing the "Elegy" and this "Sonnet XI."

To continue the figure, Lodge was not blind to the beauties of the sea nor—as the very penetrating gaze of Sir Sidney Lee has discovered—was he blind to the beauties of other literatures. He casually joined a plundering expedition to South America and just as casually played the freebooter among the poems of Petrarch, Rousard, Ariosto, Sanazzara, Bembo, Paschale and Desportes. Sir Sidney Lee has traced eighteen out of the thirty-four poems in "Phyllis" to foreign sources, and says finally of Lodge: "He merits the first place among Elizabethan plagiarists."⁵ And, in extenuation, all we can say is that when other men pillaged at sea, so did Lodge; when other men stole Continental metres and concepts in literature, so did Lodge.

If literary men of those times and sometimes especially were particularly prone to borrowing foreign forms and phrases, the same can scarcely be said of the dramatists. A reckless and irresponsible crew they were indeed, but the predecessors of Shakespeare moulded a new form and created a new method and purpose on the stage. The fall of princes, the virtue of ladies, the value of courage, the clash of conflicting wills—these were subjects which in a British theatre brought to their toes groundlings who were already on their feet. Lodge touched but slightly the moods of the playwrights. "The Wounds of Civil War" and "A Looking-glass for London and England" were probably both presented while he was absent from England, and, though our evidence in this, as in other matters concerning Elizabethan drama, is very scant, it was probably his friend Robert Greene, "Maister in Arts," who saw them on the stage. We are not sure when they were produced—possibly before the "Scilla's Metamorphosis" (1589) mentioned above, certainly before 1594, when they were both printed. It is also probable that of many other pieces attributed to him, "A Larum for London," not printed until 1602, was also by Lodge. These form the total of his productive work in that field of the drama for which he wrote his premature defense in 1570, and the "Looking-glass" was a collaboration play, written with Greene. None of the plays is good. "A Larum for London" is the least distinguished; "The Wounds of Civil War," founded on that Plutarch which Shakespeare had to use in translation, has the best plot, and "A Looking-glass for

³ In the "Cambridge History of English Literature."

⁴ "Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles, Phyllis-Licia," p. 18.

⁵ Article in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

London and England," telling of the sins of Nineveh,⁶ has the best scenes. These last two show undoubted influences of Marlowe:

"I'll make her streets, that peer into the clouds,
Burnish'd with gold and ivory pillars fair,
Shining with jasper, jet and ebony,
All like the palace of the morning sun,
To swim within a sea of purple blood,
Before I lose the name of general!"

and "Six hundred towers that topless touch the clouds,"⁷ and an impassioned scene on the dire distress that shall fall on Nineveh,⁸ and a repetitious declamation:

"Come, lads, though Rasin wants his Radagon,
Earth will repay him many Radagons,
And Alinda with pleasant looks revive
The heart that droupes for want of Radagon"—

all these remind us of him who reached so high and fell so low—Marlowe. But even these tales of wars in Flanders, civil strife in Rome and apocalyptic dominations are never far from Lodge's own British town. There are humble scenes—menials who speak Londonese, "jolly stuff," drinkings, beatings, rollicking songs, social satire on deceitful lawyers and usurious knaves; and all these scenes are really in Cheapside or Southwark. It was no mere chance that Lodge wrote so well⁹ "the tidings full of wonder and amaze." Says the rubric, "Enter the merchant of Tharsus, the M. of the ship, some sailors wet from the sea," and then follows a description of a storm at sea. Not from the city of St. Paul did Lodge get his material, nor even from Holy Scripture. He got it himself on one of these voyages made in the company of adventurous British seamen.¹¹ And yet, except for some few such purple patches as these, there is nothing distinctive or distinguished in his dramatic work. In the words of Collier, "One of his original pieces [which were very few] made melancholy reference to his want of success in different spheres of life, and especially in connection with the stage."¹² So, to quote again, "Lodge, at best but a wayfarer in the hostel of

⁶ Cf. *The "motions,"* puppet show of Nineveh, mentioned in "Every Man Out of His Humor," Act II, scene 1.

⁷ "The Wounds of Civil War," Act I, scene 1.

⁸ "A Looking Glass for London and England," Act I, Scene 1., cf. Marlowe: "The Topless Towers of Illium."

⁹ Differs in final resolution from the final scene of "Dr. Faustus."

¹⁰ Assuming that he wrote it, not Greene, for we have eschewed what Mr. Saintsbury calls "the fruitless and always uncertain task of separation."

¹¹ In one of his pamphlets Lodge tells "Of maine famous pirats, who in times past were Lordes of the Sea."

¹² J. P. Collier in introduction to an edition of "William Longbeard."

the drama, made way for a throng of inpouring enthusiasts—and made way contemptuously.¹³

The last thirty years of Lodge's life, from 1595 to 1625, are the most interesting and the least studied. They are also the years with which recent research has least concerned itself, and it is probably to them that future scholars will turn, not so much for material illustrative of the drama as for insight into the purely personal activities of a declining age. In 1600, we are told, Lodge took a medical degree at Avignon and in 1602 was incorporated as "Doctor of Physic" in the University of Oxford. He had little to do with the theatre, though he was probably friendly with Dekker, and he devoted himself to his profession and to translation of serious tomes from foreign languages. There are, in the documents of that period which have survived the wear of time and the misuse of libraries, occasional references to him as a medical man, and Mr. Gosse has unearthed a letter which indicates that Lodge was active in Catholic circles in years when such activity was unpopular, if not dangerous. For Lodge had definitely gone over to Rome.

In years when British materialism was almost synonymous with ardent Protestantism, Lodge had forgotten the religious differences which sharpened the Armada conflict into an almost sectarian warfare. In his "Life of Robin the Devil" (1591) he had shown an evident sympathy for Roman forms of worship.¹⁴ In "A Larum for London" (1594-1602) he assails "the swelling pride and tyrannie of Spaine" and yet makes no attack on religious grounds, although a priory, a convent and the Mass are casually mentioned. In "The Life and Death of William Longbeard" (1593), though there is a dissembling "Abbot of Cadonence in Normandie," Lodge tells of a Pope who overcomes a wicked pirate, speaks of a queen building a church in honor of Our Lady, and elsewhere refers in decorous words to the Blessed Virgin. This tendency is all the more noteworthy when we find him on that expedition with Cavendish in 1592 reading from a library of the fathers in a college of Jesuits at Santos. We are delightfully reminded, as we think of Lodge bending over those old books, of the words of Cicero in the oration in defense of Archias, the poet, where he remarks that these studies and tastes for literature are of all times and of all places, and then goes on to say, "*Pemotant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*"¹⁵

Perchance this inclination and this familiarity with Catholicism

¹³ Professor G. P. Baker in "Cambridge History of English Literature," Vol. V., p. 140.

¹⁴ There was nothing remarkable in the priest solemnizing the marriage of Rosader and Rosalynde. Even Spenser used the word "priest" without resentment in "The Shepherdes Calender."

¹⁵ Quoted, by chance, by Lodge in his "Defense of Poetry" in 1579.

was the chiefest treasure—we know of no other that he brought—Lodge brought back with him from that expedition. For the faint touch of Catholicism evident in “The Devil Conjured” (1596) and “Wit’s Misery” (1596) is strengthened and deeply confirmed in a religious tract, “Prosopoeia; or, Tears of the Holy, Blessed and Sanctified Mary, the Mother of God,” published in 1596. By 1623¹⁶ he was able to write of these things in the tone of secure acceptance. And the reason for all this lies probably in his second marriage, about the year 1596, with a Mrs. Jane Albridge (or Aldred), a Catholic widow, who was formerly a dependent of Lodge’s early patron, Sir Francis Walsingham, and who had established quite a reputation for herself as an active recusant.

So with a growing practice and an increasing professional reputation, Thomas Lodge ended his days in communion with the Holy See at Rome. He tried to win a reputation at many things, stooped to scurrilous pamphleteering, traveled across the seas as a free-booter, wrote some bad plays, penned a series of exquisite sonnets, contributed one splendid prose romance to increase the glory of Elizabethan literature, and finally turned in middle life to a new profession and to a new faith. Whether all his efforts and all his journeys were worth the labor, whether all his polemics, his poetry and his plays brought him any satisfaction, it is not for us to say. Lost in the records of the past are the many personal details which went to make up the daily life of a man who emerged but now and then into the public prints. At all events, he has left us something to charm our reading hours; and across the page sways and sweeps the shadow of his curious and many-sided personality. With Keats we can only wonder and hazard the query:

“Bards of Passion and of Mirth!
Ye have left your souls on earth.
Have ye souls in heaven, too,
Double-lived in regions new?”

II.

The second of our Elizabethans, Ben Jonson, was born in 1573 and died in 1637, and his best work for the stage was done between 1598 and 1614, after Lodge had retired. Like the great Samuel Johnson of a century and a half later, he himself is more interesting than anything he ever wrote. He of all men is the person who made the Mermaid Tavern famous:

“There, flitting to and fro with cups of wine,
I heard them toss the chrysomelean names
From mouth to mouth—Lyly and Peale and Lodge,

¹⁶ “The Poor Man’s Talent” (1623).

Kit Marlowe and the rest,
 With Ben, rare Ben, bricklayer Ben, who rolled
 Like a giant galleon on his ingle-bench.
 Some twenty years of age he seemed: and yet
 This huge gargantua with the bulldog jaws,
 The T, for Tyburn, branded on his thumb,
 And grim pock-pitted face, was graveting tales
 To Dekker that would fright a buccaneer—
 How in the fierce Low Countries he had killed
 His man, and won that scar on his bronzed fist;
 And, now returned to London, was resolved
 To blast away the vapours of the town
 With Boreas-throated plays of thunderous mirth.
 'I'll thwack their tribulation-wholesanes,¹⁷ lad,
 Their Yellow-faced Envies and lean Thorns-i'-the-Flesh.'¹⁸

In other words, he was a man with what might be called a roaring personality. He was a fighter. He had fought on the battlefield for certain principles and now was disposed to fight on the stage for other principles. His most famous character, Captain Bobadill, a first study for Falstaff, boasts of having completed a single combat in the face of the army,¹⁹ but Jonson had actually done the thing himself.

"In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the camps, killed ane enimie and taken *opima spolia* from him."²⁰

And he likewise had boasted of his deed in the epigram "To True Soldiers:"

"I swear by you, true friend, my Muse, I love
 Your great profession, which I once did prove;
 And did not shame it with my actions then,
 No more than I dare now do with my pen."

After returning to England, "being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which had hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was larger than his, for the which he was emprissoned, and almost at the gallows."²¹ Again he got into a fight, though the killing of this Gabriel Spenser would seem to have been serious

¹⁷ "Tribulation Wholesome, a pastor of Amsterdam," is a character in "The Alchemist," and will be mentioned later. In Shakespeare's "Henry VIII. (Act V., Scene 3) there is a reference to the Tribulation of Tower Hill, which evidently means the meeting of some particular set of Puritans.

¹⁸ From "Tales of the Mermaid Tavern," by Alfred Noyes.

¹⁹ "Every Man in His Humor," Act IV., Scene 5.

²⁰ "Conversations with William Drummond," the Shakespeare Society, 1842, a valuable source for biographical material. Hereafter referred to as Drummond.

²¹ Drummond.

enough to have been a warning. "He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him."²² And he demonstrated his courage in another way when this same Marston and Chapman, with both of whom he had collaborated on "Eastward Hoe!" were imprisoned for some sentiments contained in that play. Jonson forthwith marched into the jail and declared that he would share their punishment. Finally, Jonson even quarreled with the renowned architect, Inigo Jones, to whom he was under obligations, if he did not actually owe him for bread and butter. But this quarrel was more of the quill and ink honor than of the pistol and powder box. Jonson wrote, condemning, though he feigned to overlook:

"Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand."

This thundering person was ever in the thick of what we now call "the war of the theatres," for he had set out in the very beginning to be a reformer. Though his comedies frequently did not pay for fire and doorkeeper in the theatre,²³ and "off all his playes he never gained two hundreth pounds,"²⁴ he had the courage to maintain his principles in the face of failure. There were two great dramatic reformers of this age, one a romantic, the other a realist. There was Marlowe, who said:

"From jiggig veins of rhyming mother wits
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We lead you to the stately tents of war."

There was Jonson, ten years later, who said he would give

"Deeds and language, such as men do use,
And persons, such as comedy would choose,
When she would show an image of the times,
And sport with human follies, not with crimes."

He thought the formlessness of the English drama deplorable and its violation of the unities outrageous. He despised the unnatural wars, the bombastic rhetoric and the political intrigue—on the stage. "These paper pedlars! these ink-dabblers! . . . are the most shallow, pitiful, barren fellows that live upon the face of the earth." He believed, as Ludovic Halévy has since stated, that "the drama is not the land of chimeras and fantasy, it is one of the exact sciences;" and let slip no occasion to criticize those who violated the ancient principles by which alone he deemed perfection could be attained. "The rough and rugged one," he called a character who was supposed to represent himself, and there was little of the smoothness of old-time culture in his violent criticisms.

²² Drummond.

²³ Gervinius, "Shakespeare Commentaries."

²⁴ Drummond.

As early as 1598 he condemned "Hieronimo Is Mad Again!"—an old play which needed condemnation. In 1599 he was supposed to be ridiculing Marston and Dekker, and in "The Poetaster" (1501) he openly attacked them. In "Cynthia's Revels" (1600) he laughs at Marston and the Euphemists and raves against pastoral conventions.²⁵ In "Every Man Out of His Humour" he made fun of platonic love as it appeared in the sonnets. Small wonder, then, that Mr. Herford has called criticism "the dominant habit of Jonson's mind." There is nothing accidental in this writing of Jonson's, none of the dilettantism which crops up from time to time in Lodge. He wrote a splendid appreciation of the rôle poetry should play, which unfortunately appeared only in the first edition of "Every Man in His Humour." And he wished to exalt "the despised head of poetry again, and strip her out of those rotten and base rags wherein the times have adulterated her form."²⁶ His theory he sought to sustain by hard work and determination, and it sometimes chanced that his theory overshadowed his genius.

Nor was his witticism confined to literary topics. In those diverging days of Elizabeth men went

"To see the wonders of the world abroad, . . .
Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there;
Some to discover islands far away,
Some to the studious universities."

Ben Jonson cared not if they went abroad, but he would have them return home as good Englishmen as when they left. He stood for solid nationalism, a centre about which the growing Empire might revolve. But he had no use for fashions imported from other lands—for the affectation of the "Englishman Italianate," for the insincerity of the religious fanatics from Holland, for the fripperies which the gallant brought home from Paris.

"With an armed and resolved hand
I'll strip the ragged follies of the time."²⁷

It is social witticism of a keen and piercing kind which gives a unity and a purpose to his writing that enables us to put him beside Langland and Malory, Chaucer and Thomas More, as a man who writes not only for his own time, but for all time; not only for all time, but directly for his own.²⁸

²⁵ Tleck thinks that the closing lines of the epilogue of this play furnished Shakespeare with the title of "As You Like It."

²⁶ Dedication to "Volpone, or The Fox."

²⁷ It is significant that Jonson gives English characters to the Italian plot on which he built the play "Every Man in His Humor."

²⁸ A case in point refers to the practice of gallants sitting upon the very stage. Yet "The Gull's Horn Book" and "The Old Wive's Tale," usually mentioned in this connection, do not illustrate the practice better than Jonson's "Every Man Out of His Humor" and "Cynthia's Revels."

Jonson knew the Elizabethan age as only that man knows who has tried its adventures and undergone its hardships. This man whom critics have tried to identify with Shakespeare's Ajax, "the mongrel, beef-witted lord,"²⁹ was "brought up poorly, put to school by a friend, after taken from it, and put to one other craft;" yet "he was better versed and knew more in Greek and Latin than all the poets in England." The trade of bricklayer could bring no such distinction as that of letters; and aside from becoming official masque writer to King James, he was finally made Master of Arts in both the universities, by their favor, not his studies."³⁰ He had literally to struggle forward, even sometimes having violent disagreements with those who were "sealed of the tribe of Ben." If he was "given rather to losse a friend than a jest," his companions were no less careful of his feelings. One of them wrote for him an epitaph which Jonson good-naturedly communicated to Drummond:

"Here lyes Benjamin Johnson dead,
And hath no more wit than [a] goose in his head;
That as he was wont, so doth he still,
Live by his wit and evermore will."

And sometimes his living was not so easy. We have already mentioned the small sum he said he received from his comedies. It was true, of course, that "every first day of the new year he had twenty pounds sent him from the Earl of Pembroke to buy bookes."³¹ It was true that he can in a sense be called the first poet laureate, because he received a regular "pension" in the form of a barrel of wine. But even the wine was not delivered punctually and he had, at least once, to write a rebuke to the royal authorities.

"What can the cause be, when the King hath given
His poet sack, the Household will not pay?"

But there was one thing in Ben Jonson's life which was probably a more dangerous adventure than any "war of the theatres" or actual battle in the field. He told Drummond that when he was in prison he embraced a new religion; and though he perhaps did not embrace it very ardently, it was at least risky to be on speaking terms with Catholicism.

"Then [1598] took he his religion by trust, of a priest who visited him in prison. Thereafter he was twelve yeares a Papist. . . . After he was reconciled with the Church, and left of to be a recusant, at his first Communion, in token of true reconciliation, he drank out all the full cup of wine."³²

²⁹ See "*Trollus and Cressida*," Act I., Scene 2, ll. 19-32.

³⁰ These three quotations from Drummond.

³¹ Drummond.

³² Drummond.

It shall not be our purpose here, as some Catholic writers have done, to gloat over his conversion, to elaborate unnecessarily on all too scanty details, or to speak of his later return to Anglicanism as a "shameful apostasy." There is too much impassioned intolerance put to paper already. Suffice it to remark that by Northampton he was "accused of Poperie and treason" for his "*Sejanus*" (1603), and that we must not forget the words "by trust." Speaking of this qualifying admission, Mr. Herford has spoken quite sensibly:

"It would be rash to assert, in the face of this phrase, that his conviction was very profound, or that it was reached by a very elaborate process of reasoning. But it is still more out of the question to treat it as a mere whim. The heresy which he had embraced in prison when in the very grasp of the Queen's Government and danger of his life, he retained for twelve years among the more subtle temptations of court favor; and had recusancy been a safer and easier game than it was, the sterling honesty of Jonson is wholly above suspicion. He is entitled to the credit of equal sincerity when he took his first sacrament in prison bread, and when, a dozen years later, he characteristically drained the cup "in token of true reconciliation." At the same time the sturdy heroism involved in recusancy under Elizabeth may well have had a certain attraction for this soldier among poets, who, without canting the rôle of Ishmael, played it, when forced upon him, with a certain grim zest. And it may be suggested also that the most ancient of living forms of Christianity appealed powerfully to the scholar Jonson, whose 'humbler gleanings in divinity after the fathers' were long afterwards among the ruined treasures of his study."⁸²

And we know that he condemns Presbyterianism in "*A Tale of a Tub*." He attacks Puritans in "*Bartholomew Fair*," particularly Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, formerly a baker, who dreams now and sees visions, and ridicules in "*The Alchemist*" those who "whine of purity and hypocrisy." It was not safe then, when the Puritan middle class was gathering strength for the great rebellion, to say of them: "*Dum vivant stutivitia, in contraria currunt*," or to speak as follows to a pastor of Amsterdam and Ananias, his deacon:

"Call yourselves
By names of Tribulation, Persecution,
Restraint, long-patience, and such-like, affected
By the whole family or mood of you,
Only for glory, and to catch the ear
Of the disciple."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ "*The Alchemist*," Act III., Scene 2.

⁸² From the introduction to the Mermaid edition.

In "Bartholomew Fair" (1614)—and the date is important, because it was after Jonson had returned to Anglicanism—he inserts among other ridiculous statements from the lips of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a condemnation of "those superstitious relics, those lists of Latin, the very rags of Rome, and patches of Popery. (The surrounding context is significant.) In "Every Man in His Humour" (1598) he commends a rigid Roman Catholic who stands by his oath; there is "The Ghyrland of the Blessed Virgin Marie" (1635), which has been attributed to him; in "Volpone, or the Fox" (1605), he has a decent reference to a good Catholic; and though he does allow himself to tell Drummond a joke on a Catholic king, he more than compensates by saying to the same man of Hawthornden:

"That Southwell was hanged (in 1595); yet so he had written that piece of his, the 'Burning Babe,' he would have been content to have destroyed many of his."

But it is silly to try to quarrel over the religious beliefs of these men.

Ben Jonson in his work and in his influence has left an imperishable heritage. To them we should direct attention. His work is many-sided. "Sejanus" (1603) is a Roman tragedy worthy of Shakespeare. His "Explorata, or Discoveries," were equal, if not superior, to the famous "Essays of Francis Bacon,"³⁵ and led Swinburne to say, "A fool may talk, but a wise man speaks." He has been given by scholars a rollicking ballad in Percy's "Reliques" called "The Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow." His classical learning underlies all his work³⁶ and bring us some apt, though not exact, translations from Horace and Martial. Coleridge remarks that "The Alchemist" has one of the three most perfect plots ever planned, and Dryden that "The Silent Woman" represents the highest perfection of dramatic art on record. Says Swinburne: "Not even the ardor of his most fanciful worshippers, from the data of Cartwright and Randolph to the data of Gilchrist and Pifford, could exaggerate the actual greatness of his various and marvelous energies."³⁷

In his plays he set a new fashion. He tried to abide by the unities. He took into full consideration the difficulties of actual stage representation,³⁸ and yet, with the possible exception of Shakes-

³⁵ Much credit must be given Jonson for his high praise in these "Discoveries," as also in "Underwoods," for the disgraced Lord Vaulain.

³⁶ Even "Every Man Out of His Humor."

³⁷ To this Swinburne says: "Il maestro di color che sanno."

³⁸ For instance, he tells Drummond that "he had an intention to have made a play like 'Plautus Amphitrio,' but left it off, for that he could never find so two like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one."

peare, he was less contaminated with the clamor of popular wish than any other dramatist of his time. He had a scholar's ideas of what was right and wrong, and therefore composed his plays to fit those ideas, not to fit the public—which was therefore less pleased with them. Where Shakespeare chose what he thought fitting and welded all together, Jonson vigorously rejected what he deemed unfitting and kept the remainder. The artistic results were not far different from a technical point of view; but the modes of work were quite contrary. The product in both cases bore the undisputed marks of genius.

Now at the end of this essay we shall put three quotations from Ben Jonson which in a way summarize his difficulties, his ideals and his enduring charm. Not only that. They typify the same things and could be applied to almost any worthy writer of the age of Elizabeth.

First, as to his critics against whom he fought:

"At last they would object to me my poverty: I confess she is my domestic; sober of diet, simple of habit, frugal, painful, a good counsellor to me, that keeps me from cruelty, pride or other more delicate impertinences, which are the nurse-children of riches."

Second, as to his ideal and aim:

"Indeed if you will look on poesy
As she appears to many, poor and lame,
Patch'd up in remnants and old worn-out rags,
Half-starved for want of her peculiar food,
Sacred invention; then I must confirm
Both your conceit and censure of her merit;
But view her in her glorious ornaments,
Attired in the majesty of art,
Set high in spirit with the precious taste
Of sweet philosophy; and, which is most,
Crowned with the rich traditions of a soul
That hates to have her dignity profaned
With any relish of an earthly thought,
Oh, then, how proud a presence doth she bear!"

The third and last is his just appeal to the modern reader as well as to him of old time:

"Only vouchsafe me your attentions
And I will give you music worth your ears."

That was Ben Jonson—and that was the spirit of the Elizabethan dramatists, men of learning and men of wit, who transfigured the English stage.

FRANCIS PAUL.

DECRETUM: CIRCA PROPONENDOS AD EPISCOPALE
MINISTERIUM IN FOEDERATIS AMERICAЕ
SEPTENTRIONALIS STATIBUS.

RATIO pro candidatis ad episcopale ministerium proponendis, quae in istis Foederatis Americae Statibus viget, quaeque *ternae* nomine venit, quamvis iteratis Baltimorensis Concilii studiis et S. Sedis provisionibus, melior sensim evaserit, praesentibus tamen Ecclesiae necessitatibus non videtur plene respondere.

San ein praesenti rerum statu, vacata aliqua sede, ut *ternae* propositio fiat, primum convenire debent dioecesani consultores et rectores inamovibiles, deinde provinciae Episcopi; quod si de Archiepiscopo deligendo res sit, singuli quoque Metropolitanae audiri solent. Cum de maximi momenti negotio agatur, cautelae huiusmodi prudentissimae sunt; ast, ut id servetur, notabile tempus decurrat oportet.

Cum autem res demum deferenda sit ad eam Ecclesiam “ad quam propter potiore principalitatem necesse est omnes convenire ecclesias” iuxta celebre S. Irenaei effatum; nova mora et tarditas sedis episcopalis provisioni interponitur, ipsa fundamentali Ecclesiae lege id exigente. Summus enim Pontifex nonnisi re examinata, dubtis, si quae occurrant, diremptis, et idcirco saepenumero novis informationibus requisitis, sententiam ferre potest. Quod quidem si semper et ubique congruum temporis spatium requirit, in tanta locorum distantia et amplissima Foederatorum Americae Statuum republica vitari nullo modo potest.

Quibus de causis evenit ut vacationem dioecesum plus aequo, cum fidelium offensione, ecclesiasticae disciplinae et status dioecesani dispendio protrahantur.

His accedit haud consultum videri, tanti momenti rem, qua maior in Ecclesia vix esse potest, festinanter pertractari, urgente et impellente dumtaxat necessitate: dum e contra, quum dioecesum vacationem, etsi incertae tempore, certae tamen eventu sint, satius esset tempestive hoc agi, et in antecessum saltem generice Apostolicae Sedi nomina facere eorum quos Episcopi dignos et aptos pastoralis munere censeant.

Quapropter ad haec aliaque non modica avertenda incommoda, de quibus alias iam sermo factus est; et ad consultius maiorique animi tranquillitate in re gravissima procedendum, visum est expedire ut nova aptior statuatur norma in proponendis Apostolicae Sedi candidatis ad Episcopale officium, iuxta id quod albi utiliter iam invecum erat.

Interrogatis autem prius hac de re singulis Statuum Foederatorum Americae Episcopis, cum constiterit eorum pars longe maior novae, disciplinae suffragari, alii nonnulli autem aliquas emendationes proponere, quas de consulto Emorum Patrum Sacrae huius Congregationis, et in quantum fas erat, Summus Pontifex admisit; omnibus mature perpensis, idem SSmus D. N. Benedictus PP. XV, hanc movam normam, seu legem in proponendis ad Episcopale officium sanxit et praesenti S. Congregationis Consistorialis decreto publicandam et promulgandam decrevit, iuxta articulos qui sequuntur:

1. Sub initium quadragesimae proximi anni 1917, et deinde *quolibet biennio*, eodem tempore, omnes et singuli Episcopi Metropolitano suo nomina indicabunt unius vel alterius sacerdotis, quem dignum et aptum episcopali ministerio existimabunt.

Nil vetat quominus sacerdotes extradioecesani et etiam alterius provinciae proponantur. Id tamen *sub gravi* exigitur, ut qui proponitur, personaliter et ex diuturna conversatione a proponente cognoscatur.

Una cum nomine aetatem quoque designabunt candidati, eius originis et actualis commorationis locum, et officium quod modo principaliter tenet.

2. Antequam tamen determinent quem proponant, tam Archiepiscopi quam Episcopi consultores dioecesanos et parochos inamovibiles rogabunt, eo modo qui infra statuitur, ut sacerdotem indicent aliquem, quem prae ceteris dignum et idoneum coram Domino censeant cui Christiani gregis custodia in aliqua dioecesi committatur.

Ast (a) interpellatio facienda erit consultoribus et parochis, non in conventu coadunatis, sed singulis singillatim, data unicuique *sub gravi* obligatione secreti, et sub lege destruendi, si quod intercessit hac de re, epistolare commercium.

(b) Episcopi autem habitum consilium nemini patefacient, nisi forte in Episcoporum conventu, de quo infra.

3. Poterunt quoque Episcopi alios prudentes viros, etiam e clero regulari tam pro proponendis candidatis quam pro cognoscendis alicuius qualitatibus interrogare; sed ad unguem servatis regulis superius sub *litt. (a)* et *(b) articuli 2* recensitis.

4. Susceptum in utroque casu *art. 2* et *3* consilium sequi possunt Episcopi, sed non tenentur, soli Deo rationem hac in re reddituri.

Nomina autem unius vel alterius sacerdotis quem Episcopi iuxta *art. Ium* proponent, nulli prorsus praeter quam Archiepiscopo patefacient.

5. Habita a Suffraganeis candidatorum indicatione, Archiepiscopus suos adiiciat; et omnium indicem ordine alphabetico conficiat,

reticitis tamen proponentibus, et hanc notulam transmitta singulis Suffraganeis, ut opportunas investigationes peragere valeant de qualitatibus eorum quos personaliter et certa scientia non cognoscant.

6. Investigationes vel etiam maiori secreti cautela peragendae erunt, ac supra num. 3 dictum est. Poterunt autem Episcopi investigationum causam reticere et caute prudenter celare. Quod si vereantur rem palam evasuram, ab ulterioribus inquisitionibus absterneant.

7. Post Pascham, die et loco ab Archiepiscopo determinandis, omnes Provinciae Episcopi una cum Metropolitano suo convenient ad selectionem eorum qui S. Sedi ad episcopale ministerium proponendi erunt.

Convenient autem absque ulla solemnitate, quasi ad familiarem congressum, ut attentio quaelibet, praesertim diariorum et ephemeridum, et curiositatis studium vitetur.

8. In conventu, invocato divino auxilio, praestandum erit a singulis, Archiepiscopo non excepto, tactis SS. Evangeliiis, iusiurandum de secreto servando, ut sacratius fiat vinculum quo omnes adstringuntur: et regulae ad electionem faciendam legendae erunt.

9. Deinde unus ex Episcopis praesentibus in Secretarium eligetur.

10. Quo facto, moderata disceptatio fiet, ut inter tot exhibitos digniores et aptiores seligantur. Veluti Christo ipso praesente et sub eius obtutu, omni humana consideratione postposita, cum discretionem tamen et caritate, supremo Ecclesiae bono, divina gloria et animarum salute unice ob oculos habitis, discussionem fieri omniaque agi, gravitas ipsa negotii apprime exigit. Idque faciendum perspecta omnium Praesulum pietas ac religio prorsus exigunt.

11. Candidati maturae sed non nimium provectae aetatis esse debent; prudentia praediti in agendis, quae sit ex ministeriis exercitis comprobata; sanissima et non communi doctrina exornati, et cum debita erga. Apostolicam Sedem devotione coniuncta; maxime autem honestate vitae et pietate insignes.

Attendendum quoque est ad capacitatem candidati in temporali bonorum administratione, ad conditionem eius familiarem, ad eius indolem et valetudinem. Uno verbo videndum utrum omnibus iis qualitatibus polleat, quae in optimo pastore requiruntur, ut cum fructu et aedificatione populum Dei regere queat.

12. Discussionem Archiepiscopi nutu clausa, fiet hac ratione scrutinium:

(a) Qui omnium Episcoporum consensu, una aliave de causa, durante disceptatione visi sunt ex albo proponendorum expungendi,

in suffragium non vocabuntur: ceteri, etiam probatissimi, vocabuntur.

(b) Scrutinium fiat de singulis per secreta suffragia, incipiendo a primo ex candidatis ordine alphabetico.

(c) Omnes Episcopi, ipso Metropolitano comprehenso, pro singulis candidatis tribus taxillis seu calculis donabuntur, uno albo, altero nigro, tertio alterius cuiusdam coloris. Primus signum erit approbationis, alter reprobationis, tertius abstensionis a sententia ferenda, qualibet demum de causa.

(d) Singuli Praelati incipiendo ab Archiepiscopo in urna apte disposita taxillum deponent quem coram Deo, graviter onerata eorum conscientia, iustum aestimabunt pro sacerdote qui in suffragium vocatur: ceteri duo taxilli in alia urna pariter secreta deponentur.

(e) Datis ab omnibus suffragiis, Archiepiscopus cum adistentia Episcopi Secretarii coram omnibus taxillos et eorum speciem numerabit, et resultantia scripto consignabit.

13. Scrutinio de omnibus expleto, liberum erit Episcopis, si id ipsis placeat, aut aliquis eorum postulet, ut inter approbatos plenis aut paribus suffragiis novo scrutinio designetur quinam ex eis praeferendus sit. Ad hunc finem autem singuli Praelati nomen praeferendi in schedula signabunt, eamque in urna deponent: quae examinabuntur ut supra num. 11, litt. e, decernitur.

14. Quamvis autem SS^{us} Dominus Noster sibi reservet, aliqua dioecesi vel archidioecesi vacata, per R^{um} Delegatum Apostolicum, aut alio modo, opportuna consilia ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis requirere ut personam eligat quae inter approbatas magis idonea videatur dioecesi illi regendae; nihilominus fas erit Episcopis, imo bonum erit, si ipsi in eodem conventu aliquas saltem generales indicationes praebeant cuinam dioecesi regendae candidatos magis idoneos censeant, e. g. utrum parvae, ordinatae et tranquillae dioecesi, an etiam maioris momenti, vel in qua plura sint ordinanda et creanda; utrum dioecesi mitioris climatis et in planitie positae, an alterius generis, et similia.

15. Episcopus a secretis durante discussione diligenter adnotabit quae de singulis a singulis Praelatis dicuntur: quatenus discussionis fuerit conclusio: denique quidam tum in primo scrutinio tum in secundo (si fiat) exitus fuerit et quidnam specialius iuxta articulum 14^{um} fuerit dictum.

16. Antequam Episcopi discedant legenda erit, ut probetur, relatio a Revmo Secretario confecta circa nomina proposita, candidatorum qualitates et obtenta suffragia.

17. Actorum exemplar ab Archiepiscopo, a Praesule a secretis et a ceteris Episcopis praesentibus subsignatum quam tutissime ad

‘Sacram hanc Congregationem per Delegatum Apostolicum mittetur. Acta vero ipsa penes Archiepiscopum in Archivo secretissimo S. Officii servabuntur, destruenda tamen post annum vel etiam prius, si periculum violationis secreti immineat.

18. Fas quoque erit Episcopis, tum occasione propositionis candidati tum vacata aliqua Sede, praesertim maioris momenti, litteras S. H. C. vel ipsi SSmo Domino dirigere, quibus mentem suam circa personarum qualitates sive in se sive in relatione ad provisionem dictae Sedis patefaciant.

Praesentibus valituris, contrariis quibuslibet etiam peculiari mentione dignis minime obstantibus et ad nutum Apostolicae Sedis.

‘ Datum Romae, die 25 iulii 1916.

C. CARD. DE LAI, Episc. Sabinen, *Secretarius*.

L. * S.

THOMAS BOGGIANI, Archiep. Edessen., *Adessor*.

DECREE ON METHOD OF SELECTING BISHOPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE manner of proposing candidates for the episcopal ministry, which exists in the United States of America, and which is called the *terna* does not appear to fully meet the present exigencies of the Church, notwithstanding the reiterated care of the Council of Baltimore and the provisions made by the Holy See.

For in the present state of things, when a diocese becomes vacant, in order that a *terna* may be put forward the diocesan consultors and the irremovable rectors must first hold a meeting, and then the Bishops of the province; but if there be question of electing an Archbishop, it is the custom that each of the Metropolitans be asked his opinion. Since the matter is of the greatest importance, the caution observed is very great. But all this involves a notable lapse of time—since the matter must be finally deferred to the Church “to which on account of its more powerful preëminence all churches must come” according to the celebrated saying of S. Irenæus; but this means a fresh delay and obstacle to the filling of the episcopal see, as the very fundamental law of the Church demands. For the Supreme Pontiff can give his decision only when the matter is examined, when doubts, if any, arise, are solved, and when fresh information in many cases has been sought. If this requires always and everywhere a reasonable time, it cannot by any means be avoided considering the distances between places and the great vastness of the Republic of the United States of America.

Hence it has come to pass that vacancies of dioceses are protracted more than they ought to be to the injury of the faithful and to the detriment of ecclesiastical discipline and the well-being of the diocese. Add to this that it seems quite undesirable that a matter of such moment, so great indeed that there can be hardly a greater than it in the Church, is considered in haste under the pressure of great necessity; while, on the other hand, since diocesan vacancies, though uncertain as to time, must happen some day, it would be quite sufficient to take timely steps and to make known beforehand to the Holy See, at least in a general way, the names of those whom the Bishops consider fit and worthy of the pastoral office.

Wherefore, to avoid these and other inconveniences of no small moment, of which mention has been already made elsewhere, and to proceed more deliberately and with greater tranquillity of mind in so grave a matter, it has seemed well that a new and more ap-

propriate rule should be established in proposing to the Apostolic See candidates for the episcopal office, like to that which has been profitably introduced elsewhere.

Since on each of the Bishops of the United States of America being interrogated on the matter, by far the greater number of them agreed to vote for a new regulation, and others to propose some emendations, which after consulting with the most eminent Fathers of this S. Congregation, and as far as it was lawful, the Supreme Pontiff admitted; all things were naturally weighed and Our Most Lord Benedict XV. sanctioned this new rule or law for proposing candidates to the episcopal office, and ordered it to be published and promulgated by the present decree of the S. Consistorial Congregation according to the following articles:

1. At the beginning of Lent of next year, 1917, and afterwards every two years, at the same time, each and every one of the Bishops will indicate to their Metropolitan the name of one or two priests whom they consider worthy and fit for the episcopal ministry.

There is no prohibition against priests of another diocese or even of another province being proposed. But it exacted *sub gravi* that he who is proposed be known personally and by daily intercourse to the proposer. Together with his name and age they will, also designate his original and actual place of residence, and the office which he holds chiefly.

2. But before they decide upon whom to propose, both the Archbishops and Bishops will ask the diocesan consultors and irremovable pastors, in the manner stated further down, to indicate some priest whom among others they deem worthy and fit in the sight of God as one to whom the custody of the Christian flock in any diocese may be committed.

But (a) the consultors and parish priests are to be interrogated not in a body, but one by one, the obligation of secrecy *sub gravi* is to be imposed on each one, and under the law of destroying any communication by letter that might take place.

(b) And the Bishops will make known to nobody the advice received, about which more below.

3. Bishops may interrogate also other prudent men, even from the regular clergy, both for the purpose of proposing candidates and to know the qualities of some one; but the rules given in (a) and (b) are to be observed to the letter.

4. The Bishops can follow the counsel received in articles 2 and 3, but they are not bound to do so; to God alone they will render an account in this.

To no one directly except an Archbishop may the Bishops make

known the names of the one or two priests whom the Bishops propose according to article 1.

5. When the Archbishop has received the names of suffragans, he will add his own; and he will arrange an index of all in alphabetical order, suppressing the names of the proposers, and he will transmit a note of it to each suffragan, so that they may be able to make opportune investigations about the qualities of those whom they do not know personally and from certain knowledge.

6. Investigations should be made with great caution for the sake of secrecy. But Bishops could keep silent as to the cause of their investigations and conceal it cautiously and prudently. But if they fear the thing might become public, let them abstain from further inquiries.

7. After Easter, on a day and at a place to be fixed by the Archbishop, all Bishops of the province will meet with their Metropolitan for the selection of those who are to be proposed to the Holy See for the episcopal ministry.

They are to meet without any solemnity, almost as at a family gathering, so that all attention, especially of newspapers or periodicals and curiosity, may be avoided.

8. At the meeting, after invoking the divine aid, the oath of secrecy is to be administered to each, touching the Sacred Gospel, not excepting the Archbishop, so that the tie binding all may be made more sacred, and the rules for holding the election are to be read.

9. Then one of the Bishops present will be chosen as secretary.

10. This done, let a discussion of moderate length be held that from those candidates proposed the more worthy and fit may be chosen. The very gravity of the matter demands, above all, that the discussion be held and everything be done just as if Christ Himself were present, every human consideration being laid aside, nevertheless with discretion and charity, the supreme good of the Church, the divine glory and salvation of souls alone being before their eyes. To do this the well-known piety and religious sense of all the prelates are needed.

11. Candidates should be of mature, but not far advanced in age; endowed with prudence in management, which may be proved from their exercise of the ministry, equipped with the soundest and no mediocre learning, joined with due devotion to the Apostolic See; but above all, distinguished for integrity of life and piety.

Attention is also to be paid to the candidate's capacity for the administration of temporal goods, to the condition of his family, to his temperament and health. In a word, let it be evident whether he possesses all these qualities, which are required in an excellent

pastor in order that he can with fruit and edification rule God's people.

12. The discussion being closed by the Archbishop, the scrutiny will be carried out in this way:

(a) Those who by the consensus of all the Bishops, for one reason or another, were seen during the discussion deserving of being struck off the list of candidates will not be called out. The others, especially those most approved of, will be called out.

(b) The scrutiny will be carried on regarding each one by secret voting, beginning from the first candidate in alphabetical order.

(c) All the Bishops, including the Metropolitan, will be given for each candidate three dies or balls, one white, one black and a third of any other color. The first will be a sign of approbation, the second of reprobation, the third of abstention from giving an opinion, for any cause whatever.

(d) Each prelate, beginning with the Archbishops, will place in a suitable urn a ball which before God, with a grave obligation on their conscience, they consider just in the case of the priest whose case is being voted upon. The two other balls will be placed in another urn, likewise secretly.

(e) The votes being given by all, the Archbishops, assisted by the Bishop-secretary, will in presence of all, count the balls and their kind, and he will commit the result to paper.

13. The scrutiny in all cases being finished, the Bishops are free, if they wish, or if any of them asks, that among those approved of by full or by equal votes a certain one should be designated by a fresh scrutiny as being preferred. To this end each prelate will write on a slip of paper the name of his choice, and place it in the urn. These will be examined as laid down in article 12.

14. Though Our Most Holy Lord reserves to himself, on a vacancy occurring in any diocese or archdiocese to ask, through the Apostolic Delegate, or in any other way, opportune advice from the Bishops or the Archbishops, so that he may choose a person who may appear more suitable among those approved of to rule the diocese, still it will be lawful, even laudable, for the Bishops if in the same meeting they give some general indications as to what kind of a diocese they consider candidates more suitable to rule, e. g., whether small, regulated and tranquil dioceses, or one of greater importance, or in one in which many things must be regulated and created; whether in a diocese of a more temperate climate and placed in a plain or one of another kind, and so on.

15. The episcopal secretary will diligently note during the discussion what had been said about each one by each prelate; what had been the conclusion of the discussion; and next what had been

the result both in the first and second scrutiny (if one takes place), and what of a more special kind had been said concerning article 14.

16. Before the Bishops depart let the report made by the Right Rev. Secretary be read, that it may be tested, about the names approved of, the qualities of the candidates and the votes obtained.

17. A copy of the records signed by the Archbishop, by the episcopal-secretary and by the other Bishops will be sent as safely as possible through the Apostolic Delegate to this S. Congregation. But the records themselves in the possession of the Archbishop will be preserved in the secret archives of the Holy office, to be destroyed nevertheless, after a year or even previously, if danger of the violation of the secret be imminent.

18. It will be lawful also for the Bishops, both on the occasion of the proposing of a candidate and on any see falling vacant, to direct letters S. H. G., or to the Holy Father himself, in which they may lay open their mind about the qualities of the persons either in themselves or in relation to provision for the said see.

The present regulations hold good, all things to the contrary notwithstanding, even those worthy of special mention, and according to the pleasure of the Apostolic See.

Given at Rome, July 25, 1916.

C. CARD. DE LAI, Bishop of Sabine, *Secretary*.

THOMAS BOGGIANI, Archbishop of Edessa, *Assessor*.

Book Reviews

CUPID OF CAMPION. By *Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J.* 12mo., cloth, 242 pages, size $4\frac{1}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with frontispiece and illustrated jacket. 85 cents retail, 68 cents net to priests and religious. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Finn, the "discoverer of the American Catholic boy," whose stories are the most popular juveniles in our literature, here enters a new field—the field of adventure. Those critics to whom the manuscript has been submitted consider it the most fascinating tale from Father Finn's pen. The story is healthy and thrilling and breathes the air of romance. Its scenery—the upper Mississippi and the neighborhood about Prairie du Chien, where Father Finn spent three successive summers—has given the author's pen new inspiration. Adventure, wit, humor are in "Cupid of Campion," as in the author's other books, but raised to a new plane by romance. There is a hero, of course, and a most lovable heroine. It is truly predicted that "Cupid of Campion" will outsell all Father Finn's previous successes. "Father Finn has quaffed of the fountain of perpetual youth and years have not robbed him of that buoyancy of spirit and mirth of heart which are the charm of all he writes. He has a secret of his own, an art which is incommunicable and which wins its way straight to the heart of the reader. Years have only brought with them a deeper sympathy, a broader vision and a richer fund of personal experience. His humor throughout is gentle and his pen contagious. His grasp on the realities of life is sure and firm, and he teaches a better social lesson than can be learned from crowded shelves of problem stories and 'uplift' essays, with Christianity eliminated. But the finest quality in his works is the deeply religious influence of all he writes." The ability to write for boys is rare and it is hard to define. It is not easily recognized by elder persons. Boys say Father Finn has it.

THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Saintly Men and Women of Our Own Times. By *Rev. Constantine Kempf, S. J.* From the German by *Rev. Francis Breymann, S. J.* 8vo., cloth, net, \$1.75. (Postage, 15 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

To prove the consoling truth that the Church of our own times is as prolific of saints as she was in the ages that are past is the purpose of this work. The volume confines itself to those servants of God who lived in the nineteenth century. It shows that the cen-

tury which, animated by a fanatical hatred of Rome, has made use of all the power of politics, of art and science, of all the acquisitions of modern culture, as weapons against the Church, is nevertheless not inferior to any preceding age in the number and greatness of its saints. The author gives a brief review of the lives of those particularly whose process of beatification has been already finished or is in actual progress. A feature of the work which will commend it particularly is its up-to-dateness. The author has made use of the list compiled in 1909 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, showing all the processes then in progress before it. The reader will find the sketches entertainingly written and full of interesting details of the lives of the servants of God. For those who desire to follow up the life of any particular individual in greater detail, a copious bibliography is furnished. The subjects treated are grouped under the following heads: Holy Bishops; Holy Secular Priests; Holy Religious—Men; Holy Religious—Women; Holy Laymen and Women; The Martyrs. This is a splendid proof of the holiness of the Church, and the book has a real permanent value.

THE SUNDAY MISSAL. For all the Sundays and the principal feasts of the year, with Introduction, Notes and a Complete Book of Prayer. By *Rev. F. X. Lasance*, author of "My Prayer Book," etc.; pp. 675; 32mo., 5¼ by 3¾. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Lasance's "The New Missal" for every day in the year was an extraordinary success from the start, and all that has been said in favor of it can be said of "The Sunday Missal," because it has all its successful features. It took several years to make "The New Missal" for every day. "The Sunday Missal" was planned at the same time, and when "The New Missal" for every day was finished, the plan had been given to "The Sunday Missal," and the successful features of the one became the successful features of the other. The popular Introduction, the Explanatory Notes and the Directions of Father Lasance make "The Sunday Missal" the prayer-book that can be easily used by everybody. The combination of "The Sunday Missal" with a complete prayer-book, containing all the usual devotions, will make it the prayer-book favored by all. It is intended to take the place of the ordinary prayer-book—to be the prayer-book that every one will use. The type is much heavier than that generally used in prayer-books and has proven a great success. For the great majority of Catholics who cannot be present at Mass except on Sundays and holy days, it is a Missal which is the best Mass book.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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SHALL THE POPE BE THE ARBITER OF NATIONS?

THERE is nothing new under the sun. The truth and the error, the virtue and the vice of modern times are the same now as they ever were. Some years ago, when the heart of humanity seemed swelling with benevolence, and we were congratulating ourselves on the progress civilization had made, when the Peace Tribunal of The Hague was promising an era of human fellowship, we were beginning to make ourselves believe that war had passed away forever into the dark regions of barbaric shadows. But alas for human prognostications! We have never had a war like this. Yet men continue to build their utopias, and dream their dreams of universal peace. Let us hope that some day the dreams will be realized, and that finally they will prove not to have been completely vain.

As war, in its history, goes back to immemorial times, thus the striving for peace is nothing new in the world. Antiquity had its Olympic games and Amphytionic councils that made for international harmony, but war went on all the same.

When the Prince of Peace came the world had a breathing spell, the doors of the temple of Janus were closed; but it was not for long. In the earliest part of her history the Divine Society He had founded had to struggle for her existence, while she scattered the seeds of love among the turbulent passions of mankind. Then followed her recognition by the State that for centuries had striven in vain to crush her. War was in the hands of Providence the

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means to bring about this triumph; the battle of the Pons Milvius sealed the fate of Roman pagandom. The Church came forth from her obscurity, she grew to political power, she exercised an influence in the councils of nations, and that influence was for peace among the peoples that had bowed beneath her yoke. For that peace she has never ceased to pray. "*Ut pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris*" ("That thou mayest grant peace and true concord") is her constant supplication. She strove hard to promote peace, and when she threw her influence into the scales in favor of war it was because a principle, or the safety of Christianity, was at stake, as in the struggle against the barbaric conquerors or the inroad of Mahometanism.

Yet even here she performed the role of mediator which, in the case of the Saracens and Turks, would have been in vain.

In this paper I shall content myself with drawing the outlines of some attempts at peace made by the Church from Leo I. to Benedict XV., and blaze the way for any one desirous of entering more profoundly into the subject.

The period beginning with the latter half of the fourth century was disastrous for the Roman Empire. The Huns from the East, sweeping everything before them and uniting with members of the Gothic family, carried desolation into Gaul and across the Alps. Rome had not seen an enemy before its walls for 600 years when, in 408, Alaric the Visigoth for the first time laid siege to it. Two years later the city was sacked by the same chieftain, though with considerable moderation.

Forty-one years passed and a severe blow was dealt the Huns at the battle of Chalons-sur-Marne. Bishop Lupus had saved Troyes, and St. Genevieve, Paris. A *wolf* had driven back the barbarian; a *lion* was to meet him on the other side of the Alps.

Attila invaded Italy. The terror of his name drove the Emperor Valentinian to shut himself up in Rome. And now the *lion*! The great Leo, first of his name, then occupied the See of Peter. The Emperor dared not face the Hun, the Pope undertook an embassy. Read Prosper of Aquitaine, a writer of that delightful period so prolific in writers, writers filled with spirituality, yet so beautifully human.

Accompanied by Gennadius Avienus, a man of consular dignity; Trigetius, ex-Praetorian Prefect, and others, the saintly Pontiff traveled northward until he met Attila, on the banks of the River Mincius, near Mantua. A deep impression was made on the barbarian, who, persuaded by Leo, left Italy, and the proverb was born that only a wolf (Lupus) or a lion (Leo) could withstand Attila.

The same Leo exercised a second time a beneficent influence in

favor of Rome in 455. This time Genseric, King of the Vandals, appeared before the capital. St. Leo met him six miles outside the Porta Portuensis, and though he could not entirely prevent pillage, nor save many of the treasures of art, he prevented the torture and slaughter of the citizens and gained other concessions, such as the right of sanctuary for the great basilicas of St. John, St. Peter and St. Paul.

More than a century later Rome is again threatened. This time the enemy is nominally Christian. Agilulf, the Arian, King of the Lombards, marched on the city. Another great Pope then sat in the chair of Peter. The diplomacy of the first Gregory not only saved Rome, but, with the coöperation of the Queen Theodolinda, brought about the conversion to the Catholic faith of Agilulf. Such was the influence of St. Gregory at that period that he might have precipitated a general war against the Lombards, but he preferred to be a mediator. We have from him these remarkable words that the present rulers of the world might well take to heart :“What can be the result of continuing the contest other than the destruction of many thousand men who, whether they be Lombards or Romans, would be more usefully employed in tilling the fields.”* St. Gregory, like other peacemakers, made enemies and he had to suffer calumny, but, in spite of opposition, he succeeded in concluding a peace between Agilulf and the Empire.

Nearly two hundred years later, Pope Zachary undertook a journey to Pavia to mediate with the Lombard king, Luitprand, from whom he obtained assurances of peace. When Luitprand had been succeeded by Rachis, and Rome was still threatened, the same Pope went to Perugia, persuaded the king to raise the siege of that city and, in consequence, saved Rome. Other negotiations were, a few years later, successfully carried on with the Lombards by Stephen II.

Among subsequent diplomatic triumphs of the Papacy must be mentioned the peace effected between Andrew, King of Hungary, and the Emperor, Henry III. Pope Leo IX., a German by birth, undertook a journey to Germany for the purpose, as King Andrew had besought his mediation—Leo IX. was a reformer at a time when morals were at a low ebb. He had made enemies in consequence. The Pope found the Emperor besieging Presburg. The latter was personally disposed to make peace, but some of his courtiers, who were hostile to the Pope, exhibited their opposition. Then the tide turned. The Emperor was forced to raise the siege, and King Andrew, seeming to gain the ascendancy, became the difficult party to manage. This episode was finally terminated by a peace

*Ep. 47.

concluded through the mediation of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, who acted in the Pope's name; it happened shortly after the middle of the eleventh century.

Victor II., also a German and, like Leo IX., a Benedictine monk, succeeded the latter in 1055. Finding himself guardian of the young Emperor, Henry IV., to whom he was related, he continued his efforts to bring about a peace for the purpose of which he had gone to Germany. The young Emperor, then under the guidance of his mother, Agnes, had inherited a war that existed between the empire and Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, allied with Baldwin, Count of Flanders. It was all owing to the marriage of Godfrey with Beatrice, widow of the Marquis of Tuscany, by which a considerable portion of Northern Italy had been joined to Lorraine. Pope Victor had the credit of conciliating Godfrey and Baldwin, making the desired peace and thus averting much bloodshed.

That was a lawless age; for innumerable feuds existed among vassals and their suzerains, as in the instance just cited, and among the great land-holding barons themselves. It was owing to the influence of the Church that these private feuds between families finally came to an end and that war gradually assumed a character exclusively international. One council after the other in France appealed to the people in favor of peace. Their appeal was not in vain. A public sentiment was created, the cry of "*Peace, Peace,*" rang throughout the land, and, as in our day, the hope began to prevail that the age of war and violence was passing and that an era of perpetual peace was dawning. That is nearly nine hundred years ago, and we seem to be as far from peace as ever.

However, something was gained. The temporary religious enthusiasm and fervor passed, but an institution remained that finally brought about a diminution of petty warfare, limiting it to feuds between nations, or States, as such. This was the *Treuga Domini*, or Truce of God which, extending from Wednesday evening until Monday morning, hemmed in violence and bloodshed within narrow limits, while the Peace of God shielded from violence sacred persons, places and times. The *Truce* was further extended to Advent and Lent, and its observance was sanctioned by severe ecclesiastical penalties. From France this beneficent institution passed to Germany and Italy, until by the end of the twelfth century it extended to the whole Church. By communicating its spirit to the secular powers it became a great force for the diminution of warfare. It was, no doubt, this spirit, born in the bosom of Christianity, that created those leagues between great chieftains and among the communes of the Middle Ages, that all contributed their share toward peace. The league of the Lombard cities, as well as the Hanseatic

League, I venture to say, were related to the impetus thus given in the eleventh century.

Among other Popes, Innocent III., one of the ablest statemen of his age, threw his influence into the scales in favor of the Lombard League that acknowledged him as suzerain. In his time civil war had broken out in Hungary between Emeric and Andrew, sons of King Bela. Andrew was the father of St. Elizabeth, Duchess of Thuringia. By his energy and tact, Pope Innocent brought about a cessation of hostilities between the two brothers. Andrew, in course of time, became King of Hungary.

Through the influence of the same Pope, a truce was concluded between Richard I. of England and Philip Augustus of France in January, 1198, that was to last five years, Cardinal Peter of Capuc being the Pope's legate on the occasion.

Honorius III., successor of Innocent, saved England from a French invasion when Henry III. had succeeded John Lackland, and, owing to his intervention, Louis, son of Philip Augustus, withdrew his claim to the English throne.

In the same century, Pope Innocent IV. mediated between Ottoncar, Duke of Austria, and Bela, King of Hungary. His action in Portugal was decisive. While at Lyons he received from the prelates of that country complaints of the maladministration of King Sancho II. Admonitions and penalties were tried in vain, and, finally, the Pope, without pronouncing a deposition against the reigning monarch in accordance with the international jurisprudence of those days, appointed a regent in the person of Alfonso, Count of Boulogne-sur-Mer, and thus succeeded in pacifying that kingdom.

Nicholas III. was no friend of tournaments that had been condemned by several councils. This mimic, yet dangerous, warfare kept alive a martial spirit among Christian peoples, and the Pope strove to abolish it in France when it had reappeared in the thirteenth century.

John XXII., in the following century, had the satisfaction of calming domestic dissensions at the court of Portugal. His reign was marked by numerous wars; in fact all Europe was ablaze. However, the Pope did his best to bring about peace, regarding this as one of the noblest missions of the Roman Pontiffs, and, among his other works, he pacified England, exerting his influence for peace between Edward II. and Robert Bruce, of Scotland. His successor, Benedict XII., exerted a similar influence in favor of peace between Edward III. of England and Philip of Valois in France.

Some years later, Gregory XI. again tried, but unsuccessfully, to

bring about peace between England and France. He was more successful in the Iberian Peninsula, where, through his legates, he effected peace between Ferdinand of Portugal and the Kings of Castile and Aragon. He also induced Amadeus of Savoy to desist from his incursions upon the territory of Geneva, while the Italian States looked up to him as arbiter against the violation of treaties.

Nicholas V., that great patron of learning in the fifteenth century, was most active in favor of peace in Italy, and he exercised a beneficent influence along the same lines in Germany and Hungary. In fact he restored peace to Italy.

To Innocent VIII., in the same century, was due the treaty of peace between the Holy See, the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan and the Florentines. This was owing to his management before he became Pope, when he was Cardinal Cibo. As Pope he wrote in favor of peace to all the sovereigns of Europe, trying thus to unite them against the Turk, the traditional enemy of Christendom. He strove to put an end to the civil war between York and Lancaster that desolated England; he labored for peace in Moravia and Austria, and in fact throughout the whole of Europe.

After the discovery of America, both Spain and Portugal claiming absolute jurisdiction over the countries of the New World, a disastrous war was avoided by both contestants accepting the arbitration of the Pope. From this dates the famous line of demarcation of Alexander VI.

A more delicate act of arbitration was performed nearly a hundred years later, when Pope Gregory XIII. was appealed to by John Basil, Duke of Moscovia, in a dispute between himself and Poland. The Jesuit Father, Anthony Possevin, was the delegate of the Holy Father on this occasion. The Pope was thus chosen to mediate between a Catholic and Schismatic prince. However, the negotiations were successful, both Poland and Muscovia restoring what the one had taken from the other, and hereby peace was concluded.

Pope Urban VIII. may be mentioned among those who desired and contributed toward universal peace, not only by prayer, as in the extraordinary jubilee of 1628, but also by his supervision over the nations and especially by his intervention in the affairs of the Italian States.

The political power of the Popes had greatly declined since Boniface VIII., and the Holy Father gradually ceased to be the arbiter of the nations as he had been, especially since the whole of Northern Europe had broken its spiritual relations with the Papacy. However, as the Pope's spiritual children are scattered among the nations of the world, the Sovereign Pontiffs have always remained

a power to be reckoned with, and they continue to exercise a great influence, direct or indirect, over the affairs of nations. At even a comparatively recent period the Roman Pontiff has been resorted to as an arbiter in international difficulties.

In 1885 Germany and Spain were brought to the verge of war over a dispute concerning a group of islands in the Pacific. The Caroline Islands had been discovered by Spain and an attempt at colonization had been made, but, for a century and a half, they had been to all intents and purposes abandoned. In 1875 both Germany and England declared they would not recognize the sovereignty of Spain over islands that had grown to be a kind of no man's land. Spain did not at first reply, but when Germany began to move, then she took steps to assert her rights to the islands. The raising of the German flag over the Island of Yap precipitated an agitation which the world expected to see break out into a war that could not fail to be disastrous to Spain. The latter protested, and her population was very much excited.

At this juncture Germany declared her willingness to submit to arbitration, and the world was surprised when the Pope was named as mediator, and both contestants accepted his mediation. Leo XIII., the last of that great line of statesmen that had distinguished the nineteenth century, was much pleased to accept the office of mediator, "because he hoped thereby to serve the cause of peace and of humanity," as he declared in his allocution of January 15, 1886. The decision was trenchant and prompt. On September 24 it was known that the Pope had accepted, and on October 24, Cardinal Jacobini, the Papal Secretary of State, announced the Pope's decision, which, while acknowledging the sovereignty of Spain, left perfect liberty of colonization to the Germans on a footing of equality with Spanish subjects, together with a German naval station and freedom of navigation throughout the archipelago. The decision gave satisfaction to both nations, and a disastrous war was averted.

Alas! This step in the right direction was not followed by the nations of the world. When, a few years later, the Peace Congress was held at The Hague the Sovereign Pontiff was excluded from its deliberations. Had he been considered by Austria when the war cloud of 1914 was looming dark and ominous on the horizon; had the gentle voice of Pius X. been heard, and had the belligerent nations chosen him as mediator, following the example of Germany and Spain, how much bloodshed would have been spared the world! But it is evident that while peace was on the lips of men, war was in their heart. They said "Peace, peace, but there was no peace!"

We have heard the sighs, the prayers, the admonitions of our

present Pontiff in his reign of "*Religio depopulate*"; but the nations of the world are deaf. The gentle voice of the Representative of the Prince of Peace cannot sound above the din of arms and the tumult of passions, and the world, rendered drunk by blood, pays no heed to a "voice crying in the wilderness."

And yet who could be a more appropriate arbitrator than the Sovereign Pontiff? He has interests in all lands and special interests in none, but his interests are not of the temporal order. If any one can be expected to be guided by the love of truth and justice in international decisions it surely must be the one who has claimed for well-nigh twenty centuries to represent Incarnate Truth and Justice. Whatever the personal qualifications of a Pope may be, he has to aid him as efficient a body of co-workers as can be found in any country of the globe. He has at his beck and call men who have spent their life in the study of the law—civil as well as canonical, natural and positive, national and international. How few countries can exhibit statesmen like Gregory VIII., Innocent III., Sixtus V., Leo XIII; or like a Pacca, a Consalva, an Antonelli, a Rampolla! By reason of its diplomatic corps, the members of which have been specially trained, as well as by its ramification of Apostolic Delegates, the Holy See has been brought into the closest touch with every nation and with all peoples. No nation has such international traditions as Rome has; none possesses such rich archives, such incomparable documents, such a consecutive history for the study of precedents as she.

Not Catholics alone, but the most distinguished non-Catholic, or even anti-Catholic writers, have turned their eyes to the Vatican as to a source of international arbitration. Among these may be cited Guizot (*L'Englise et la Societe*) and Leibnitz. The latter writes: "My idea would be to abolish, aye, even in Rome, a tribunal (to decide controversies between sovereigns), and to make the Pope its president, as he really in former ages figured, as judge between Christian princes."

These distinguished writers, both Protestants—the one an historian, the other one of the greatest of philosophers—were not like those who would exclude the Pope from the peace councils of the world.

Lest in any way these writers be suspected of anything like partiality, let me cite one who is above suspicion, and whose anti-Catholic, or anti-Christian, bias is well known. The great French infidel of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, writes:

"The interests of the human race demand a check to restrain sovereigns and to protect the lives of the people. This check of religion could, by universal agreement, have been in the hands of

the Popes. These first Pontiffs by not meddling in temporal quarrels except to appease them, by admonishing kings and peoples of their duties, by reproving their offences, by reserving excommunications for great crimes, would have been always regarded as the images of God upon earth. But men are reduced to have for their defence only the laws and morals of their country—laws often despised, morals often depraved.”

Why do not nations which, after all, are only collections of individuals, apply to themselves the moral responsibility that weighs on individuals! Are not the teachings of Christ applicable to such nations? Truth, justice, forbearance, patience, self-denial, are, or should be, as much the virtues of nations and their rulers as they are of subjects and citizens. Nations, as well as individuals, are responsible to the Supreme Lawgiver for their actions. Why do they lose sight of this moral responsibility?

No one is a judge in his own case. When a nation considers itself aggrieved, when it permits itself to be carried away by the passions of pride and anger, it becomes blinded as much as an individual does. In the present war the fiercest passions have been let loose and an infernal hatred has taken the place of Christian charity. Even churchmen have been swept off their feet by the violence of the storm, and it is impossible to see clearly while the darkest clouds of passion and prejudice have settled over humanity.

In such cases a calm, unprejudiced judge would be of the greatest advantage to a suffering world. How much blood, what tears, what suffering and wretchedness would have been averted if such a judge had been appealed to! All that was needed was a little Christian humility, a Christian forgetfulness of self, a spirit of world brotherhood. Instead of plunging into the worst kind of barbarism, and rendering civilization a misnomer, an object lesson would have been given to posterity, and the nations of the world, so much in advance of their barbarous ancestors, would have covered themselves with immortal glory. Agriculture and commerce would not have been ruined, human lives would have risen in human estimation instead of being trampled upon and snuffed out like those of animals, science and the fine arts would have continued to advance, the monuments of bygone ages would have been respected, virtue instead of vice would have triumphed and to religion would have been given its due.

We are suffering hell on earth because we have no international tribunal, no sanction of international law; and, because the nations look up to no authority above themselves, the human race has been plunged into anarchy of the worst kind.

The evil will never be remedied until there is an international

union, a bond to link mankind together, a recognized principle of authority. For Catholic nations such a principle might easily be found in the Sovereign Pontiff, while those without the Catholic Church might be brought to recognize the inherent neutrality of the Roman See, venerable by past action, worthy to be looked up to for past decisions and glorying in an antiquity of which no government of to-day may boast. The names of Leo, Gregory, Innocent, Nicholas and Urban are surrounded by the triple halo of peace, prayer and prosperity, but it has been reserved for the fifteenth Benedict to behold religion depopulated and the world in utter desolation. "With desolation hath the earth been made desolate because there is no one who reflecteth in his heart."

A little thought, more reflection, less impetuosity and the fearful storm would not have burst upon us with such sudden force. The voice of the Holy Father, "as of one crying in the wilderness," drowned alas! in an ocean of tumultuous selfishness, has tried in vain to calm the passions of the multitude and to recall man to reflection ever since he succeeded the broken-hearted Pius.

Does the world fear a return of the Pope to medieval power, the then acknowledged power of deposing princes? There are worse evils for society than that; for this power of the Popes was seldom used, and only in the case of men who had proven themselves impervious to every admonition. Besides it was a safeguard of the rights of the people against tyranny. However, no one need be alarmed. In the present state of the evolution of nations there is not the slightest danger of such a return. Our present social, political and religious conditions would have to be completely revolutionized before such a thing could become possible. The world knows better than seriously to indulge such fears.

On the other hand, a league of nations with a neutral and unbiased power, like the Pope, as arbitrator is not an impossibility. Something like the Lombard League under Innocent III., or like Gioberti's dream of a United Italy might be of considerable advantage.

Whatever line of action the reconstituted nations may take, let us trust for the present at least that before mankind has drained the chalice to the dregs it may arrest its steps on the downward path and listen to the voice of reason. If at last the Pope can succeed in obtaining a hearing the cause is won. Oil will fall upon the troubled waters, and it will be possible to address the Sovereign Pontiff with the echoes of long ago: "*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*"—"Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.

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THREE DRAMATISTS.

THE seventeenth century was a time almost unparalleled in the history of England and of its literature. During this period the Tudors departed and a Stuart was called down from subordinated Scotland to take the throne of Great Britain; the nation passed through trying civil dissension in the clash of arms and in parliamentary debate; one king was beheaded and another fled in terror of his life, later to see his crown declared vacant and a foreigner who spoke no English invited to wear its regal splendor. In the field of letters, the seventeenth century counts in the roll of its prized advocates the names of Shakespeare, Milton and Dryden—three of the greatest writers of all time. In 1600 the splendid flower of Elizabethan literature was but just breaking into bloom; at the end of a hundred years the scent was gone, the flower was remembered as a wild excrescence of nature, and conventionalized decoration had taken the place of spontaneous design, for whatever else it did, the Restoration did not restore an art that had died slowly and gradually.

In Massinger there are many remembrances of the fine old strength of "rare Ben Jonson;" in Shirley there was enough of the former fire left for a modern critic to remark with justice that "The Cardinal" was "the last great play produced by the giants of the Elizabethan age;"¹ in D'Avenant the antique fashion is seen, but the new is making itself felt. "The old actors decay, the young sprout up."² But all was actually changing in the drama as well as in life.

"Marlowe is dead, and Greene is in his grave,
 And sweet Will Shakespeare long ago is gone!
 Our Ocean-shepherd sleeps beneath the wave;
 Robin is dead, and Marlowe in his grave.
 Why should I stay to chant an idle stave,
 And in my Mermaid Tavern drink alone?
 For Kit is dead and Greene is in his grave,
 And sweet Will Shakespeare long ago is gone.

"Where is the singer of the Faerie Queen?
 Where are the lyric lips of Astrophel?
 Long, long ago their quiet graves were green;
 Ay, and the grave, too, of their Faerie Queen!
 And yet their faces, hovering here unseen,

¹ Edmund Gosse.

² Massinger, "The Guardian" (1633).

Call me to taste their new-found œnomet;
 To sup with him who sang the Faerie Queen;
 To drink with him whose name was Astrophel."³

This is a song which Massinger might well have sung. Shirley would have understood the sentiment, but would not have been so sorry. And D'Avenant would probably scarcely have understood. So it is that these three dramatists, taken in succession, well illustrate the trend of the English drama in these times.

There is, however, one other thing which they had in common: they were all converts to the Catholic faith. And, since this essay is but one of a series on English Catholic men of letters, it shall not be inopportune to pause a while and comment on this strange coincidence. Philip Massinger⁴ probably became converted to Catholicism while a student at Oxford. Whether or not this change in the opinions of this young man—who was possibly named for Sir Philip Sidney on account of his father's connection with the house of Pembroke—whether or not this change caused him to alter his ambitions and turn his pen from courtly success in distinguished circles to the art and business of playwriting we cannot say. The fact itself is obscure enough without inquiring into consequences. Indeed Professor Matthews has even gone so far as to call it a mere supposition based on passages in "The Renegade" and in "The Virgin Martyr." The ground thus becomes more and more doubtful, for "The Virgin Martyr" (1620) was written in such close collaboration with Delker that we cannot attribute passages save on supposition, and that play furthermore—though depicting the Roman persecutions of Christians in the matchless Dorothea's story—is really not characterized by any distinctly Catholic sentiments. Suffice it then merely to record the fact of his conversion, a fact to which almost all scholars have given ready and reasoned credence.

The conversion of Shirley⁵ is less doubtful. Yet his latest biographer is not absolutely certain:

"Concerning his conversion to the Roman Church, we have only [the evidence] Dyce and other scholars [Gifford and Ward] have been pleased to discover in his dramatic works."⁶

Most students have been quite willing to admit validity to the

³ Alfred Noyes.

⁴ Born, 1584; died, 1640.

⁵ Born, 1596; died, 1666, of terror and exposure resulting from the great fire of that year. He followed the Duke of Newcastle in the civil war, and then, after 1660, became a schoolmaster again.

⁶ Arthur H. Nason, "James Shirley," p. 32. This scholar, though, shows himself throughout his monograph a little meticulous in rendering judgments.

tradition that, after stopping at Oxford and at Cambridge, he resigned (1624) a position as head master at St. Albans Grammar School on his conversion to Catholicism. A careful and thorough scholar has remarked:

"It may be said that a man who, in spite of attempts at dissuasion, enters the Church of England, and shortly after quits his profession and enters the Church of Rome, at a time when no possible advantage could accrue from his conversion, but, on the other hand, many inconveniences, shows a degree of thoughtfulness and conscientiousness which cannot help manifesting itself in his writings."⁷

And this same scholar has been at some pains to answer⁸ Charles Kingsley, who in "Plays and Puritans" attacks Shirley from "an evident desire to make out a strong case against the Anglican priest turned Papist and dramatist." Also it is not entirely fruitless to remark that Edmund Gosse says, "It would seem, from a passage in 'The Grateful Servant,' that he was connected, as a Catholic, with the Order of Benedictines," and that others have been ready to accept this connection as at least that between a Catholic and his confessors. In addition we must take into consideration the "rumors that 'The Traitor' (his next best play to 'The Cardinal') was not the work of Shirley, but of a certain Mr. Rivers, a Jesuit."

The judgment of the best scholar in the Elizabethan field must not be forgotten nor disregarded, that of A. W. Ward:

"He nowhere puts himself forward as a combative Papist; but he loses no opportunity of exhibiting his attachment to the doctrines and practices of the creed professed by him (see 'The Wedding,' 'The Grateful Servant,' 'Love in a Maze'; with perhaps 'The Sisters'), and ridicules the popular prejudice against Rome alongside of that against Spain." (See 'The Bird in a Cage')."

And yet "The Cardinal" (1641) was scarcely the picture of a devout churchman by a loyal worshipper; it was in fact such a play of horror and violence as Beaumont and Fletcher themselves delighted to write. But even in this Shirley, according to his usual practice, wars against "unjust acts" and "usurpation," and declares that in the Church can "only timely cure prevent a shame. Look on the Church's wounds!" These are not the words of an assailant, but the words of a reformer working from within. The situation

⁷ Forgythe, "Shirley and the Elizabethan Drama," pp. 29-30, who also says: "Shirley seems to have been a favorite of Queen Henrietta Maria, perhaps, like Massinger, on account of his religion."

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

⁹ Thomas Heywood's "Game of Chess," for instance, catered to anti-Spanish sentiment so well that it elicited a formal protest from the Spanish Ambassador.

is almost comparable to that in which William Langland issued his warning to that in which a Pope had to advise restraint to an over-ardent Philip of Spain, to that in which another Pope later found need to warn James II. of England against a too great zeal. For, in my own mind, there is no more doubt about the Catholicism of Shirley than there is about his acknowledged Catholicity. He was in Ireland, probably from 1636 to 1640, under the patronage of George, Earl of Kildare, and though he wrote there for the same type of Protestant as at home, for an audience that, though it possibly contained "the matchless Orinda," was if anything more anti-Catholic than that in London, his chief work written for that Dublin stage was "St. Patrick for Ireland."¹⁰ And this was no British garrison drama! It is replete with miracles and conversions and the magic of Archimagus and the pagan priests and attempts to force St. Patrick from his missionary journey by means of poison and enraged snakes—all described with neat propriety. It is the tale of the coming of Christianity to Ireland:

"A man shall come into this land
 With a shaven crown, and in his hand
 A crooked staff; he shall command
 And in the east his table stand.
 From his warm lips a stream shall flow,
 To make rocks melt and churches grow,
 Where, while he sings, our gods shall bow,
 And all our kings his law allow."¹¹

In our opinion, it was not by chance that this play contains some of the bravest poetry and the finest songs that Shirley has written, or that St. Patrick's final words are set in phrases of lasting worth. These two extracts may stand as fair examples. Thus he arrives:

"I came not hither
 Without command, legate from Him before
 Whose angry breath the rocks do break and thaw,
 To whose nod the mountains humble their proud heads.
 The earth, the water, air and heaven is His,
 And all the stars that shine with evening flames
 Show but their trembling when they wait on Him;
 This supreme King's command I have obey'd,
 Who sent me hither to bring you to Him,
 And this still wand'ring nation, to those springs

¹⁰ Cf. Mason, p. 104.

¹¹ Act I., scene 1.

¹² Act I., scene 1.

Where souls are everlastingly refresh'd;
 Unto those gardens whose immortal flowers
 Stain your imagin'd shades, and blest abodes."¹²

Thus he banishes the snakes and berates those who turned them
 against him by their magic art:

"In vain is all your malice, art, and power
 Against their lives, whom the great hand of heaven
 Deigns to protect. Like wolves, you undertake
 A quarrel with the moon, and waste your anger;
 Nay, all the shafts your wrath directed hither
 Are shot against a brazen arch, whose vault
 Impenetrable sends the arrows back
 To print just wounds on your own guilty heads."¹³

The third of our dramatists, Sir William D'Avenant,¹⁴ began his communion with the Church of Rome when in exile in France, in 1645. He was across the channel with the royal refugees, and it is not without interest to discover that, after the great rebellion drove him and other loyalists who fought for the King, he was appointed to succeed Lord Baltimore as Governor General of Maryland, presumably to strengthen the royalist cause in America.¹⁵ He sailed in 1650, but was captured by the soldiers of Cromwell and imprisoned successively in Cowes Castle and in the Tower, whence he was liberated in 1654. The facts here are so clear that none have bothered to search for corroboration within his plays, among the uncertain fields of internal criticism. And thus the three dramatists were all Catholics and converts to Catholicism.

But far more important than their Catholicism was their undoubted achievement in the drama.

All three of these men were already successful writers of plays when Ben Jonson died, and all three show the influence of his great thesis. In the age of the Fletcherian comedy of vile emotions and unexampled falsehood in morals, characters and action, they had learned some of the lessons that he taught. Although many of D'Avenant's early works are like those of Beaumont and Fletcher, there are at least three typically Jonsonian—"The Wits" (1634), "News From Plymouth" (1635) and "The Platonic Lovers" (1635), abounding in local character study almost verging on

¹² Act V., scene 3.

¹⁴ Born, 1606; died, 1668.

¹⁵ Cf. Remarks by Campbell in "Modern Language Notes," December, 1903, vol. xviii., pp. 236 ff. This was only one of several official diplomatic missions with which he was entrusted.

caricature and displaying the follies of his own age and country rather than the crimes of other lands and times. Shirley also reveals something of this vein in "A Witty Fair One" (1628), in "Hyde Park" (1632) and in "The Gamester" (1633). Massinger, however, is perhaps the nearest in thesis and in manner, as well as in point of time, to the great assailant of outrageous "humours." "A New Way to Pay Old Debts" (1633) is not merely like "The Silent Woman" (1612), by Jonson, and "A Trick to Catch the Old One" (1607), by Middleton—from both of which it was separated by a long space of years—a comedy of London middle class intrigue; it is not merely an attack against the commercially minded *bourgeoisie* as represented in Sir Giles Overreach, "that's both a lion and a fox in his proceedings" and who held an unjust monopoly in the manufacture of gold and silver lace; it is in very intent a true Jonsonian comedy. And even though his play, "Believe As You List" (1631), had its scene in ancient Roman and Carthaginian times, it shows forth the struggle between the merchant and the prince, the middle class and the aristocrat, in such a manner that his audience could scarcely refrain from applying its situations to contemporary circumstances. But here he does not so much ridicule the commercial agents who were expanding the trade of the empire as he teaches potentates humility. His words concerning the ancients might well have been meant for an appreciation of the Merchant Adventurers themselves:

"These poor men,
 These Asiatic merchants, whom you look on
 With such contempt and scorn, are they to whom
 Rome owes her bravery [outward splendor]; their industrious
 search
 To the farthest Ind, with danger to themselves,
 Brings home security to you unthankful . . .
 . . . These are indeed the nerves
 And sinews of your war, and without them
 What could you do?"

But more significant than this mere recognition of the economic and social surroundings was the very manner in which these matters and manners were depicted. It was not for nothing that Massinger and Shirley were the friends of Jonson, though we are not sure how closely they were "sealed of the tribe of Ben." From him they caught something of the dignity and the purpose of their art. In Massinger's play, "The Roman Actor" (1626), the author makes Paris defend on moral grounds both dramatic poetry and them

"that search into the secrets of the time,"¹⁶ and assail with fervent vigor those men who

"yet grudge us
That with delight join profit, and endeavour
To build their minds up fair, and on the stage
Decipher to the life what honours wait
On good and glorious actions, and the shame
That treads upon the heels of vice."¹⁷

Massinger, like Jonson, was a conscious craftsman with a serious as well as a sober intent. When Fletcher and Middleton and Thomas Heywood were making virtue a flimsy declamation and cared little for real moral distinctions, Massinger and Shirley bore plainly in mind the great gap between right and wrong, as between light and darkness, and continually recalled it to the public by frequent attempts to differentiate upright, and shall we say downright principles. Wickedness either dies absolutely or the wicked character dies. "In no play does wickedness go unpunished, if persisted in." Speaking of Shirley, Anthony Wood wrote him down only a few decades after as "the most noted dramatic poet of his time," and Forsythe more recently called this man "a writer who preferred morality (in the Caroline sense) and some degree of probability to originality and novelty." For, even though Shirley drew from literary convention rather than from life and ever found his source not in a single play, but in all the extravagant—and immoral—literature of his period he never stooped to the worst excesses of that decadent and vulgar age. He was too much of an artist, and also too much of a moralist. And if he maintained a consistent level, perhaps—to borrow a phrase from Mr. Chesterton—we should not inquire too closely if the great plain was due to the absence of valleys or to the absence of mountains.

At any rate, we know that attempts at seduction were indignantly resisted *usque ad aras*, and that Shirley's more or less set speeches in praise of chastity ring more true than the shallower ones of his other contemporaries. In Massinger, too, there is little ribald morality or unreal virtuosity. The vicious die or reform and become virtuous. In "The Guardian" (1633) even the bandits are good; in "The Fatal Dowry" (1632) a son goes himself to the debtor's prison to free his dead father's body for decent burial; and in "Believe As You List" (1631) Antiochus repels a courtesan even in prison. And when we consider the dates of these plays

¹⁶ Act I., scene 3.

¹⁷ Act I., scene 1.

as well as the clear sincerity of the sentiments therein expressed, the attitude of the writers becomes more praiseworthy. It is the strength of a great mind. When Arthur Symons said that "Massinger is the late twilight of the long and splendid day of which Marlowe was the dawn," he was paying a deserved compliment to the author of "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." Though the colors of sunset may make the world appear unreal, and though the strong light may be divided into the diverse rays of the spectrum, a great day usually ends gloriously, if not perfectly. And Shirley himself, the superb artist, whose tragedy, "The Cardinal," shall ever stand among the first of English dramas, has long since outlived what Mr. Gosse calls "the unjust sneers of Dryden." Shirley and Massinger were great tragedians—unquestionably!—and in the field of comedy they toned down the Jonsonian product to such sensible limits that it was able to delight the British public for almost two centuries in a succession of plays which culminated in the power of Wycherley and the sparkling wit of Congreve and in the broader humor of Colman, Mackin, Cumberland, Dibdin and Foster. And two centuries is not a short time.

D'Avenant, who catered to the public taste and so represents the changing fashions, has a literary history which extends in the annals of criticism all the way from the comedies of "humours" (which we have already mentioned),¹⁸ through the flamboyant mode of Fletcher to the heroic play of the Restoration and Dryden, who collaborated with him and acknowledged him as a pioneer and master, and to the artificial and epigrammatical speech of Congreve. But the most noteworthy thing about D'Avenant is that he bridged the gap from the closing of the theatres in 1642 to their opening in 1660, in facts and in thought. His "Love and Honour" (1634) was a pseudo-heroic play concerning exactly what its title says, love and honor: it is close to the Fletcherian type, but geographically located in the direction of the heroic play. When the actors were again allowed to perform in London, D'Avenant received one of the two patents that were issued and opened his new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields with both parts of "The Siege of Rhodes" (1661),¹⁹ true type of the heroic play in which the emphasis was changed:

"For honor shall no leader have but love!"

And in the introductory epistle "To the Reader" D'Avenant indicates how the growing restrictions of the stage and the rules

¹⁸ "The Wits" (1634), "News from Plymouth" (1635) and "The Platonic Lovers" (1635).

¹⁹ This had been acted in private in 1656.

of the drama have caused a change from its antecedent to the early chronicle history play to this type. He says: "The story represented is heroical, and notwithstanding the continual hurry and busy agitations of a hot siege, is (I hope) intelligibly convey'd to advance the characters of vertue in the shapes of valour and conjugal love. . . . The main argument hath but a single walk." Thus, in one of the first plays to use scenery extensively and the first to have an English woman act in an English play, we get very nearly the true characteristics of the heroic comedy: the elevated tone,²⁰ the superior maiden, the valiant hero who is yet jealous ("weakness, sprung from mightiness of love"), the battle on the stage (which had been omitted during the Fletcherian period), and the fall of kingdoms as a result of combat, not (as in Fletcher) as a result of courtly intrigue. For these reasons the method is called heroic. It deals with large international problems, not with petty political ones:

Villierius—

"By armies, stor'd in fleets, exhausted Spain
Leaves half her land unplough'd, to plough the main.
And still would more of the old world subdue,
As if unsatisfied with all the new."

Admiral—

"France strives to have her lilies grow as fair
In other realms as where they native are."

Villierius—

"The English lyon ever loves to change
His walks, and in remoter forrests range."

Chorus—

"All gaining vainly from each other's loss;
Whilst still the Crescent drives away the Cross."²¹

Villierius—

"Let us no more by honour be beguil'd;
This town can never be reliev'd;
Alphonso and Ianthe being lost,
Rhodes, thou dost cherish life with too much cost."

Chorus—

"Away, unchain the streets, unearth the ports,
Pull down each barricade
Which women's fears have made,

²⁰ "Wee'l for our crimes, not for our losses mourn."

²¹ Part I., act 2. Notice that the couplet is used.

And bravely sally out from all the forts!
Drive back the Crescents, and advance the Cross,
Or sink all human empires in our loss!"²²

The chief characteristic of this play, as contrasted with "Love and Honour," is typical of the changing taste. Now love is triumphant over honor, and honor is not so much a personal as a patriotic thing. It necessarily follows, then, that there should be some sort of a return to the genuine enthusiasm of former times. In closing, therefore, we shall quote some vibrant lyric passages:

"Faire Evandra, the pride of Italy,
In whom the graces met to rectifie
Themselves that had not cause enough to blush
Unlesse for pittie they were not so good
As she; think now the easterne spices sweet,
And that the blossoms of the spring perfume
The morning ayre; necessity must rule
Beliefe; let's strew our altars with them now,
Since she's imprison'd, stifled, and chok'd up
Like weeping roses in a still, whose inarticulate breath
Heaven [thought] a purer sacrifice than all our orizons."²³

Again:

"Give order that our troops march, march slowly on;
Our drums should now in sable cases beate,
Our collours foulded, and our muskets be
Reverst, whilst our dejected pikes we traile. . . .
O, Callandine! Evandra is in bonds!"²⁴

And finally, some words out of the mouth of the Moslem monarch, Solyman the Magnificent:

"Our crescents shine not in the shade of night.
But now the crescent of the sky appears.
Our valour rises with her lucky light,
And all our fighters blush away their fears."²⁵

FRANCIS PAUL.

²² Part I., act 4.

²³ "Love and Honour," act I., scene 1.

²⁴ "Love and Honour," act I., scene 1.

²⁵ "The Siege of Rhodes," part II., act 5, scene 4.

"THE VEINS OF ITS WHISPER."

Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum, et quasi furtive susceptit auris mea venas susurri ejus.

—Job iv., 12 (St. Jerome's Vulgate).

Now there was a word spoken to me in private, and my ears by stealth as it were received the veins of its whisper.

—Challoner's revision of the Doway Version.

1.

LOOKING at the Book of Job simply as a masterpiece of literature, there are doubtless but few critics who would dissent from the view of Lord Byron that it is the most sublime poem in the world. It is equally probable that all would cordially agree with the estimate of one of the most recent commentators on Job,¹ that the series of verses beginning with the one quoted above (the 12th to the 21st verse of the fourth chapter) exhibits for us "one of the most wonderful passages in literature." Eliphaz the Themanite is describing to Job the revelation which he had received by stealth and hurriedly "in the horror of a vision by night," as he graphically puts it. Our commentator analyzes the literary power of the passage as follows: "The secrecy, the hush, the sudden panic, the breath that passes over the face, the hair erect with horror, the shadowy figure whose form he cannot discern, the silence broken by the voice, all combine to produce the impression of terror, and terror not of the definitely known, but of the vague and mysterious, leaving the imagination full play to heighten it." This is a striking analysis. But indeed the whole speech of Eliphaz, with which the long discussion between Job and his friends was opened, is one of "great beauty and power," as another recent commentator remarks.²

Both of these commentators were elucidating the text of the Authorized Version, and it may properly be pointed out here that they could not well comment upon one striking element of literary style which the Authorized Version of course omitted, but which is embodied in the Latin of the Vulgate and in the Doway Version. In translating the Hebrew, St. Jerome used the strange expression, "*venas susurri ejus*," in reference to the "word" that was spoken to Eliphaz in private. The Doway Bible literally renders

¹ A Commentary on the Holy Bible. Edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M. A., Queen's College, Cambridge. New York, 1914.

² The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A. D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A. Vol. IV. New York, 1875.

the phrase by "the vaines of its whispering," and Challoner revises this into "the veins of its whisper." The King James translators lost much of the poetry of language when they rendered the verse into: "Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof." The expression, "a little thereof," is self-explanatory, while the Hieronymian "*venas susurri ejus*"—"the veins of its whisper" (as the Doway Version revised by Challoner has it)—is undoubtedly obscure in meaning. But it remains true that the very obscurity of the language heightens the general effect of the whole wonderful passage which it thus mysteriously introduces.

Catholic mysticism seized on the peculiar expression with obvious delight. What, indeed, might not "the veins of God's whisper" symbolize?³ The fourteenth century mystic, Walton Hilton, closes his "*Scale or Ladder of Perfection*" with a passage which includes our mysterious phrase. A brief quotation from him will lead us directly to the purpose of the present paper. "All this lovely dalliance," he says, "of private conference betwixt Jesus and a soul may be called a hidden word; of which Scripture saith thus: '*Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum*, etc. Moreover, to me there was spoken a secret word, and the veins of His whispering mine ear hath perceived.' The inspiration of Jesus is a hidden word, for it is privily hid from all lovers of the world and shown to His lovers; through which a clean soul perceiveth the veins of His whispering, that is the special showings of His truth; for every gracious knowing of truth felt with inward savour and spiritual delight is a privy whispering of Jesus in the ear of a clean soul. He must have much cleanness and humility and all other virtues, and must be half deaf to the noise of worldly janglings, that will wisely perceive those sweet spiritual whisperings, that is, the voice of Jesus."⁴

Here, then, "the veins of His whispering" is understood to be "the special showings of His truth." And Walter Hilton forthwith reminds his readers that if they are to hear this gentle and sweet whispering, they "must be half deaf to the noise of worldly janglings."

Thus does Hilton, the English Augustinian mystic of the fourteenth century, anticipate the thought, and almost the words, of Thomas à Kempis, the German Augustinian mystic of the fifteenth

³ The "*ejus*" in the Latin of Job iv., 12, refers to the "*verbum*" of the preceding hemistich. But mediæval commentators and ascetical writers appear to have understood it of God, judging that the revelation made to Eliphaz was divine, not fictitious or diabolical.

⁴ *Dalgairns'* edition of Hilton's *Scale or Ladder of Perfection*, pp. 309, 310.

century.⁶ Hilton is discursive and leisurely in his style. Thomas à Kempis is direct and concise, and in his *"Imitation of Christ"* gives us the brief declaration: "Blessed are the ears that receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of this world." (Bk. III., chap. i., 1.)

Our present concern is with the expression in the fourth chapter of Job, "the veins of its whisper," because this chapter is the ultimate source of the "veins of the divine whisper" as found in the *Imitation*: "Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrationibus nihil advertunt." But if the whole verse of Thomas à Kempis were here under consideration, instead of merely the first hemistich (and particularly the phrase "venas divini susurri" contained therein), it would be proper to question whether "whisperings" should be considered an adequate rendering of "susurrationibus." At present it is enough to say that just as Walter Hilton contrasted the "sweet spiritual whisperings" of Jesus with "the noise of worldly janglings," so does Thomas à Kempis contrast the "veins of the divine whisper" (susurrus) with "this world's" susurrationes. How shall we translate "susurrationibus?" To render it, as Challoner and others do, by "whisperings," is to nullify the contrast obviously intended between the divine "susurrus" and the worldly "susurrationes." But to render it by "the noises and tumults of the world," as some translators (English and Continental) do, is to overstate the contrast. I think Walter Hilton's word ("janglings") excellent for our purpose—and therefore am I the more inclined to surmise that Thomas à Kempis borrowed from Hilton the idea suggested by "susurrationibus"—but I also think that "janglings" might mislead us if we understand it in its modern meaning. In Hilton's day "jangling" meant babbling, chattering, talking loudly or too much. Thus Chaucer, in the *Parson's Tale*, defines it for us: "Jangling is whan man speketh to moche before folk, and clappeth as a mill, and taketh no kepe what he seith." The word has therefore no necessary implication of great noisiness, but merely of great talkativeness. This idea would constitute adequately the contrasting quality of "susurratio" with "susurrus." God whispers to us. The world chatters to us. If we give any ear to the chatter, we shall fail to catch the whisper. And so the thought of Walter is more neatly echoed in the words of Thomas.

It would not be an improbable assumption that Hilton's "Scale

⁶ Hilton (d. 1395 or 1396) was the head of a house of Augustinian Canons at Thurgarton. Thomas à Kempis was also a Canon Regular of St. Augustine. A Canon Regular was not a monk or a "friar" (as some biographers of à Kempis style him). Cf. Scully, *Life of the Venerable Thomas à Kempis*, pp. 117-121.

or *Ladder of Perfection*" was a treatise familiar to the thoughts of à Kempis whilst the latter was composing the Third Book of the *Imitation* ("On the inward speech of Christ to the faithful soul"). The *Imitation* appeared anonymously, it is true, in the first third of the fifteenth century. But many circumstances are favorable, I think, to my conjecture that this was the case. Hilton's work was most popular in its original tongue (English), and was even translated into Latin early in the fifteenth century. It was in high favor with the Carthusians, who in the Low Countries were the spiritual directors of Gerard Groot, the founder of the Brothers of the Common Life. One of the main activities of the Carthusians took the form of translating and spreading abroad books of piety and religion.⁶ Through the Carthusians to Gerard Groot, and through him to the Brothers of the Common Life, we come finally to Thomas à Kempis, the biographer of Groot and the author of the *Imitation*. And the transcription of books of piety was very dear to Gerard the Great and to the Brotherhood he founded. Thomas à Kempis took special delight in this kind of manual and mental labor, and his Community owed to his elegant calligraphy a splendid copy of the Missal, of the Bible (in whose transcription he spent twelve years) and of many other books.

If from circumstances such as these we may properly assume that Thomas had read the work of Walter, we might with greatest assurance further assume that "the veins of the divine whispering" conveyed the same meaning to both—that the Englishman's thought was shared by the Teuton. If the Scriptural expression stood alone in the "*Ladder of Perfection*" and in the "*Imitation of Christ*," the argument would perhaps have much less force. But in both cases

⁶ Although not a Carthusian, Walter Hilton was much favored by that splendidly active and edifying body of religious. He "had evidently a great devotion to the Carthusian Order. . . . On the other hand, we shall presently see that the devotion of the Carthusians to Walter Hilton was no less great." Thus Dalgairns, in his prefatory essay on "*The Spiritual Life of Mediæval England*," p. vi. Hilton died in 1395 or 1396, and the *Imitation* first appeared anonymously in the first third of the fifteenth century—in 1418, thinks Amort, while others assign a somewhat later date. Sufficient time was thus allowed for my conjecture that Hilton's work had fallen into the hands of à Kempis, whether in manuscript form or in Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition (1494), in that early English which was not greatly alien to Dutch, or in a Latin translation. Dalgairns tells us that "Walter Hilton's treatise evidently had a wide circulation. The number of existing manuscripts scattered through various cathedral and other libraries bear witness to its popularity. . . . It was in high repute with the Carthusians, and this in itself is a guarantee of its being extensively read. No order was so respected in England and other Teutonic countries as the Carthusian. . . . They were spiritual directors of Gerard Groot in the Low Countries, and of Colet, More and Fisher in England" (p. 38).

there is an original addition to the Scriptural expression. Hilton adds to his interpretation of the sentence taken from the Book of Job a caution that we "must be half deaf to the noise of worldly janglings," and Thomas adds—in similar fashion—his caution that we should "give no heed to the whisperings (or babblings) of this world." The parallelism is quite complete.

There is a distinction in the use of the Biblical expression in these two cases. Hilton professedly refers to the Scripture in his remark: "Of the which Scripture saith thus: 'Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,' etc." And he proceeds immediately to translate the whole twelfth verse of the fourth chapter of Job (which heads the present paper) from Latin into English. Thomas à Kempis, on the contrary, extracts only a portion of the Latin text, and alters this portion to suit his own purposes. The readers of Hilton's *Ladder* could hardly fail to find the Biblical quotation. The readers of à Kempis's *Imitation* have mostly failed to find it. Even the translators of the *Imitation* have, it is quite plain, generally done their work in ignorance of the author's use of the curious Biblical expression concerning the veins of a whisper. And the very few who have traced the phrase of the *Imitation* back to St. Jerome's Vulgate have failed to notice the remarkable similarity of use, by both Walter and Thomas, of this phrase in connection with the warning against the janglings and the whisperings (or babblings) of this world.

Meanwhile, it is quite possible that Thomas à Kempis took his phrase immediately and directly from the Vulgate, either when he was lovingly and laboriously transcribing the Bible in four splendid volumes, or when he heard our verse solemnly chanted, each year, in choir. Either supposition might account for the impression which so mystical-sounding a phrase would make on his mind, even if the *Imitation* did not assure its scholarly readers that its author knew his whole Bible by heart ("totam Bibliam exterius," to use his own famous expression⁷) for that the text of the *Imitation* seems to be almost a catena of Scriptural expressions.⁸

Shall we then go back to St. Jerome's Latin interpretation of the mind of Eliphaz the Themanite for an elucidation of "the veins of the divine whisper?" Let us compare the words of St. Jerome

⁷ The *Imitation of Christ*, I., i., 3.

⁸ Pohl (1904) gives over six hundred Biblical references in illustration of this Third Book alone of the *Imitation*. He gives more than eleven hundred for the four books of the *Imitation*. If the *Imitation* first appeared in 1418, we have in the *Imitation*, which after the Bible itself is the most widely spread book in the world, an interesting sidelight thrown on the Protestant legend of Luther's "Discovery of the Bible." The Third Book of the *Imitation* runs through the Bible, from Genesis to Apocalypse, a century before Luther's revolt (1517).

and Thomas à Kempis and capitalize those that are found in both passages:

Job iv., 12: SUSCEPIT AURIS mea VENAS SUSURRI ejus.

Imit., III, 1: AURES quæ VENAS divini SUSURRI SUSCIPIUNT.

The capitalized words comprise the same "venas susurri" in both passages, and this is the curious expression that has caused bewilderment to readers of the English Catholic Bible and of Chalonier's translation of the Imitation into English.

In two preceding articles I have illustrated the vast variety of renderings which translators of the Imitation into various languages have given to the Latin phrase. Most of the translators were evidently unaware of the Scriptural origin of the curious expression. The few who, in recent years, made it clear by a formal reference to Job iv., 12, that they were cognizant of the Scriptural source, varied greatly in the rendering they gave to the phrase as it occurred in the Imitation. Thus we found "venas" translated by "runlets," by "pulses," by "breath," by "murmur." A reader naturally wonders what relation these mutually exclusive interpretations bear to the original expression in the Latin Vulgate.

The Authorized Version translated into English from the Hebrew, as St. Jerome had translated into Latin from the Hebrew. The former gives us this rendering of the verse: "Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof." St. Jerome's "venas susurri ejus" is in the King James Bible "a little thereof." In that sense, Father Thaddeus turned the "venas" of the Imitation into "at least a faint sound."

Before accepting this as satisfactory, we may note that the splendid edition of the Imitation in Latin and Italian, published at Turin in 1761, gives the exact Latin words of Job iv., 12, in a footnote both to the Latin and to the Italian text, but nevertheless renders *venas* by "the sweet murmur" (*il dolce mormorio*).⁹

We have at hand, therefore, and at the very outset of our search, three variant interpretations of the veins of a whisper, by three men who were thinking of the verse in Job. For Walter Hilton, in the fourteenth century, it meant "the special showings of His truth."¹⁰ For the Italian translator of the Imitation, in the eighteenth century, it meant "the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations." For Father Thaddeus, in the twentieth century, it meant "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper." On the principle that a sick man must often get worse before he can get better, it is per-

⁹ Cf. the REVIEW, Oct., 1916, pages 676-7, for some notice of this translation into Italian.

¹⁰ As already observed, "ejus" was understood to refer not to "verbum," but to God.

missible to add to the tangle of interpretations before we can hope to straighten it out.

And so we shall go back to the sixteenth century, when St. John of the Cross (d. 1591) composed his commentary on his own "Spiritual Canticle of the Soul and the Bridegroom of Christ." His Canticle was a paraphrase of the Canticle of Canticles, and was written during his imprisonment of nine months (1577-1578) in Toledo, in a stifling cell which was made more unendurable by the addition of punishments meet only for great criminals. And yet both the Canticle and its Explanation are things of wondrous light and beauty. Commenting on the last line ("The whisper of the amorous gales") of his fourteenth Stanza:

My Beloved is the mountains,
The solitary wooded valleys,
The strange islands,
The roaring torrents,
The whisper of the amorous gales—¹¹

he says (amongst many other things) the following:

"There is a passage in the Book of Job . . . which is as follows: 'To me there was spoken a secret word,' saith Eliphaz the Themanite, 'and as it were by stealth my ear received the veins of its whisper. In the horror of a vision by night, when deep sleep is wont to hold men, fear held me and trembling, and all my bones were made sore afraid: and when the spirit passed before me the hair of my flesh stood upright. There stood one whose countenance I knew not, an image before mine eyes, and I heard the voice as it were of a gentle wind.'

"This passage contains almost all I said about rapture in the thirteenth stanza, where the bride says: 'Turn them away, O my Beloved. The 'word spoken in secret' to Eliphaz is that secret communication which by reason of its greatness the soul was not able to endure. . . . Eliphaz says that his 'ear as it were by stealth received the veins of its whisper.' By that is meant the pure substance which the understanding receives, for the 'veins' here denote the interior substance. The whisper is that communication and touch of the virtues whereby the said substance is communicated to the understanding. It is called a whisper because of its great gentleness. And the soul calls it the amorous gales because it is lovingly communicated. . . ."

This exposition is highly mystical, and I do not pretend to un-

¹¹The translation of this stanza, as also of the commentary on it made by St. John of the Cross, is taken from the translation of David Lewis, "The Dark Night of the Soul, A Spiritual Canticle, and The Living Flame of Love. . . . Second Edition, Revised" (London, 1891), pp. 252, 253. I quote but a slight portion of the long commentary or explanation of the saint.

derstand it. Nor perhaps is it necessary for our purpose that every portion of it should be quite intelligible. The soul is communicated with and touched with gentleness, as it were by a soft whisper. That which is thus communicated is "the interior substance" which is metaphorically styled "the veins."

What seems clear is that to our previous interpretations of the "venas susurri" of St. Jerome we can add still another, and so perhaps feel more strongly the desirability of a satisfactory exegesis of the twelfth verse of the fourth chapter.

II.

In a previous article¹² I noted the curious fact that Challoner, in his translation of the Imitation, rendered literally the Latin, "venas divini susurri," into the English, "the veins of the divine whisper," and appended no enlightening note or reference; as who should say that every reader could of course glean the meaning of the expression. Upon looking up many other translations, however, into English and foreign tongues, I found that the expression must have puzzled all the translators; for the renderings were most variant and often distinctly fanciful. Thus the Latin word *venas* was rendered variously by veins, accents, pulses, throbbing, breathings, distillings, beginning, approach, sweet murmur, subtle fineness, soft breath, at least a faint sound, and so on. It became thus quite evident that instead of being a self-explanatory metaphor, the expression (*venas susurri*), whether in the Latin or in a modern vernacular and literal rendering, was really very obscure; and that readers might naturally hesitate to assign to it any definite meaning.

As we have just seen, the Latin expression is borrowed from the Vulgate rendering of Job iv., 12. An inquirer will immediately consult the Doway Version or Challoner's revision in order to gather the real meaning of the curious Latin phrase. Again he will be disappointed, for the phrase is literally rendered into English, and he will once more confront "the veins of its whisper." As in the case of the Imitation, he will begin to wonder if he alone is unintelligent, while every other reader can forthwith grasp the meaning of the metaphor. The inquirer may recall, however, the most prominent characteristic of our Catholic Bible, namely, that it vindicates to itself the right to have interpretative and explanatory remarks, and that it utterly repudiates the Protestant contention that the Scriptures should go "without note or comment." Challoner's edition of the Bible has its appropriate notes and comments; but it has none for Job iv., 12. How stupid the inquirer must feel himself to be! With his confidence somewhat diminished by this first failure, he may next consult (if he can find it) Haydock's

¹² Cf. the REVIEW, Oct., 1916, p. 673 and p. 679.

Catholic Bible. He will be rewarded with a footnote commenting on the word "private" and concluding with a quotation of the Authorized Version's rendering, but he will find no special comment upon "the veins of its whisper." Perhaps he will then recall that Archbishop Kenrick's edition of Job has critical and explanatory notes. Kenrick does indeed comment upon our verse, but does not attempt to explain "the veins of its whisper" except by noting, first, that the eminent Orientalist, Ernest Frederic Rosenmueller, approves St. Jerome's Latin translation of the verse; and, secondly, that St. Gregory the Great "explains it of secret inspirations, which Eliphaz claims to have received." But why "veins" should have been employed by St. Jerome is not hinted at.

All such partial results as I have just indicated have not greatly enlightened our inquirer. Must he conclude that the metaphor is plain to all but himself? Do the translators of the Vulgate into other languages recognize no difficulty here? Are they content, like the Doway Bible and Challoner's revision of it, simply to present a literal rendering of the verse into the modern vernacular tongues?

Happily, it is not necessary for the inquirer to make an exhaustive (and, by consequence, an exhausting) search for an appropriate answer to the question. A few illustrations will suffice as a basis for a practical generalization, provided they be chosen at haphazard and be fairly presented. If our inquirer be satisfied with the generalization, he will conclude that the verse is admittedly very obscure; for the translators into other languages than the English have wrestled manfully to elucidate its meaning either by interpretative rendition or by helpful notes.

There is, for instance, the translation of the Vulgate into French by Le Maistre de Sacy. We have already come upon the name in a previous paper,¹⁸ as the real translator, under the pseudonym of Le Sieur de Beuil, of the Imitation of Christ. His translation of Job renders the second half of our verse as follows: "Et à peine en ai-je entendu les foibles sons qui se déroboient à mon oreille." The "en" refers to the "word" spoken to Eliphaz, in the first hemistich of the verse. Here, then, the word "venas" is not literally rendered, but instead an interpretation is given: "And scarce heard I thereof the faint sounds that stole past mine ear." This interpretation was evidently approved by Father Carrieres, for (with the wholly immaterial inversion, "et j'en ai entendu") he repeats it in his own edition of the French Bible. Carrieres did an unprecedented thing in his popular Commentary. "Taking Le Maistre de Sacy's translation as a framework, a few words of paraphrase are here and there used to explain difficulties or clear

¹⁸ Cf. the REVIEW for Jan., 1917, p. 36.

up obscure places. These simple and short additions, inspired for the most part by Vatables, Tirinus, Menochius, Bonfrère and Jansenius, and printed in italics, are at first glance discernible from the text itself, with which they are at the same time so amalgamated as to form but one continuous narrative."¹⁴ Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., quotes a note from this Commentary in his edition of the Imitation. In Migne's edition of Cordier's Elucidation of Job, also, the rendition parallels the Latin text in column form. Here, then, "venas susurri" becomes "the faint sounds," and a literal rendering is simply avoided. In a note,¹⁵ however, Carrières explains as follows: "Venas susurri, i. e., parum ex eo." And so "venas susurri" means "a little thereof" (as the Authorized Version has it). Why it should have been chosen by St. Jerome to mean this is not anywhere indicated.

Archbishop Martini's celebrated Italian version similarly avoids the "veins:" "Or un arcana parola fu detta a me, e quasi di fuga il mio orecchio ne intese il debil suono" ("Now a hidden word was spoken to me, and as it were by stealth my ear heard a faint sound thereof").

A translation of the Vulgate into Spanish by P. Phelipe Scio, in its second edition published at Madrid in 1795, has this: "Y mi oreja, asi como a hurtadillas, percibio una parte de su zumbido" ("And my ear as it were by stealth perceived a portion of its murmuring"). There are two footnotes, one of which, after the fashion of the time in interpreting the Hebrew original, declares the Hebrew equivalent to "algo de ello," that is, "a little thereof." Another footnote calls attention to the "venas" of the Vulgate, but does not explain it.

Allioli's translation of the Vulgate into German interprets the "venas susurri" as "the passing of its whisper." He avoids a literal rendering of the Latin phrase: "Und wie verstohlens nahm weg mein Ohr den Hingang seines Saeuselns" ("and my ear as it were by stealth received the passing of its whisper"—or "sighing"). Arndt, who professed to have compared Allioli's version with the Hebrew original, does not improve notably upon him, for he merely changes Hingang (passing) into Inhalt (contents). Both Allioli and his editor, Arndt, avoid a literal use of "veins."

Another translation of the Vulgate into German was made by Drs. Loch and Reisehl in 1869. It renders "venas susurri ejus" by "das Nahen seines Fluesterns" ("the approach of its whispering"). Again, the "veins" is avoided.

It would appear from these quite casually collected illustrations that translators of the Vulgate into foreign tongues frankly recog-

¹⁴ Souvay, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. Carrières.

nized the obscurity that envelops "venas susurri." Only one translation, so far as I am aware, uses the literal rendering of "venas." It is the "Sainte Bible de Vence en Latin et en Français" (fifth edition, Paris, 1829). The second half of our verse is thus rendered: "Et mon oreille a saisi comme à la dérobée, des veines de son léger murmure." Here, at last, we have "veines" literally rendering "venas." However, this example is not really an exception to my list of illustrations, but rather its happiest crowning. For in the Bible de Vence¹⁶ the Latin text is placed in column form beside its translation into French, and if (as its editor appears to have foreseen) a reader should fail to gather any clear idea of the meaning of "des veines," he is immediately remitted to a footnote which explains the meaning as follows: "Hebr. Une parole . . . et mon oreille en a entendu une petite partie." Here we have "une petite partie," the "algo de ello" of Scio, the "little thereof" of the Authorized Version. But just why "veines" should be considered equivalent to "une petite partie" is not indicated. In respect of clearness and fullness, however, a reader should feel well satisfied with such editorial labors. Perhaps he would be an over-exacting critic who should complain that no reason is assigned why St. Jerome chose to render the Hebrew word "shemets" by "venas susurri." An over-exacting critic, indeed; for who has given us a clear reason, either before or since the Bible de Vence?

Before proceeding further, it should be noted that the Doway translators did not originate the English tradition of a literal rendering of "venas" by "veins." We have already found Walter Hilton, in the fourteenth century, directly quoting the initial words of the Vulgate Latin of Job iv., 12, and literally translating the verse thus: "Moreover, there was spoken to me a secret word, and the veins of its whispering mine ear hath perceived." In the same fourteenth century two English translations of the Vulgate were in fairly wide use.¹⁷ One of these renders the verse literally

¹⁶The footnote referred to takes each phrase of the Latin verse in order and briefly restates its meaning in Latin.

¹⁷Cf. Souvay, loc. cit.

¹⁷These two versions are given in "The Holy Bible . . . in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers. . . . Edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, K. H., F. R. S., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Vol. II. Oxford University Press, 1850." I give the title to illustrate the rather preposterous claim it makes for Wycliffe and his followers. The claim is mildly rejected by the Rev. Charles Bigg, D. D., canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, in his "Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History," issued by Longmans in 1906: "Wycliffe retired to Lutterworth. . . . To these two or three years are generally ascribed his translation of the Bible into English, and his creation of the order of Simple Priests, but it is doubtful if either of these works belongs to him . . . he nowhere claims to have made the translation which is commonly regarded as his; he nowhere appears to use it, and some translation seems to have been in general use some years before" (p. 127).

as follows: "But to me is seid a woord hid, and as theefli myn ertoc the veynes of his gruching." The other translation has: "Certes an hid word was seid to me, and myn ere took as theuli the veynes of privy noise thereof." Of this second rendering, another manuscript has for "as theulie" the fuller expression "as it were theuli," and for "noise" has "speking." But it would appear that all the manuscripts have "veynes." In view of this old English tradition, no one will properly quarrel with the Doway translators for their retention of "vaines," or with Bishop Challoner for refusing to change it, as he changed so many words and phrases of the Doway Version in his laboriously careful revision of it. A reader may nevertheless justly expect an enlightening footnote, if the science of exegesis can furnish it, after the fashion of the Bible de Vence.

III.

None of the popular commentaries thus far examined does more than interpret the verse in Job for its readers. If we agree with Carrières, Scio and the Bible de Vence, "*venas susurri*" means "a little" in the strict sense of the Hebrew original, "*shemets*." But a reader of the Imitation of Christ, who is puzzled either by its Latin phrase, "*venas divini susurri*," or by Challoner's and Mayr's¹⁸ literal rendering of it, and who attempts to translate the curious verse (III., i., 1) in this sense, will be disappointed; for he would obtain this result: "Blessed are the ears that receive a little of the divine, and heed not the whisperings of this world." The adjective "divine" must go without a substantive, for the phrase "*venas susurri*" seems (according to the above-cited authorities) to mean "a little." If the reader be a man of some leisure, he will seek further enlightenment. First of all, he will consult the Vulgate of Job iv., 12. The verse can be divided into two parts:

1. Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,
2. et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus.

Although the first half, especially in its "*verbum absconditum*," has had some influence upon the interpretation given to its second half (especially in connection with the words "*quasi furtive*"), it is desirable to economize both space and attention by a consideration here only of the second half, which contains the puzzle of the "*venas susurri ejus*."

Now the Hebrew original of the verse was probably as much of a puzzle to St. Jerome as his rendering of it has been to the commentators of the Vulgate. For the Hebrew here contains a word which is found only twice in the Bible, and both of these

¹⁸ George Mayr, S. J., translated the Imitation into Greek (1615) and rendered "*venas*" literally by "*tas phlebas*."

times in the Book of Job. The word has been variously transliterated as "shemets" and "semets." Of the hidden word brought to Eliphaz, he caught "shemets." The Authorized Version of 1611 translates the second half of the verse: "And my ear received a little thereof." Shemets was understood to mean "a little." When it occurs again in xxvi., 14, the A. V. renders it by "a little portion." Catholic and Protestant commentators alike took this view, and exhausted the Latin synonymy in their endeavor to express the same thought without baldly copying one another's words. Thus we find them using these synonyms of littleness: *parum*, *pusillum*, *tantulum*, *pauillum*, *pauillulum*, *paululum*, *modicum* *quid*, *tenue quiddam*, *quidpiam*, *particula*, *pars*, *aliquid*.¹⁹ There was evidently a general agreement on the meaning of "shemets." The agreement both antedated and followed the time of the King James collaborators.

St. Jerome translated "shemets" by "*venas susurri*." In his great commentary (1707) on the Bible, Calmet, the famous Benedictine scholar, shrewdly remarked that the Vulgate rendering of our hemistich appeared to follow the Greek version made by Symmachus in the second century ("My ear received a whisper of it"). As we have seen, the translations of Carrières, Scio and the others compromised by giving "whisper" in various forms (such as "faint sounds") in the text and by referring to what they considered the literal meaning of the Hebrew in a footnote.

The second edition²⁰ (1842) of Gesenius' *Thesaurus* gave its meaning as "*sonus raptim prolatus, sonus festinans et fugax furtivusque et clandestinus*,"²¹ and added immediately "*susurrus* (*ein leises Fluestern*)." *Ein leises Fluestern*—a soft whisper—of which, by implication (perhaps) one catches but "a little." Finally, the Hebrew Lexicon edited by Drs. Brown, Driver and Briggs (1906) gives only "a whisper" for Job iv., 12, and "a (mere) whisper of a word (something wholly inadequate)" for Job xxvi., 14.²² And

¹⁹ I might add to this list the curious rendering of our verse in the translation of the Book of Job from Chaldaic into Latin, published in Rome in 1508. The "*aliquid*" commonly used is here replaced by "*minorem se*." "*Et mihi sermo redditus est et suscepit auris mea, ut minorem se.*" Thus the "*Libri Justi Job ex Chaldaeo, sive Syro idiomate in Latinum nunc primum interpretatio* . . . a Victorio Scialac Accurensi, Maronita a Monte Libano. . . ."

²⁰ I have not consulted the first edition, and do not pretend to give a historical resumé of the variations of interpretation of "shemets." A few instances ready at hand suffice for my purpose of a most hasty review.

²¹ "A sound hurriedly uttered, a hasty, passing and furtive and hidden sound." All this is based on a supposedly equivalent or cognate Arabic word which Castell interpreted in his great dictionary as meaning "*sonus raptim prolatus*."

²² It omits entirely all reference to a hurried and hidden sound (cf. preceding footnote, 21). The preface to this new Hebrew lexicon remarks: "The need of a new Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament has been so long felt that no elaborate explanation of the appearance of the present work seems called for."

so, instead of "a little thereof," as in the Authorized Version of 1611, we now find "a whisper thereof" in the Revised Version of 1885. In a new Catholic translation into French (1905),²³ based on the original languages of the Bible, the "shemets" is rendered by "the soft murmur" (iv., 12) and "scarce a soft murmur" (xxvi., 14).

We recall that the Doway Version gave us "the vaines of its whispering," and whispering implies a continuation of a whisper. Was this the thought suggested in Langer's translation?²⁴ He renders "venas susurri ejus" by "den Inhalt seines Gefluesters." Hontheim (1904)²⁵ gives us simply "ein Gefluester."

IV.

It would doubtless be beyond the interest of my readers, as it would assuredly be beyond my competence, to dilate learnedly upon an obscure point of exegesis. The one important thing in our discussion is to illustrate the depth of the obscurity that shrouds the verse of the Imitation. Not one of the many translations of this golden book into English and other languages has—so far as can be inferred—elucidated its meaning. The inquirer at length finds that the phrase is radicated in the Book of Job. He consults his Catholic English Bible, and finds his puzzle simply staring him in the face as it had done in the Imitation. He goes to translations of the Vulgate into foreign tongues, and finds indeed elucidation of the Biblical verse, but hardly such as will also enlighten him upon the verse in the Imitation. He accordingly goes to the great commentators on the Book of Job, and he obtains peculiarly varying results. It would be an endless task to set forth the words of the innumerable learned commentators. But we may complete a hurried journey by (as it were) leaps and bounds adown the few centuries that mark the history of modern exegesis.

The story of modern Biblical exegesis starts with Nicholas of Lyre, who died in 1349 and left behind him a reputation for scholarly treatment of the Bible which has endured to the present day. He was proficient in Hebrew studies. Upon the words of the Vulgate, "suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus" ("my ears received the veins of its whisper") he comments most briefly: "Quia talia

²³ La Sainte Bible, traduction d'après les textes originaux, par l'Abbé Campion. Edition révisée par des Pères de la Cie. de Jesus . . . 1905.

²⁴ Das Buch Job in neuer und treuer Uebersetzung nach der Vulgata, mit fortwaehrender Beruecksichtigung des Urtextes, von I. Langer. Dritte Auflage. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1889. He renders Job xxvi., 14, by "kaum Fluestern."

²⁵ Das Buch Job, als strophisches Kunstwerk nachgewiesen, uebersetzt und erklart von Joseph Hontheim, S. J. It forms one issue of *Biblische Studien* of Herder's (IX. Band, 1.-3. Heft).

revelantur secrete nec capiuntur perfecte." That is to say, revelations such as Eliphaz received are made in a secret manner and are not perfectly understood. He does not indicate why this idea should have been suggested by St. Jerome in the expression dealing with the veins of a whisper. Lyranus was interpreting his Hebrew rather than his Vulgate, I suppose.

Emmanuel Sa, in his brief but literal notes (Cologne, 1593) on the whole Bible, refers to "venas susurri" as "paululum" (translating the Hebrew) or "aliquid" (translating the Chaldaic). That is, Eliphaz heard "a little" or "something" of what had been said to him in the hidden word. Later on, Menochius commented: "Venas susurri in Hebraeo est 'parum ex eo'—again, "a little of it." I have already given the large synonymy employed by various commentators to express the idea of littleness. I may add to the list the following of Lucas Brugensis: "Venas susurri eius (Heb., schemetz), levem seu tenuem auditum, auditulum, sonum seu murmur, qui leviter aures ferit, sed auribus percipitur."

Let us glance at the results thus far obtained. Nicholas Lyranus understands by "venas susurri" an imperfect understanding of the revelation made to Eliphaz. Sa, and very many others, understood it as meaning "a little"—so that Eliphaz heard only a little of the revelation. Lucas Brugensis understands by the phrase a very thin sound or murmur which strikes the ear but lightly, and is nevertheless perceived—as who should say (I presume) that Eliphaz heard the whisper or murmur fully, but only with great effort and (so far as the circumstances of the affrighting vision would permit) with great concentration of mind.

Pineda, in his extensive commentary on Job (Cologne, 1733) says of the second hemistich of the verse, that it means nothing more than that the voice heard by Eliphaz was exceedingly faint and such as could be perceived only, or scarce at all, even with the greatest attention, inasmuch as the revelation had passed by his ears very rapidly and had faded away—for thus we read in the Hebrew "parum de eo." He commends the interpretation made by St. Gregory the Great (d. 604) in his "Moralia," understanding the saint to compare the sound heard by Eliphaz to the faint murmuring of water flowing through pipes.

I have understated the simile; for Pineda speaks of water flowing through "hidden" pipes (in the ground or within a wall-space?). The exceedingly faint murmur can be heard, he says, only by an ear that is placed near the water-pipes. This is very like the thought of Lucas Brugensis (Venice, 1749), who compared the "venas susurri" to a sound which strikes the ear very faintly, but is nevertheless heard ("leviter aures ferit, sed auribus percipitur").

A great leap brings us down to E. F. Rosenmueller (1821), who translates the Hebrew into: "Percepitque auris mea susurrum ejus" ("My ear perceived the whisper thereof.") We have thus left behind us the elaborate list of synonyms for "a little"—the *parum ex eo*, the *paululum*, the *pauxillum*, etc., etc., as also the faint sound of water flowing through its pipes hidden in ground or in wall, as also the sound which faintly strikes the ear yet is withal perceived, as also the paraphrase of Lyranus. We have left them behind us, and have returned to Jerome's word, *susurrus*. And so the phrase "a little thereof" in the Authorized Version of 1611 has been changed into "a whisper thereof" in the Revised Version of 1885. Our English Catholic Bible, however, still uncompromisingly faces us with "the veins of its whisper."

This last fact brings up the question: "Why the veins?" What commentator has clearly explained why St. Jerome should have gone to the trouble of expressing the idea of a "whisper" by the elaborate phrase "the veins of its whisper?" Doubtless this thought has struck all the commentators as it struck Cordier. But in his "Job Elucidatus" (1646) Cordier frankly admits the difficulty and remarks that the Hebrew word (understood by him as equivalent to "pusillum"—that is, "a little") expresses the meaning more clearly (*clarius*) than did the Vulgate, which, he says, "styles 'venas susurri' the thin and faint, confused and obscure hissing of a broken voice which utters nothing clearly, but is burdened with a kind of confusion, in such fashion that you hear indeed a sound but, inasmuch as it is not formed articulately, you hardly understand it." He goes on to declare that the metaphor is taken (not, as Pineda had complimented St. Gregory for supposing, from water-pipes, but) from rivers and rivulets that flow onward with a quiet murmur (*tacito murmure*) and leave in the ears only a formless sound.

Another meaning is declared by Delitzsch in his Commentary on the Book of Job. He quarrels with St. Jerome's rendering of Job xxvi., 14, and incidentally remarks that "venas" in iv., 12, is used tropically for "parts." This is a clear declaration of the meaning of "venas," clearly set forth; but why "vena" should here be understood as a "part" is not explained to the reader.

I have already noted that Allioli translates "venas" by "passing" and that Arndt corrects this into "contents," while still other present-day exegetes render it by "Gefluenster," by "murmur," and so on.

The inquirer may thus choose among the following interpretations of the "venas:" something minute, something faint, a murmur as of water flowing through hidden water-pipes or adown nature's water-courses, the inner subtlety of a message (which is one of St. Gregory's interpretations), the purport or content of the message,

a portion of it, a little of it, or simply a "whisper" indistinguishable mentally and logically from "the veins of a whisper."

"Devine si tu peux, et choisis si tu l'oses!"

With this not wholly clear assemblage of interpretations confronting him, our inquirer might be pardoned for expressing his surprise that E. F. Rosenmueller, who drops the "venas" wholly from his own rendering of the Hebrew into Latin, should have so highly complimented St. Jerome upon his ancient Latin rendering of "shemets" by "venas susurri." St. Jerome, he says, rendered excellently the sense of the whole Hebrew verse: "Sensum autem omnium optime Hieronymus expressit." And Father Knabenbauer pays a similar tribute to St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Job (Paris, 1886): "Optime sensum dedit Hieronymus." Our inquirer will of course not question the praise thus given to St. Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew and his skill in expressing that knowledge in excellent Latin phrase, but may be pardoned for still wondering "why?"

V.

If the Vulgate of Job is to help us in interpreting the Imitation, we must first have grappled with a peculiarity of English diction. Shall we translate "venas" into "the veins" or simply into "veins?" The Doway Version chose "the veins." On the other hand, the Bible de Vence chose simply "veins" (partitive: "des veines.") The implications of the two renderings are very different, for they suppose different interpretations of the Latin original. If "vena" is to be understood metaphorically as suggesting the soft murmur of water as it flows through hidden water-pipes or adown its natural earth-channels; or if it suggests the subtle character of a message, as St. Gregory thought; or if it merely implies the "content" (Inhalt) of Arndt, without any special suggestion of subtlety; if, in brief, it reflects the idea of softness or thinness and not the idea of fragmentariness, the English definite article should be used before "veins." But if we believe with Delitzsch that it implies that only "parts" or fragments of the whispered message were heard by Eliphaz, obviously a translator ought to omit "the" and render "venas" simply by "veins." Latin idiom offers many such ambiguities to a translator, but the context will generally supply the correct selection of an English equivalent of the original. Our verse of the Imitation, however, stands alone—"like an Alp, retired, apart"—in the context.

If we follow Delitzsch in his uncompromising declaration that "venas" means "parts," or if we side with the large number of commentators who use less descriptive words, such as *parum*, *pauzil-*

lum, aliquantulum, aliquid, and so on through an extensive Latin synonymy of littleness, we should render the Vulgate verse as follows: ". . . my ear by stealth as it were received veins [that is, parts or fragments] of its whisper." But if we follow St. Gregory, Pineda (and the preceding commentators whose views he shared and expressed) or Arndt, we should translate: ". . . my ear by stealth as it were received the veins [that is, the full content, the subtle inner meaning, of the message, how softly soever that message may have been whispered] of its whisper."

As we have seen in a previous paper, translations of the Imitation into English have, with the single exception of Father Thaddeus's rendering, employed the definite article. They place "the" in front of whatever word they choose in English as an equivalent for the Latin word "venas." And so we have "the sound" of Father Anthony Hoskins (who may have borrowed this word from the "sonitum" of Castalio's translation of the Imitation into classical Latin, and who thus would have found an equal source of ambiguity in the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis and the "sonitum" of Castalio). A long line of English translators followed the lead of Father Hoskins, as we have already seen. When Bishop Challoner concluded to stick more closely to the original Latin, he literally rendered "venas" by "veins," but nevertheless begged the question now at issue by prefixing the definite article, thus giving us "the veins of the divine whisper." I think it is fair to say that he begged the question by prefixing "the," for until we have some notion of what is meant by "veins," we can not properly settle the difficulty of the inclusion or the omission of the word "the." If "veins" means "parts," it follows that "the" should have been omitted. If "veins" means "contents," it follows that "the" should be used. Challoner stood alone in his literal rendering of "venas." The translators who used some other word than "veins" placed an interpretation on the Latin original, and were not begging the question when they used the definite article. Thus we have "the soft echoes" of Canon Benham, "the runlets" of Dr. Bigg, "the pulses" of various translators, "the instillings" of Kegan Paul, and so on.

A curious illustration of the lack of any helpfulness given by the use of "venas susurri" in Job to a seeker after its meaning in the Imitation is found in the fact that even those translators who were aware of the Hieronymian origin of the phrase prefix "the," although the commentators on Job have, with such wonderful unanimity, understood the phrase in Job in a partitive sense. Father Thaddeus, however, following the partitive "parum" of Menochius (as employed by Carrières), renders the Latin phrase of the Imita-

tion by "a faint sound." He rejects "the" and uses "a" before "faint sound."

While we are on the subject of the Doway Version and Challoner's Revision, it may not be amiss to call attention to a significant alteration which Challoner made, doubtless without adverting to the fact, in his text. The alteration is most interesting in its relation to the Imitation of Christ. A separate paragraph may be properly devoted to it.

The Vulgate uses the singular number, "auris mea." The Doway translators rendered it also in the singular number, "mine ear." Challoner had before him both the Latin text and the Doway Version. It is fair to assume that in the case of the puzzling verse of Job he had recourse to the wording of the Authorized Version,²⁶ which also uses the singular number, "mine ear." But what did Challoner do? He rendered the expression in the plural number, "my ears!" It was an oversight, of course, for nothing was to be gained in respect of clearness, or of correctness, or of idiomatic English, by the pluralizing of the original "auris mea." It is evident also that Challoner took much pains with this verse. He changed the Doway "vaines" into "veins," and its "whispering" into "whisper." He did not therefore overlook the verse in haste or forgetfulness. Why did he change "ear" into "ears?" The reason seems to me quite obvious when once we recall that the pious and laborious Dr. Challoner was a great lover of the Imitation, a constant reader of it, and that he translated it into English with the same literalness ("the veins of the divine whisper") as the Doway Version renders Job ("the vaines of its whispering"). St. Jerome used the singular number, "auris mea." But Thomas à Kempis used the plural number, "beatae aures," and this plural number was doubtless singing in the memory of Challoner when he came to translate, or to revise, the Vulgate rendering of the Doway translators. By a curious freak of the imagination—a veritable ocular illusion—he saw the plural of the Imitation instead of the singular of the Vulgate, the Doway Version, and the Authorized Version. In brief, he was thinking of the Imitation while he was revising the verse of Job.

VI.

The reader's attention has been called several times to the English

²⁶ Burton, in his "Life and Times of Bishop Challoner" says (I, p. 281): "His method in regard to the text, roughly speaking, was to take the Douay Bible as the groundwork. When he met with a word or phrase which seemed to him to need simplifying, he usually, or at least very frequently, had recourse to the Authorized Version, always avoiding, however, a very close reproduction and seeming of set purpose to retain minor differences."

translation of the Imitation by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M.²⁷ This translator and editor approached his task with a clear knowledge of its many difficulties and with a splendid determination to spare himself no labor of research that might throw some light on the difficulties. In his "Remarks" appended to the translation we read: "It has often been said, and seemed to be universally admitted, that none of our English versions of 'The Imitation' are satisfactory. But this amounted to no more than a general assertion and a vague notion; nobody came forward to point out the particular defects or the bad renderings. And even had this been done, very much, yea, almost all, would still have been wanting; for to know the evil is one thing, but to apply the remedy is of still more consequence." He confesses himself "surprised at the incompetence of some translators, even among Catholics, not to mention others, who ought to have known better," and proceeds to give some startling illustrations of mistranslations due to over-hasty acceptance of one out of several meanings of a Latin word, or to misapprehension of the language of mediæval mysticism or of fifteenth century scholastic terminology, or to ignorance of the fact that the Imitation contains many Dutch idioms rendered literally in the Latin phrase of à Kempis; and finally, by way of fuller illustration, he gives two pages of selected renderings from "the English rendering of Sir Francis Cruise, M. D., D. L., because his is the most recent Catholic translation, and almost the latest edition that has appeared in English."

It may be esteemed a very curious and interesting fact that Father Thaddeus omits any such special mention of the "*venas divini susurri*" and its multiform and multifarious, and in many instances mutually exclusive, phraseology of rendition into English and foreign languages. He nevertheless translates the phrase anew and in a wholly new manner. Relying on what Carrières (who appears to have followed Menochius) had to say about the meaning of the original Hebrew, he frankly attempts to incorporate into his version of the Imitation the meaning which he understood to be that of Job iv., 12. Accordingly, this is his rendering of the verse of the Imitation: "Blessed are the ears that catch at least a faint sound of the divine whisper, and hear nothing of the whisperings of the world." In his "Notes and References" he accounts for this rendering by simply saying (p. 307): "A faint sound of the divine whisper, Job iv., 12. Cf. Carrières. *Venas susurri*, i. e., *parum ex eo*."

Now it is clear that Father Thaddeus has not merely translated the phrase in what he conceives to have been the sense of it in

²⁷ Cf. the REVIEW, Oct., 1916, p. 696, for some notice of this translation.

the original Hebrew, but that he also edits that sense in order to make it fit in at all with its context in the Imitation. His editing consists in the interpolation of the words "at least" before the English rendering of the phrase; and the words "at least" are to be found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Imitation, and they do not occur in the Vulgate Latin or in its vernacular renderings. Where did Father Thaddeus come upon the phrase "at least?" He was compelled to invent it, in order that "a faint sound of the divine whisper" might prove intelligible to his readers. For Thomas à Kempis would hardly account the ears blessed that heard only "a faint sound" of the inward speaking of Christ to the soul. That is not his ideal, although conceivably it might be his minimum requirement (the "at least" of Father Thaddeus). But the whole context of that first chapter, and indeed of the whole book, is against any such labored interpretation. For the whole book gives in greatest minuteness of detail the extended converse between Christ and the Faithful Soul.

Our long journey through the English translations, supplemented by those in foreign tongues, has not helped us to an understanding of the phrase. Neither, we may properly judge, has our painful consultation of the modern commentators on Job served to clear up our difficulty. There remains, I think, but one thing to do, namely, to see what mediæval writers had to say about "the veins of God's whisper." This we shall do in a following paper.

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THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.

II.

I N our last article we left Balboa rejoicing in the success of his expedition and filled with gratitude to God for having permitted him to discover the great Pacific Ocean. His next step was to descend from the mountain-top from which he had seen that boundless sea, and, with his companions, seek the regions of reputed wealth that were supposed to lie along its shores. He entered the province of Cheapas, a warlike Cacique, who, seeing the small number of the invaders, came out to meet them, at the head of his warriors, and forbade them to enter his territories. Balboa had already learned that the policy of "frightfulness" was the only one to be depended upon in dealing with the natives. He immediately ordered his arquebusiers to the front, and poured volleys upon the enemy and then let the bloodhounds loose. The flash of arms, the noise of thunder and the clouds of smoke filled the Indians with terror, and they fled in confusion.

Balboa commanded his men to refrain from unnecessary slaughter; he made many prisoners, and, on reaching the village, sent a party in search of the Cacique. They soon found him and made it clear to him that while the Spaniards possessed "supernatural powers" and could "exterminate their enemies with thunder and lightning," they were kind and beneficent to all who submitted to them and advised the Cacique to seek their friendship. The Cacique, finding that he had no choice, yielded reluctantly, and appeared before the Spaniards trembling with fear and bringing with him, as a peace offering, 500 pounds of wrought gold. He had already learned the effect such an offering would have upon his captors. Needless to say that Balboa received the Cacique with great kindness and "graciously" accepted his offering. In return he "generously" gave him beads, hawk balls and looking glasses, making him as happy with the presents he received as the Spaniards were with their gold.

Friendly relations being now established and there being nothing to fear of a hostile nature, Balboa sent out three scouting parties to explore the surrounding country and ascertain the best route to the sea. Alonzo Martin, after two days' journey, came to a beach, where he found two large canoes lying high and dry, but no water was to be seen. While the Spaniards stood lost in wonder that these canoes should be so far inland, the tide, which rises to a great height on that coast, came in very rapidly and

floated them. Seeing this, Alonzo Martin stepped into one of the canoes and called upon his companions to bear witness that he was the first European to embark upon that sea. Blas de Etienza followed his example, and also called upon his companions to testify that he was the second.¹

Balboa, being now rejoined by the men he had sent for from Quarequá, took with him twenty-six well-armed men, and on September 29, 1513, set out to explore the coast. He soon arrived on the shores of a large bay, to which he gave the name of San Miguel, having discovered it on the feast of St. Michael. The tide being out, Balboa seated himself under a tree to wait until it should rise. No sooner had the waters of the mighty ocean, with its great impetuosity peculiar to that region, reached the place where the Spaniards were reposing, when Balboa took the banner on which was painted the Holy Child and His Blessed Mother, and under them the arms of Castile and Leon, and drawing his sword and with his shield upon his shoulder he waded out into the sea. Waving his banner, he exclaimed in a loud voice: "Vivan! the high and mighty sovereigns, Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, rulers of Castile and Leon and of Arragon, in whose name and for the royal crown of Castile I take real and corporal and actual possession of these seas, and lands and coasts, and ports, and islands of the south, and all thereunto annexed; and of the kingdoms and provinces which do, or may appertain to them, in whatever manner, or by whatever right or title, ancient or modern, in times past, present or to come, without any contradiction. And if any other prince or captain, Christian or infidel, or of any law, sect or condition whatsoever, shall pretend any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared to maintain and defend them in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, present and future, to whom belongs the empire and dominion over these Indias, islands and terra firma, northern and southern, with all their seas, both at the Arctic and Antarctic Poles, on either side of the equinoctial line, whether within or without the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, both now and in all times, as long as the world endures, and until the final day of judgment of all mankind."

This not over modest declaration meeting with no contradiction, Balboa called upon his companions to bear witness of the fact of his having duly taken possession. All present declared themselves ready to defend his claims to the very last, as became true and loyal subjects of the Castilian sovereigns. A notary now drew up the necessary document for the occasion, to which all affixed their signatures.

¹ Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, d. I., lx., cap. 2.

Their next step was to advance to the margin of the sea, stoop down and taste the waters. Finding that, though separated by intervening mountains and continents, they were salt like the seas of the north, they were convinced that they had indeed discovered an ocean, and they again gave thanks to God, who had crowned their efforts with such signal success.

Not satisfied with this, Balboa, with his dagger, cut a cross on a tree which grew within the water limit, and cut two other crosses on adjacent trees in honor of the Blessed Trinity and in token of possession.²

Such was the singular mingling of chivalry and religious devotion with which the Spaniards took possession of the mighty Pacific Ocean and all its lands. It was a scene strongly characteristic of the nation and the age.

We have said that Balboa made his headquarters at the village of the Cacique Chiapes, and it would have been well for him had he listened to the advice of that Cacique in some things. During his stay, Balboa foraged the country and obtained quite a quantity of gold from the natives. He now determined to explore, by sea, the borders of a neighboring gulf of great extent. The Cacique warned him against the danger of venturing on the sea during the stormy season that prevails in those latitudes during the last three months of the year. He told him that he had seen many canoes swamped in the angry waves and whirlpools which at this time render navigation in the gulf almost impossible. But Balboa, elated by his recent successes, expressed his belief that God would protect him, inasmuch as his voyage was devoted to the propagation of the faith and the increase of the power of Christian monarchs over pagan peoples. Indeed, this beautiful reliance (sometimes carried so far as tempting Providence) on the protection of heaven seems to account for the remarkable daring of the Spaniards in those days, whether their expeditions were against the Moors or the natives of the New World.

In spite of all Chiapes could say, Balboa insisted on following out his own ideas. The Cacique volunteered to accompany him, and on October 17 (1513), Balboa, with sixty picked men in nine canoes manned by natives, the expedition set out. They had not gone very far when the wisdom of the Cacique's remonstrance was verified. A sudden storm came up, and the canoes were tossed about on the breaking crest of the waves. The Indians finally succeeded in fastening the canoes in pairs, side by side, so as to prevent them from being overturned, and thus managed to keep afloat until evening, when they reached a small island. Here

² Many of these details are from Oviedo's "*Historia de las Indias*."

they landed, and having secured their canoes, sought much-needed rest upon an elevated and dry spot. But their trials were not over yet. The rapid rising tide, so sudden and frequent in those latitudes, drove them from one rock to another, and it was not long before the water was up to their waists. The situation became desperate, but fortunately the wind lulled and the sea became calm; the tide had reached its height and began to subside. When the morning dawned they went in search of their canoes. Some were broken to pieces, others yawning open in many parts. The Spaniards looked about them in despair; their clothing and supplies had been washed away, and the canoes contained only sand and water. The Spaniards were weak and tired out; they were without food, and famine stared them in the face. Hard work awaited them even if they should escape with their lives. Balboa realized the situation; he rallied their spirits and set an example by his own cheerful exertions. His men now set to work repairing such of the canoes as were fit to repair, and finally embarked. After being tossed about upon the waves, in deeply laden canoes, and enduring the pangs of hunger and thirst, at nightfall they reached a corner of the gulf near the house of a Cacique named Túmaco. Balboa left part of his men here to guard the canoes, and with the others started for the Indian village. Here new troubles awaited him. The hostile inhabitants were on the alert to defend their homes, but the firearms and dogs of the invaders soon put them to flight. The village afforded provisions in abundance. In addition to this, the Spaniards obtained a considerable amount of gold and a great quantity of pearls, many of them of great value. They found in the house of the Cacique several huge shells of mother-of-pearl and four pearl oysters quite fresh, which indicated that there was pearl fishing in the vicinity. This fact inflamed the Spaniards with a desire to learn the source of this wealth. Balboa immediately sent several of Chiapes' Indians in search of the Cacique. They traced him to a wild retreat among the rocks. Túmaco was induced to send his son as a mediator to the Spaniards. He returned to his father loaded with presents and full of praise for the kindness of the extraordinary beings who had shown themselves so terrible in battle. By the mutual exchange of presents a friendly intercourse was established. The Cacique gave Balboa "jewels of gold weighing six hundred and fourteen crowns, and two hundred pearls of great size and beauty, excepting that they were slightly discolored in consequence of the oysters having been opened by fire."

The wily Cacique, when he saw the value the Spaniards set upon these pearls, and anxious to preserve their good will, sent

a number of his men to gather more of them. Some of the Indians were trained from their youth for this work and became very expert pearl divers, and they returned with quite an abundance, and a goodly number of the shellfish and their pearls were sent to Spain.

Balboa made further inquiries as to the country beyond where they were, and learned that the coast which stretched to the west continued onwards without limit. He, moreover, learned that far to the south there was a province abounding in gold, and that the inhabitants made use of four-footed animals to carry burdens. The Cacique went so far as to mould a clay figure to represent these animals. The Spaniards supposed this figure to represent a deer, or a camel, or even a tapir. As yet they had never heard of the llama, the South American beast of burden. This was the second hint that Balboa received of the "great empire of Peru."

We cannot follow Balboa and his companions in all their expeditions. Suffice it to say that having accomplished all he had set out to do, he returned to Santa Maria de la Antigua.

From what we have said in the foregoing narrative we can readily perceive that this last expedition was one of the most remarkable of those undertaken by the early discoverers. The courage of Balboa in forcing his way with a mere handful of men so far into the interior of a wild and mountainous country, inhabited by wild and hostile tribes; his skill in carrying his men, rough adventurers as they were, stimulating their courage, enforcing their obedience and still holding their regard and respect, prove him to have possessed all the qualities of a great leader. He shared the trials and dangers of the humblest of his followers; he treated all with the greatest consideration, "watching, fighting, fasting and laboring with them." He visited and consoled the sick and disabled and divided all the spoils with fairness and liberality. He has, it is true, been accused at times of acts of bloodshed and injustice, but it is also true that these acts were imperative as measures of safety and precaution. He certainly offended less against humanity than most of the early discoverers; less even than some of the warlike nations in this glorious and cultured twentieth century, and the unbounded friendship and confidence reposed in him by the poor natives, when they learned to know him intimately, attest most strongly in favor of his kind treatment of them when it was in his power to do so. His recent discovery seemed to have given him a certain nobility and grandeur of character. He no longer considered himself a soldier of fortune, but a great commander conducting an immortal enterprise. "Behold," says old Peter Martyr, "Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, at once

transformed from a rash royster to a politic and discreet captain." Does it not seem true that men are often made by their fortunes? Their latent qualities are brought out and shaped and strengthened by events, and by the necessity of every exertion to cope with the greatness of their destiny.

In a former article we spoke of charges sent to Spain intended to bring Balboa into disfavor with his sovereign. Balboa now flattered himself that his discovery was of such importance as to silence all his enemies at court and to raise him to the highest favors with the king. He wrote letters giving a detailed account of his discoveries, and in addition to the royal fifths of the profits of his expedition, he did not forget to send a "present" to his sovereign, in his own name and that of his companions. It consisted of the largest and most precious pearls they had secured. These were sent by a trusted and intelligent envoy, Don Pedro de Arbolancha, an old friend who had shared many of his toils and dangers, and who was well acquainted with all that had been done.

Unfortunately, the vessel which was to carry the messenger to Spain was delayed, and this delay proved fatal to the fortunes of Balboa.

We have told how the Bachiller Enciso had gone to Spain full of wrongs and indignities. He was not without friends at court to assist him in obtaining an early hearing, and he was not slow in availing himself of this fact. He was eloquent in his denunciation of Balboa; charged him with usurpation and described him as governing the colony by force and fraud. The Alcalde Zamudio, the old-time friend and envoy of Balboa, vainly endeavored to speak in his behalf, and the King decided to send a new Governor to Darien with authority to investigate and remedy all abuses. This new Governor was Don Pedro Arias Davila, commonly called Pedrarias (but by English historians he is generally known as Davila). He was a native of Segovia, was really brought up in the royal household and had distinguished himself in the wars in Granada and in Africa. He enjoyed the confidence of Bishop Fonseca, possessed qualities which captivated the soldiers, but was also revengeful, cruel and bloodthirsty, and proved eventually the implacable and merciless persecutor of Balboa.

Scarcely had Don Pedrarias been made Governor of Darien when Cayzedo and Colmenares arrived on their mission from Darien to announce the news received from the son of the Cacique Comagre, concerning the Southern sea beyond the mountains, and

to ask for the one thousand men Balboa desired to enable him to make the discovery.

King Ferdinand was easily aroused by this news. He saw visions of wealth pouring into his coffers, and at once resolved to send a powerful fleet with twelve hundred men under the command of Pedrarias to accomplish the enterprise. This force was afterwards increased to fifteen hundred, and Oviedo tells us that "through influence, entreaty and stratagem upwards of 2,000 eventually embarked." Artillery and ammunition were procured in Malaga, and muskets and cross-bows, swords, pikes, lances and Neapolitan shields were supplied in abundance. Santa Maria de la Antigua was elevated into the episcopal city of Castilla de Oro, and a Franciscan Friar, Padre Juan de Quevedo, was appointed Bishop, with faculties enabling him to decide all cases of conscience. A number of Fathers accompanied him, and all the necessary vestments and sacred vessels for a chapel were supplied.

A rather singular regulation was made barring all lawyers from the infant colony, as their influence at Hispaniola and elsewhere was deemed detrimental to the welfare of the settlement, as they were too fond of "fomenting disputes and litigations." The judicial affairs were to be limited to the Licenciado Don Gaspar de Espinosa, who was to act as Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Judge.

Don Pedrarias had orders to use great indulgence towards the people of Darien, but towards Balboa alone the royal favor seemed to be almost entirely withheld. Pedrarias was to depose him from his assumed authority, and to call him to strict account before Don Gaspar de Espinosa for his treatment of the Bachiller Enciso.

A splendidly equipped fleet of fifteen vessels weighed anchor at San Lucar on April 12, 1514, and swept proudly out of the Guadalquivir bound for the Castello de Oro, or Golden Castle. Had it delayed a few days longer how different had been the fortunes of the heroic Balboa. Hardly had this fleet reached the blue waters of the Atlantic when Pedro Arbolancho, Balboa's messenger, arrived in Spain. He was received at once by the King, who listened with astonishment and delight at the announcement of Balboa's great discovery and looked with unbounded pleasure at the pearls and golden ornaments laid at his feet. King Ferdinand's imagination was filled with anticipations of countless wealth. Peter Martyr, who had received letters from his friends in Darien, and additional information from Balboa's messengers, wrote to Pope Leo X. in exulting terms. "Spain," he said, "will hereafter be able to satisfy with pearls the greedy appetite of such as in wanton pleasures are like unto Cleopatra and Cæsus, so that henceforth we shall neither envy nor reverence the nice fruit-

fulness of Trapoban or the Red Sea. The Spaniards will not need hereafter to mine and dig far into the earth, nor to cut asunder mountains in quest of gold, but will find it plentifully, in a manner, in the upper crust of the earth, or in the sands of rivers dried up by the heats of summer. Certainly the reverend antiquity obtained not so great a benefit of nature, nor even aspired to the knowledge thereof, since never man before from the known world penetrated to these unknown regions."³

Needless to say that all Spain was wild in its laudations of Balboa. He was no longer a lawless, desperate adventurer, but a worthy successor of Columbus. The King regretted his harshness and ordered Bishop Fonseca to take steps towards rewarding Balboa's "transcendent services."

In the meantime Balboa was exerting all his energies towards bringing the neighborhood of Darien into such a state of cultivation as to make it independent of Europe for supplies. The town itself now could boast of a population of 513 Europeans, all men, and 1,500 Indians, men and women. Orchards and gardens had been laid out, vegetables were cultivated, and everything gave promise for the future. European holidays were celebrated, and everything was done to strengthen his friendly relations with the natives, so much so, indeed, that his men might go singly about the country with perfect safety. His own followers had grown devoted to him, both from admiration of his exploits and from the hope of being led by him into new fields of adventure. Peter Martyr (December 3) in his letter to Pope Leo X. speaks in the highest terms of these "old soldiers of Darien," the remnants of those well-tried adventurers who had followed the fortunes of Ojeda, Nicuesa and Balboa. "They were hardened," he says, "to bear all sorrows, and were exceedingly tolerant of labor, heat, hunger and watching, inasmuch as they merrily make their boast that they have observed a longer and harder Lent than ever your Holiness enjoined, since for a period of four years their food has been herbs and fruits, with now and then fish, and very rarely meat."

Such was the condition of the colony when, in the month of June, Don Pedrarias Davila and his fleet arrived in the Gulf of Uraba.

The followers of the new Governor longed to set foot on shore, that they might see this land of wealth and wonders. The wily Pedrarias, knowing the resolute character of Balboa and the devotion of his men, was not without misgivings as to the manner of his reception. He dropped anchor about a league and a half

³ Peter Martyr, Dec. III., chap. 3.

from the settlement and sent a messenger to announce his arrival. This messenger, having heard so much about the adventures of Balboa and the wealth of the Golden Castile, expected to find a "blustering warrior," living in barbaric splendor in the government he "had usurped." He was not a little surprised to find this famous hero "a plain, unassuming man, clad in a cotton frock and drawers, and hempen sandals, directing and assisting the labor of several Indians who were thatching a cottage in which he resided."

The messenger approached him respectfully and announced the arrival of Don Pedrarias as the new Governor of the country.

Whatever may have been the effect of this announcement upon Balboa, he controlled his emotion and answered the messenger with calm discretion: "Tell Don Pedrarias that he is welcome, that I congratulate him on his safe arrival, and am ready, with all who are here, to obey his orders."

A feeling of indignation broke out among the men when they learned that a new Governor was to take the place of their beloved chieftain. The more hot-headed among them were ready to go out, sword in hand, to drive out the intruder, but Balboa's words restrained them. He prepared to receive the new Governor in a becoming manner.

Pedrarias landed on June 30, 1514, and made a formal entry into the embryo city, accompanied by his wife, the Bishop of Darien and a train of youthful cavaliers in glittering armor and brocade. All this pomp and splendor formed a striking contrast with the humble state of Balboa, who came forth to receive his successor unarmed and in the most simple attire. His retinue consisted of his councillors and a handful of the "old soldiers of Darien," in garments much worn by long and rough usage and carrying no weapons.

Balboa extended the hospitality of the place, such as it was, consisting of roots and fruits, maize and casara bread. The only beverage was water from the river. We can imagine what a sorry banquet this must have appeared in the eyes of cavaliers who had come to the Golden Castile. It was not long, however, before an abundant supply of provisions were landed from the ships, and temporary abundance was distributed through the colony.

A few days after his arrival at Darien Pedrarias had a private conference with Balboa in the presence of Oviedo, the historian and public notary of the colony. The Governor assured him that he had been directed by the King to treat him with "great favor and distinction," to consult him about the affairs of the colony,

and to obtain from him all information relating to the country, expressing at the same time the most friendly feelings on his own part and a desire to be guided by his counsels in all public affairs.

Balboa, who was of a frank and confiding nature, was overwhelmed and surprised at this unexpected courtesy, dropped all caution and reserve and made known all his plans and aims. Pedrarias took advantage of this confidence, and obtained from his victim a statement in writing, detailing the condition of the colony, all information available concerning different parts of the country; the routes by which he had crossed the mountains; his discovery of the great ocean, the situation and reputed wealth of the Pearl Islands; the rivers and ravines that produced the largest quantity of gold, together with the names and territories of the various caciques with whom he had made treaties.

Having obtained all the information he desired, the unscrupulous Pedrarias dropped the mask and proceeded to a judicial inquiry into the conduct of Balboa and his officers. The chief judge at this inquiry was the Licentiate Don Gaspar de Espinosa, an inexperienced lawyer, who had recently left the University of Salamanca. He lacked firmness and was inclined to favor those around him, and for a time was inclined to be guided by the wisdom of Dr. Quevedo, Bishop of Darien. Balboa had not been unmindful of this prelate's influence in the colony, and he had secured his good will by his profound deference and respect. Under the Bishop's influence, the Alcalde began his investigation in the most favorable manner, going largely into an examination of the discoveries made by Balboa and of the nature and extent of his services. Pedrarias was not at all pleased at the turn the inquiry was taking, as if continued on these lines it would result in the very opposite to what he desired. To counteract this result he set on foot a secret and invidious course of questioning of the followers of Nicuesa and Ojeda, to elicit testimony to support the charge against Balboa of usurpation and a tyrannical use of power. When the Bishop and the Alcalde heard of this inquiry, carried on secretly and without their consent, they entered a strong protest, as they regarded it as an infringement upon their rights, they being recognized as coadjutors in the government. They spurned the testimony of the followers of Ojeda and Nicuesa as dictated and discolored by former enmity. Balboa was therefore acquitted by them of all charges made against him.

Pedrarias was highly displeased at Balboa's acquittal, and insisted upon his guilt, and went so far as to threaten to send him to Spain to be tried for the death of Nicuesa, and for other offenses which he had trumped up against him.

Bishop Quevedo, however, was decidedly opposed to Balboa's leaving the colony. He represented to Pedrarias that Balboa's arrival in Spain would take the form of a triumph rather than a disgrace, as by that time the fame of his discoveries would far atone for his faults, and he would probably be sent back to the colony invested with new dignities and powers.

Pedrarias now found himself not a little perplexed as he realized the force of the Bishop's suggestions. Even his wife was strong in her sympathy for the man he would wrong. The unscrupulous Pedrarias now changed his tactics, and adopted a more moderate if less honest course. He allowed Balboa to remain at Darien, though under a cloud which he hoped would soon impair his popularity.

Pedrarias now turned to an examination of Balboa's report on his explorations, and was anxious to establish a line of posts across the mountains between Darien and the South Seas, and he was desirous of doing this before any order should arrive from the King in favor of Balboa. Before these plans could be completed, unexpected misfortunes came upon the colony which made it necessary for every one to think only of his own safety.

The marshy condition of the surrounding country and the intense tropical heat began to affect the health of the Spaniards, and many of the recent arrivals were carried off by disease. Pedrarias fell sick and had to be removed to a more healthy place in the interior. Provisions which his ships had brought from Spain were found to have been greatly damaged by the sea, and what was usable was so scanty that the men had to be put on short allowance, and this only added to the debility of the men and increased the ravages of disease. With the increase of the famine came desperation, and in the short space of a month seven hundred of the young men who had embarked with Pedrarias perished, and their bodies remained for days unburied because their friends were too weak to bury them. Unable to give relief, Pedrarias permitted his men to shift for themselves. A shipload of starving men went to Cuba and enlisted under the banner of Diego Velasquez, who was colonizing that island; others made their way back to Spain.

Pedrarias, having recovered, decided on sending expeditions in different directions to forage the country and secure treasure. He ignored Balboa entirely and entrusted these expeditions to favorites who were inexperienced and who proved unsuccessful. But a brighter day was dawning for Balboa. Dispatches arrived from Spain which were written after news of the discovery of the South

Sea had been received. In a letter to Balboa the King expressed great admiration for his merits and services and appointed him Adelantado of the South Sea and Governor of the provinces of Panama and Coyba, though subordinate to the general command of Pedrarias. A letter to Pedrarias informed him of this appointment and ordered him to consult Balboa on all public affairs of importance. As all letters from Spain were first delivered to Pedrarias, he held back the one addressed to Balboa until he could decide upon what course he would adopt. But Balboa discovered the fact, as did also his friend, the Bishop of Darien, and the latter was not slow in denouncing the interruption of the royal correspondence, even from the altar, as an "outrage upon the rights of the subject and an act of disobedience to the sovereign."

Pedrarias at once called the council of his public officers and asked their opinion as to the propriety of recognizing the dignity granted to Balboa. It was decided to postpone all recognition of Balboa's new office until the King should be informed of the charges against him. This aroused the indignation of the Bishop, who charged the council with presumption and disloyalty to their sovereign. Pedrarias was alarmed at the Bishop's honest wrath, and pretended to yield, and it was finally agreed that the titles and dignities should be immediately conferred on Balboa. Oviedo, the historian, was present at this gathering, and he tells us that he "wrote down the opinions given on this occasion, which the parties signed with their own hands."

It will be readily understood that under existing conditions harmony was not to be expected, but just at this critical juncture Antonio de Garabito, Balboa's agent, arrived on the coast in a vessel loaded with arms and ammunition and seventy resolute men. He anchored some eighteen miles away, and secretly notified Balboa of his arrival. In the meantime Pedrarias learned that a "mysterious vessel" full of armed men was in secret communication with his rival. Filled with jealous fears as to its mission, he ordered Balboa to be arrested and confined in a wooden cage, but on the Bishop's vigorous protest Pedrarias relented, and consented to examine the matter with calmness and deliberation. It was soon evident that the expedition had been set on foot with no treasonable intent.

The Bishop of Darien, Monseñor Quevedo, encouraged by the success of his intercession, tried to induce Pedrarias to permit the departure of Balboa on his expedition to the South Sea, but his jealousy was too great to permit this. While aware of the importance of the expedition, he feared to increase the popularity of Balboa, and placed the expedition under the command of Gaspar

Morales, a relative of his own, who was to be accompanied by Francisco Pizarro, of Peruvian fame. They visited the Pearl Islands, securing some very valuable pearls, some weighing as much as three drams, and not a small quantity of gold. Their conflicts with the natives were attended with disaster, and disgraced by unnecessary massacres. The Spaniards, after a series of incredible hardships and sufferings, returned to Darien in a battered condition.

Pedrias was now perplexed by complicated evils and envious of the sustained popularity of Balboa. He dreaded representations of the state of the colony under his administration, which he knew had been sent to Spain. Bishop Quevedo took advantage of this condition of the Governor's mind, and sought to bring about a reconciliation between the two rivals. He made it clear to him that his treatment of Balboa was shameful in the eyes of the people, and was sure, in time, to draw upon him the disfavor of the King. Then he added: "Why persist in driving a man to become your mortal enemy whom you make your firmest friend? You have several daughters—give him one in marriage; you will then have for a son-in-law a man of merit and popularity, who is a *hidalgo* by birth and a favorite of the King. You are advanced in life and infirm. He is in the prime of life and active and vigorous. You can make him your lieutenant, and while you rest from your labors he can carry on the affairs of the colony. All his achievements will redound to the advancement of your family and the splendor of your administration."

Pedrias and his wife were impressed favorably with the proposition, and a contract of marriage was drawn up between Balboa and the Governor's eldest daughter. The young lady was in Spain, and the marriage never took place. Bishop Quevedo, imagining that he had performed his duty as peacemaker, departed shortly afterwards for Spain, and Balboa lost his best friend.

Balboa was now, once more, on the road to prosperity (as he imagined). His implacable enemy had, to all appearances, become his best friend. An expedition was immediately organized to explore the Southern Ocean. On reaching Alcala, two hundred men were placed under the command of Balboa. Four brigantines were built and transported across lofty ridges of mountains by the aid of Indians, many of whom sank by the way. Much time and trouble and many lives were sacrificed in this arduous undertaking. Famine was soon added to the hardships of this journey. Finally Balboa had the satisfaction of seeing two of his brigantines floating on the River Balsas. The first cruise was to the Pearl Islands. Having passed about twenty leagues beyond the Gulf of San

Miguel, and steered for the mainland, he went ashore with his men in the province of the Cacique Chuchamá. The natives, who had suffered from previous visits of the Spaniards, sallied forth to defend their homes. They were routed with great loss, and Balboa reëmbarked and returned to Isla Rica.

In the meantime the enemies of Balboa were at work, and it was not long before Pedrarias was filled with jealousy, and all his former suspicions were revived. Andres de Garabito, whom Balboa had regarded as a trusted friend, proved a traitor and inflamed the mind of Pedrarias against Balboa. Hernando de Arguello, who had invested the most of his fortune in Balboa's expedition, immediately wrote to him, informing him of the treachery of Garabito and of Pedrarias' state of mind and urged him to put to sea without delay. He would be sure of the protection of the Jeronimite Fathers at San Domingo, who were at that time all powerful in the New World, and who regarded his expedition as calculated to promote the glory of God as well as the dominion of the King. Unfortunately this letter fell into the hands of Pedrarias, and he became convinced of the existence of a plot against him. Arguello was immediately arrested and plans were made for the capture of Balboa. Concealing his suspicions and intentions, Pedrarias wrote a friendly letter to Balboa requesting him to go at once to Acla, as he desired to confer with him about the impending expedition. In the meantime Pizarro was ordered to muster all the men available, and seek and arrest Balboa wherever he might be found.

While awaiting the return of Garabito, Balboa was, on a calm and beautiful evening on the shore of Isla Rica, gazing at the starry heavens, when he recalled to mind a prophecy made by a Venetian astrologer. Turning to his companions he remarked with a smile, "Behold the wisdom of those who believe in soothsayers and, above all, in such an astrologer as Micor Codro! According to his prophecy I should now be in imminent peril of my life; yet, here I am, within reach of my wishes; sound in health, with four brigantines and three hundred men at my command, and on the point of exploring this great Southern Ocean."

The next morning he received the hypocritical letter of Pedrarias, summoning him to a conference at Acla. Balboa was far from suspecting the treachery practiced upon him, and leaving his ships in command of Francisco Campanon, started for Acla to meet Pedrarias, unattended. The messengers who had brought the letter to Balboa were, for a time, reticent as to what had taken place at Darien, but gradually their regard for their old commander got the better of them, and they made known to him the true state of affairs. Balboa, though astonished at what he heard,

unconscious of any wrongdoing on his part, could not believe that such a change could have, so suddenly, come over the Governor, and continued his journey, soon to be undeceived by meeting Pizarro and his band, who immediately proceeded to arrest him. "How is this, Francisco," he asked, "is this the way you have been accustomed to receive me?" The disappointed man offered no further resistance and was conducted in chains to Acla, where he was thrown into prison, and the command of his ships was given to Bartolome Hurtado.

The hypocrisy of Pedrarias went so far as to lead him to visit Balboa in his prison and to pretend deep regret at the turn events had taken and to throw the blame upon the treasurer, Don Alonzo de la Puente, whose accusations left him no alternative, and made it incumbent upon him to order an investigation, but his deception went still further. "Be not troubled, my son," said the base deceiver, "an investigation will, no doubt, not only establish your innocence, but make your zeal and loyalty to your sovereign all the more evident." While uttering these soothing words to his victim, Pedrarias was urging Espinosa, the Alcalde Mayor, to proceed against him with the utmost vigor of the law.

The charges against Balboa may be summed up as follows: treasonable conspiracy to cast off all allegiance to his sovereign and to assume independent dominion over the borders of the Southern Sea. The chief witness was an eavesdropping sentinel, who on a certain night was driven by the rain to "seek shelter under the eaves of Balboa's house, where he overheard a conversation between the commander and certain of his officers, wherein they agreed to put to sea with the squadron on their own account, and to set the Governor at defiance."

Las Casas tells us that this evidence was the result of a "misconstruction on the part of the witness, who only heard a part of the conversation concerning their intention of sailing without waiting for orders in case a new Governor should arrive to replace Pedrarias."

Pedrarias followed the course of the trial from hour to hour, and when he found, as he supposed, the time had come for his action, threw off the mask of hypocrisy and boldly upbraided his prisoner. "Hitherto," said he, "I have treated you as a son, because I thought you loyal to your King and to me as his representative; but, since I find that you have meditated rebellion against the crown of Castile, I cast you off from my affection, and shall henceforth treat you as an enemy."

We can readily imagine the indignation with which Balboa repelled the charge, and pointed to his conduct as a proof of his

innocence. "Had I been conscious of guilt," he said, "what could have induced me to come here and put myself in your power? Had I contemplated rebellion what would have prevented me from carrying it out? I had four ships ready to weigh anchor, three hundred brave men at my command and an open sea before me. I had only to set sail and press forward. There was no doubt of finding a land, whether rich or poor, sufficient for me and mine, far beyond your reach. In the innocence of my heart, however, I came here promptly at your request, and my reward is slander, indignity and chains."

Far from producing any effect on the prejudiced mind of Pedrarias, the noble words of Balboa only exasperated him more than ever against his victim, and he ordered his chains to be doubled. The trial proceeded with renewed vigor, old charges were trumped up; but, in spite of all this, the trial was attended with many delays. The Alcalde seemed conscious of the injustice of the whole matter, but finally gave a verdict against Balboa, at the same time recommending him to mercy on account of his great services; he even went so far as to suggest that he might be permitted to appeal. To this Pedrarias vehemently objected. "If he has merited death," said he, "let him suffer death"; and immediately ordered him to be beheaded, along with several of his officers, who were accused of being implicated in the alleged conspiracy. The traitor, Garabito, was rewarded for his perfidy with a pardon and his liberty.

The effect of the shameful action of Pedrarias upon the colony was most depressing, and a feeling of the deepest sorrow prevailed on the day when Balboa and his companions were led out to execution. Although the great majority of the people regarded Balboa as the victim of a jealous tyrant, yet so great was the dread inspired by the vigorous measures of Pedrarias that no one dared to raise his voice in protest.

The public crier walked before Balboa in the sad procession to the block proclaiming: "This is the punishment inflicted by command of the King and his lieutenant, Don Pedrarias Davila, on this man, as a traitor and an usurper of the territories of the crown."

On hearing these words, Balboa turned indignantly and replied: "It is false! Never did such a crime enter my mind. I have served my King with truth and loyalty, and did all in my power to increase his dominions." Although fully believed by all who heard them, this declaration was of no avail.

The execution took place in the public square, and the historian, Oviedo, who was in the colony at the time, tells us that the vile

and treacherous Pedrarias witnessed the execution from a place of concealment, hardly "twelve paces from the block."

Balboa was the first of the victims to suffer death. Having received the last Sacraments, he mounted the scaffold with a firm step and calmly laid his head upon the block. It was severed from the body in an instant. Three of his officers, Valderabano, Botello and Hernan Muños, were led, one after the other, to the block, and the shades of night were gradually drawing their mantle over the bloody scene. One victim still remained; it was Hernando de Arguello, who had written the intercepted letter. The populace were sick of the bloody scenes which had disgraced the day, and though they refrained from asking mercy for Balboa, knowing how useless their appeal would have been, now implored the Governor to spare the life of a man who was in no way implicated in the alleged conspiracy. The light of day was fading away, they urged, and it seemed to them that God, out of compassion, had hastened the darkness to prevent another execution.

The stony heart of Pedrarias was not to be touched. "I would sooner die myself than spare one of them." Poor Arguello was led to the block as the twilight giving way to the gathering gloom of night partially concealed the bloody work on the scaffold. When the stroke of the executioner told that the cruel work was done, the people went slowly to their homes with heavy hearts, and the day of horrors was followed by a long night of lamentations.

But the savage vengeance of Pedrarias was not content with the murder of his victim. Nor was he content with confiscating his property; he dishonored his remains by causing his head to be placed upon a pole where, Oviedo tells us, it "was exposed for some days."

Thus ended the life of a generous and fearless explorer, in the forty-second year of his age, in the full vigor of his days and in the full blaze of his glory, and almost, we may say, at the foot of the mountain from the summit of which his eyes rested on the great Southern Sea.

His fate may be said to remind us how vain are our fondest hopes, our brightest triumphs. We have seen the heroic and honest Balboa betrayed into the hands of his most cruel and invidious enemy, and the very enterprise that was to have crowned him with glory wrested from him by a crime. His fate reminds us of that of his renowned and eagerly maligned predecessor, Columbus, and makes us believe that it is sometimes dangerous to deserve too much.

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SOME DOMINICAN MYSTICS.

THERE was a group of Dominican Mystics in the fourteenth century whose headquarters appear to have been in Strasburg. They were members of that society called the Friends of God, the most notable of whom were Meister Eckhart, B. Henry Suso, Dr. John Tauler and the great Flemish mystic, Jan van Ruysbrock, who was a Friend of God, although not a Dominican.

It is with some of the lesser known of this group that we propose to deal here, and first with Father Nicolas, of Strasburg, which town was his birthplace. Very few details of his life have come down to us, and these are mostly gathered from his writings and from the headings to his sermons or from incidental mention of him in the lives of the above named mystics. He was vicar general of his province, in which at that time there were no less than fifty odd Dominican monasteries, and in Strasburg alone there were then seven convents of Dominican nuns, and it was to some of these nuns that the few sermons that have been preserved from Father Nicolas' pen were originally preached. They were written in the Low German of the period, which Herr Pfeiffer,¹ who first unearthed and published them, has for philological reasons preserved, unfortunately for English people, but he has had the grace to provide a glossary and notes of explanation, which simplify the matter to some extent, but it is very tedious work deciphering them, although the piety and originality of the author well repay the labor.

The following details concerning Father Nicolas were gathered from Herr Pfeiffer's Preface unless otherwise stated. The oldest literary historians are silent about him, and his name is not once found in Quétif Echard's "Dictionary of Writers of the Order of Preachers." He was a Lector at Cologne, and some of his sermons were preached to the Dominican nuns at the Convent of St. Agnes, Freiberg, and others to those at Adelhaus, a town near Freiberg.

In his excellent work on John Tauler, Carl Schmidt has interesting notices of Father Nicolas. He tells us that in 1326 Pope John XXII. gave him the office of Nuncio and the oversight of the Dominican monasteries in the German provinces. As a proof of his competence to undertake this office, Nicolas dedicated to the Pope a Latin work on "The Coming of Anti-Christ and the Second Advent of Our Lord," wherein he endeavored to show with as much reason as learning that the many prophets afloat in those days were

¹ *Deutsche Mystiker des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* von Franz Pfeiffer. 1845.

very little to be trusted, since from Holy Scripture one could not decide accurately concerning the time and hour of the end of the world, and that to know this was neither necessary nor useful.

This work on the Advent of Christ is still unprinted and likely self a nuncio and minister of the provincial in the German provinces to remain so under existing circumstances. In it Nicolas calls himself of the order, and "one less worthy than the Brothers and Sisters of our order accredited to me."

The book consists of three parts. In the first part he brings forth the heathen authorities from Latin authors who rejected the Old as well as the New Testament. In the second part he goes through the principal Jewish writers and refutes their anti-Christian teaching; in the third part, which concerns anti-Christ and the end of the world, are contained extracts from the prophecies of St. Hildegarde, Joachim and others. In this work Nicolas shows an extraordinarily wide reading among the Jewish authors of the Middle Ages as well as in the classics. It was written about 1326, as that year is spoken of as the present year. Herr Pfeiffer considers that his sermons are the work of a pure, Christlike, pious mind, but that we seek in vain for any new or deep ideas. We do not ourselves agree with this criticism; on the contrary, we think that Father Nicolas is occasionally very original, and must certainly have had the gift of arresting the attention of his hearers by introducing, as he often does, anecdotes and amusing illustrations.

Herr Pfeiffer thinks his mysticism shows itself in his efforts to allegorize, but that he does so more in the manner of the preachers of the twelfth century than in that of his friend and contemporary, Meister Eckhart. We agree that he is nothing like so bold in speculation as Eckhart, and he is certainly more comprehensible to the ordinary reader and more familiar, more popular than the other mystics of this group.

His language, although it is characterized by great simplicity, is not without charm, and he knows how to introduce, every here and there, examples to enliven his discourse. He has a claim on our notice because he belongs to the older school of mystics, and the little that has been preserved of his books, which is thirteen sermons and the work already mentioned, do not take up much space. The sermons appeared for the first time in print in Herr Pfeiffer's edition of 1845, in the old German dialect, which, as far as we know, has never been translated into English.

A favorite rhetorical device of Father Nicolas was to stop and ask questions of his audience, to arrest their attention, and then to proceed to answer them himself.

In the first sermon, which was preached to the Dominican nuns at St. Agnes' Convent, Freiberg, and was on "The Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Our Lord," he does this in a rather remarkable manner. After saying that Our Lord had three schools and that we were all His scholars and that we were in the infant school, where He teaches and advises us with the counsel of the Holy Ghost, he stops and asks: "Now tell me, where does He take us to Him? Where is He? We do not see Him." He then answers himself: "He is here, there and everywhere, in all places after His Godhead—in the fields, in the streets, and wherever He is, there He is always after His Own form. But if I stand here and my spirit is before that altar, I am not still then here after my own form. And if I were the prior of this monastery, my power would be in the dormitory and in the refectory and in the chapter-house and as far as the enclosure went, but after my own form I am still here. But it is not so with God; where He is, there He is after His Own form always, with power and wisdom and with all His strength."

In the second sermon, which is on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, he stopped suddenly and asked one of his pertinent questions. "How is it that Lazarus had a finger and a tongue when a spirit has neither flesh nor bone? That will I tell you. There is a spiritual power in man which gives their works to all the bodily powers. It gives the eyes the power of seeing, the ears the power of hearing, the mouth the power of speaking and it gives to all the senses their work."

In this same sermon he tells one of his stories to illustrate the point, and unconsciously to give a clue to where it was preached, for this is not certainly known, but as the manuscript was preserved in a house of the canons of St. Augustine and this story is taken from a letter of St. Augustine, it seems rather probable that the sermon was preached to Augustinians.

The story tells us that there was once a very charitable man, who was so full of pity for the sufferings of others that he scarcely ever allowed any poor person to go away from his door unconsolated. In the course of time this man began to have doubts as to whether there was any life after this life. He yielded to the temptation and put aside his charity and said to himself: "I will pamper myself and give myself good things, since there is no life after this one;" and he gave no more alms for Christ's sake. But Our Lord, Who always has mercy upon the merciful, pitied him and sent an angel to him in his sleep, who took him away and showed him many beautiful things and a very beautiful city, which was made of pure

gold, and the pillars and all that was in it. And when he woke up, he thought it was a dream and did not believe it and said what a beautiful dream he had had. But Our Lord would not leave him thus and sent another messenger to him, who also led him away and showed him this beautiful city as before and said to him, "Do you know who I am?" "Yes," said the man; "it was you who led me away to the beautiful city the other night." The angel then questioned him as to whether he could hear and see him and where he was going and where his body was. And the man answered that he could see and hear the angel and that he was going with him and that his body was lying in his bed, and that his eyes and ears and lips were closed and his feet resting. The angel then explained to him that Our Lord had had mercy upon him, because he himself had been merciful to the poor, and that He had sent this angel to him to prove to him that he had spiritual senses as well as bodily senses, and that while the latter were asleep, his spirit was awake and able to see and hear, speak and walk spiritually. The man then begged to go and remain in this beautiful city, but the angel said, "No, it is Paradise, and no one is there but Enoch and Elias. Go and exercise yourself again in works of charity, as you did before, and in thirty days you shall come to the city of eternal joy."

The third sermon is very short and appears to be only notes, which do not call for any further notice.

In the fourth sermon he speaks of our eternal reward, which he says will be in the body and in the five senses and will last eternally and lead to the company of the angels and the saints and to the humanity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, where we shall have so much pleasure and immeasurable joy that nothing is like it here.

This reward will be the vision which leads also to touch and speech, "that I may touch the saints and seize St. Nicolas if I like and say, 'Ah, God be praised that we are here and not with the damned.' It leads also to taste and hearing that we may hear a sweet, joyful song, there with all the saints praising God in the kingdom of heaven."

In the middle of this sermon he asks his hearers if the saints in heaven hear our prayers, and if they pray for us and if they know us, and he answers, "Yes, the soul of the youngest child that is just born and has been baptized and dies immediately after is so wise that it knows all creatures, grasses, plants, the sand of the sea and the smallest stars that are in the heavens and is as wise as the soul of a thirty-year-old man." This is in accordance with the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, that men will rise in the full strength of their powers, both bodily and mental, which is reached at the age

of thirty years, because Our Lord when "He began to be about thirty years of age" began His public life and ministry.

In the fifth sermon, preached to the Dominican nuns of St. Agnes' Convent, in Freiberg, on the Saturday in the third week of Lent, the subject of which is the parable of the prodigal son, he explains at some length, but in a colloquial way, what mortal sin is and how it is to be distinguished from strong temptation, to which the will does not fully consent. In the course of this sermon he speaks of the great love of our Blessed Lord for our souls, and says that the least good thought to which the will consents, the least Ave Maria that we may say, will meet with a good reward.

The sixth sermon, which was preached to the same nuns on the following Saturday, is on the "Widow and the Prophet Eliseus" and the cruse of oil, which story he interprets mystically, but at too great length to quote here. Incidentally we gather his opinion of woman's place in creation, for in answer to the question which he puts to his audience, "Who is this woman whose husband is dead?" He replies that the husband is the higher power of the soul, and the widow is the lower power, and the true Eliseus is Our Lord, to whom, after falling into mortal sin, the higher power or the husband being dead, the lower power or the widow calls for mercy. This is the gist of the whole of this discourse.

The seventh sermon is on how man should come to God, and was preached to these same nuns in Passion Week. He begins by saying that we come to God in three ways. Those in the first way run towards the goal; they are the people who are improving and are called "improvers." Those in the second way are those who are near the goal; these are the perfect people. Those in the third way are those who possess the goal; that is, those who have reached eternal life. But those who are in Purgatory also still run towards the goal. Christ only ran towards the goal and possessed it at the same time. He possessed the Beatific Vision from His Mother's womb. Later on in this sermon Father Nicolas dwells on how from the first moment of His Conception Our Lord knew all that He would have to suffer for us. Those familiar with the writings of the Flemish mystic, Jan van Ruysbrock, will trace his influence in this classification of improvers, proficients and attainers.

The eighth sermon is described as a "kind of meditation preached by Father Nicolas to the nuns at Adelhaus on the Thursday before Palm Sunday." The subject of it was Simon the Pharisee and St. Mary Magdalen. Here he touches on the sacrament of penance and says: "The guilt of sin is taken away with the penance that is given; this makes the sacrament whole, namely, that you should

go with a humble, obedient will to your confessor and tell him all that you have done that you can remember, and then you shall willingly and obediently fulfill whatever he gives you as penance, even if he gives you great things to do. If you go in such an obedient will as this and he gives you only a Paternoster, it would be sufficient for a hundred mortal sins, for the confessor is a channel through which the sacrament flows on us, forgiving guilt."

The ninth sermon is entitled "How God Will Glorify Us," and was preached to the same nuns on the text, "This is My beloved Son. I have both glorified Him and will glorify Him again." In the course of this sermon the preacher in a very original way explains the first verse of the "Magnificat" thus, asking first one of his questions: "Could Our Lady's soul magnify God?" To this he answers: "No; it is to be understood in this way. We see that if the sun shines only a little, it is still a more powerful light than any other upon earth. Now suppose a rope were hanging in the sun and I were to climb up it higher and higher. And the nearer I came to the sun, the greater would be its power in my eyes. Is that the sun's fault? No, it is my fault that I have gone so close to it. And so it was with Our Lady when she said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.' He cannot be made greater in Himself, but He can in her understanding, for in that He was better understood and more perfectly known than He ever was before in any of His creatures, and no creature ever came so near to God with its understanding as Our Lady. So she might well say, 'My soul does magnify the Lord.'"

The tenth sermon is on the Passion of Our Blessed Lord, and was apparently preached in Holy Week, because he says in it: "To-day we read of the Passion of Our Lord, and I will speak to you of what increased His sufferings, which was that He was the noblest and the most delicate child that ever was born; therefore, His sufferings hurt more than any other man's, because the more delicate a man is, the more all pain hurts him."

This sermon is a very long one, but enlivened by the following story, which he tells to illustrate how we can best climb onto the cross of Christ. "A cat and a fox were once going across a field, and the fox said to the cat: 'Well, cat, and what can you do?' And the cat said, 'I can climb trees.' 'Ah,' said the fox, 'what a thing that is to call an art.' 'Well, Mr. Fox,' said the cat, 'and what can you do?' The fox replied: 'Truly I am very cunning. I have here a sack full of arts. If I untie that, no one can compare with me in cleverness.'"

As they were talking there came a fox hound wanting to kill the

fox. The cat immediately ran up the tree and said to the fox: "Now, Mr. Fox, untie your sack, untie your sack; it is time." "Oh, dear cat," said the fox, "I didn't value your art, but now I would rather have it than all the wisdom that I ever learnt."

This fable is founded, according to Herr Pfeiffer, upon an old poem by Stricker. The preacher having told the story, then explained to the congregation that the cat typified simple people, who trust only in the cross of Christ, and the fox stands for clever people, who trust only in their own learning.

The eleventh sermon was preached to the nuns at Freiberg and is on the Blessed Sacrament. Father Nicolas opened his discourse by asking why Our Lord gave Himself to us under the appearance of bread—why not under the appearance of an apple, or of something else, that we might see the change? He answers by saying that He did it to strengthen our faith. He goes on to say that He is as truly in the chalice as in the Host, and in both He is the same, true God and Man, as when He hung upon the cross.

He dwells much upon the fact that if a Host is broken, Our Lord's Body is perfect in each part, and yet if a communicant received two broken pieces, he would still only receive one Host. He illustrates this by saying that if a mirror were broken into twelve pieces, a man could see himself whole in each piece, but if the mirror were joined together again, there would be only one mirror and one reflection.

The twelfth sermon is on the creation of heaven and earth and all creatures, and was preached on Holy Saturday. In it he asks: "Did God make heaven and earth in six days or did He do it in a moment?" He answers: "Yes, He certainly did it in a moment; yes, in one moment only. He did not need any time to do it in. But nevertheless we must always believe that He did it in six days. Either the time of the days was a moment, so that He made one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow, or they were spiritual days, but we are not bound to believe either of these; but that they were six days, that we must believe. An angel might understand that these were six spiritual days, but an angel does not understand one thing with one thought as we do."

He then proceeds to illustrate this by a comparison which he interprets in a very mystical manner. "Suppose there were a large mirror hanging on a wall in this place, and I were to go into the town and bring back several horses and stood them before this mirror, and if I could then make the horses immaterial, so that their images remained in the mirror, and if I then went out and brought in all kinds of creatures that God ever made and placed them also before the mirror, so that their reflections remained in

it. If, then, the mirror could look into itself, so would it see in itself whatever kind of creatures it would. So does the angel when he looks into himself, so does he see in himself whatsoever kind of creatures he will. Now take the six days spiritually in the angel. Now if the angel looks into himself, he sees only one creature after the other. That is the evening light. But if he sees the Godhead in the mirror, he also sees comprehensive pictures of all creatures in one picture; that is the morning light. Now the morning and the evening light is one whole day. So may the six days happen spiritually in an angel; when he looks into himself, that is the evening light; when he looks into the mirror of the Godhead, that is the morning light."

It is interesting in showing how Father Nicolas was influenced by St. Thomas Aquinas to quote in this connection the passage from his treatise in the "*Summa Theologica*" on the angels, where he explains this morning and evening knowledge thus:

"The expression morning and evening knowledge was devised by St. Augustine, who interprets the six days wherein God made heaven and earth not as six ordinary days measured by the solar circuit, since the sun was only made on the fourth day, but as one day, namely, the day of angelic knowledge as directed to six classes of things. As in the ordinary day morning is the beginning and evening the close of the day, so their knowledge of the primordial existence of things is called morning knowledge, and this is according as things exist in the Word. But their knowledge of the very existence of the thing created, as it stands in its own nature is called evening knowledge, because the existence of things flows from the Word as from a kind of primordial principle, and this flow is terminated in the existence which they have in themselves."²

The last sermon is on the two disciples from Emmaus, preached in Easter week. The heading of this sermon says that it is on "the resurrection of the two disciples from Emmaus, whereby we may recognize whether we have risen with Christ, and also if we ought to rise with Him." In one part of this discourse the preacher very cleverly applies the qualities attributed by the Church to our risen bodies, to the souls of those living beings who have truly risen with Christ. He takes each of these four qualities of the risen body, namely, agility, subtility, impossibility and clarity in turn and applies them spiritually to the soul.

Thus he says that the body which was before a burden will then be so agile that none of God's commandments will grieve it; the man will fulfill them all through God; that is in a divine way. Again

² *Summa Theo. Pars. I. Q. LVIII, A. 6.*

it will be so subtle, in other words so humble and small in its own eyes, that it will seem reasonable that no one should honor it. It will be impassible, for what God allows it to suffer it will seem that it is unworthy to suffer and the man will suffer it in a divine manner. It will also be so light and transparent that the man will be enlightened with God's grace in his understanding, so that he will know God's will in everything. These four qualities the body will share with the soul after the last day.

These sermons were preached towards the close of Father Nicolas' life, but the dates of his birth and death, like those of Meister Eckhart, are not certainly known. That of Father Nicolas is given by Heimbucher, a very reliable authority, as about 1327 in his "History of the Religious Orders of the Catholic Church." We know from other sources that in this year Father Nicolas defended his friend Meister Eckhart from the charges of heresy, brought against him by Archbishop Henry. Probably the trouble these accusations caused them both shortened their lives, for the passages subsequently condemned after Meister Eckhart's death were wrested from their context in the Archbishop's charges.

Father Nicolas, like all this group of learned Dominicans, was of course greatly influenced by St. Thomas Aquinas, whose "Summa Theologica" was the text book used by the Dominicans at St. Jacques in Paris, and also by Dionysius, the pseudo-Aeropagite, whose speculative mysticism is to be traced more or less in all the Friends of God. His knowledge of Jewish history and Rabbinical lore may well have been derived from the great Dominican Hebrew scholar, Raymond Martini, who was a contemporary of St. Thomas Aquinas. Martini was so well versed not only in Biblical Hebrew, but also in Rabbinical literature, that he was capable of refuting Jewish arguments drawn from their own writings. He was superior in his knowledge of the celebrated "Midrash Rabba de Rabba," than some of our modern Hebraists, as a recent controversy, in which a statement of Martini which had been questioned was proved to be correct shows. He is not alluded to in Herr Pfeiffer's work, but we think there can be no doubt that Rabbini was the source of his inspiration when treating of Jewish controversy.

Leaving Father Nicolas, we now turn to two Dominican nuns who were mystics and friends of the Friends of God, if they did not actually belong to them. In all mystical movements women have always played a considerable part, their temperament rendering them keenly susceptible to its influence, for mysticism is largely temperamental. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that there existed in the beginning of the fourteenth century at Töss, in the

north of Switzerland, a convent of Dominican nuns celebrated for their sanctity, the austerity of their lives and their mystical experiences. The most celebrated of the community was the Prioress Elsbeth or Elizabeth Staglin or Stigel, a great friend and correspondent of B. Henry Suso, whose correspondence with her forms memoirs in the shape of letters, just as the letters of the Friend of God, Henry of Nordlingen, to the other Dominican nun just referred to, Margaret Ebner, in the convent of Maria Medingen, also form a biographical sketch of this mystic.

Töss was originally only a small house for some nuns founded by a nobleman named Von Herten, enriched by Count von Kiburg and then raised to a monastery. At first the Sisters followed the Augustinian rule, but in 1247 Töss was placed by the Pope under the provincial of the Dominicans. In the beginning of the fourteenth century it was a large and rich convent, standing near or on the bridge of the Töss river.

Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew III., King of Hungary, became a nun here in 1312, when she was fourteen, which increased the income of the convent. She was the heiress of the King of Hungary and for twenty-eight years she lived at Töss as a humble Sister, sometimes visited by her stepmother, Queen Agnes, and her family. She had been betrothed to her step-uncle, Duke Henry, and he was so angry at her becoming a nun that on one occasion he visited her and tore the veil off her head. She appeared to Queen Agnes after her death, and in consequence large offerings were made to her splendid tomb at Töss.

About this time Elizabeth Stigel became prioress, with a hundred nuns under her care. Little is known of her exterior life. She came from Zurich and belonged to an old Zurich family, which from the thirteenth century had for its crest the head of a wild goat. Her father, Councillor Rudolph Stigel, and her mother, Margareta, dwelt near the cattle market in Zurich, and Rudolph and his two elder sons carried on the trade of a butcher. Elizabeth, who seems from her letters to have been of a very affectionate nature, needing love and bestowing it upon her family, was evidently much loved by them in return. Though very delicate from her youth up, she denied herself in food and bodily comforts. She is said to have had an angelic disposition and to have led a most holy life.

In the convent she busied herself particularly with writing and copying books, as was the custom in those days in monasteries. She copied what she thought would be useful to her and others from books; apropos to this, her friend and confessor, Blessed Henry Suso, said of her: "Like the bees she gathered honey out

of manifold flowers. In the convent where she lived as a mirror of all the virtues, she carried away with her weak body a good book wherein is recorded among other things of the past how holily the Sisters at Töss lived and what great wonders God worked in them, which is very charming for the contemplation of good-hearted men."

This book was called "The Life of the Sisters at Töss." The original is lost, but a copy is contained in a manuscript of St. Gall of the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was Elsbeth's first literary work. It opens with the words, "You should be perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect," and goes on to praise God for His power, which He has revealed to His saints, and especially to St. Dominic and his order. She then goes on to relate the circumstances of the foundation of the convent, and then gives short biographies of some of the nuns, from 1250 to 1350, some of whom were noble matrons of well-known families.

The writer says she had pleasure in serving Our Lord in these His friends by writing of them. "And as I sat writing one day of our blessed Sisters, the virtuous Sister Elsbeth Bachlin came to me." (This Sister had long been dead, be it noted, so it was an apparition). "Now I had long wanted to know something of her very much, and with well considered words I so managed it that she related it to me." The visions, fanaticism and penances of these nuns reveal the mind of the authoress at the same time, as they show the spirit of the age in which they lived. Most of them had, as so many of the mystics have done, to endure hard struggles with the devil, who appeared to one of them, Matilda von Steinz, as a piper and drummer. He threatened to throw another nun, Ida von Teugen, out of the window into the Töss. To withstand his attacks the nuns performed all kinds of penances—they slept on stone, wore chains, took such severe disciplines that as one passed the chapter-house, cruel sounds were heard. One nun for thirty years never went near a window and for five years never entered a warm room. Adelheid von Frauenberg tended a poor leper, while some of their austerities can only be characterized as fanatical in the extreme.

The objects of their contemplation were the passion and person of Our Lord.

The King of Hungary's daughter was only known as Sister Elsbeth der Ofen, and was only known in the monastery by her torn and ragged dress and her readiness in waiting at table. Another nun wrote on her spinning-wheel in German:

"The more ill thou art, the dearer thou art to Me:
The more despised thou art, the nearer thou art to Me:
The poorer thou art, the more like Me thou art."

In spite of all their asceticism, perhaps because of it, cheerfulness and also industry characterized their lives; spinning and writing and of course prayer were their chief occupations.

Elizabeth's biographical sketch of Blessed Henry Suso is the first example of a biography in German literature. The preface to the first part was written by Suso, who says speaking of himself: "There was a priest in Germany, by birth a Swabian, who desired to become a servant of the Eternal Wisdom. He made acquaintance with a holy, enlightened, suffering creature, a woman, who desired of the servant that he should tell her something of suffering from his own experience, that her suffering heart might be strengthened, and for this reason she spent much time with him, since she derived consolation from conversing with him. And she wrote down all he said for her own and others' benefit, and did it unknown to him. Afterwards when he was aware of this spiritual robbery, he punished her for it and made her give it all to him and he burnt all that concerned himself. And when he got hold of the other part of the book, he would have done the same, but a messenger from God stopped him and so the rest remains unburnt, just as she had written it with her own hand for the most part."³

Very little is really known of Suso's origin. He took his mother's name of Söse or Seuse and Latinized it, rather than his father's, who was a knight, named Von Berge. He was a wild, rough soldier, while his mother was a gentle, pious woman. In his thirteenth year he was received, against the rule, by the Order of Preachers at Constanx and received the name of Amandus, by which he appears to have been known in Germany, for the title of one of the books from which this information is derived is "Ein Mystiker Paar des 14en Jahrhunderts Schwester Elsbeth Stigel in Töss & Vater Amandus Suso in Contanz." When he went to study at Cologne, he came under the teaching of Meister Eckhart; later he was elected prior of Constanx and he was also a lector. During the interdict he was obliged to take refuge at Ulm. Here he wrote his well-known work, the "Little Book of Eternal Wisdom," which he submitted to the judgment of Hugo of Vauceman, a former master of the order. It was intended chiefly for the convents he had to visit. He was prior during the last two years he spent at Ulm, and died there in 1366, on January 25.

Elizabeth at this time of her life fell into speculations as to the nature of the Godhead and of all kinds of high things, under the influence of Meister Eckhart, and apparently got quite out of her

³ Vetter. *Ein Mystiker Paar des 14 Jahrhunderts. S. Elsbeth Stigel in Töss und Vater Amandus. (Suso.)* 1882.

depth and she appealed to Suso to help her back into the right way, and she followed his guidance. He told her in one letter to leave all such high questions alone and consider such as are compatible with her understanding and not to dip too deep into philosophical problems. "Thou seemest still a young and inexperienced daughter, and therefore is it more useful to you and your like to know elementary things." She submitted, saying, "My desire is not for clever words, but for a holy life, and I have the courage to lead it, be it to suffer or to die or what it may."

Suso was astonished that she who had drunk at Eckhart's nobler spring should show herself so thirsty for the draught of the Little Servant of God, as he called himself, but he rejoiced and let her begin a new life as he himself had done with a general confession. She wrote it and sent it to him on a great wax tablet, concluding with these words: "My gracious Lord, now fall I at your feet and beg that you with your faithful heart will bring me again into the Divine Heart, and that I may be called your child in time and in eternity."

Then began a spiritual correspondence between these two holy souls. Suso, who at one time had ruined his health with his terrible austerities, forbade her to copy his penances. He allowed her to help him in writing his "Little Book," and when she had an illness from which she never wholly recovered, in his first distress he resolved that he would not write any more, and that he would even deny himself his morning prayer unless she recovered. He visited her in her illness and gave her further and more intimate details of his convent life, since she was not strong enough to bear more earnest teaching. These details she afterwards put into his biography. Among them we read how he as a youth consecrated all his daily actions and trivial events, such as hair-cutting, blood-letting, etc., by offering them to God; how he crowned a statue of Our Lady with spring flowers, how he made a circuit in going in and out of his cell so as to pass the chapel and greet the Blessed Sacrament, because, he said, "any one who had a friend in a certain street would gladly go out of his way for the sake of a kiss of love." She wrote down all he told her secretly and kept it in a locked box, in which we are told one of the nuns saw in a dream an angel with a stringed instrument, which has the merit of being a poetical idea suggestive of Suso's prose-poetry.

Many false accusations and reproaches were brought against him on account of his manifold intimacies with women and he naively tells her all about it. He warns her not to make too much of trifles, for "who will bear God's burden must not grieve over a lost needle."

He told her that the text, "Black am I, but beautiful," in the Canticles, applied to her in her suffering. He tells her how he at the flax-harvest sought out and saved from suicide and won for the heavenly bridegroom a sister who had formerly led an irregular life. He also tells her of his troubles as prior during the hard times and scarcity of food in 1343-1344, and how generous gifts to the monastery saved the situation. Elizabeth put into German the mottoes and rhymes with which Suso had decorated his chapel, taken from the Fathers and his own book of *Eternal Wisdom*.

The last eight chapters of this book of Elizabeth's⁴ were apparently written by Suso after her death. They contain an account of her initiation into the highest questions of religion. Suso tells her that now she is like a piece of wax, ready melted by fire to receive the impression of a seal. Now changing his metaphor, he says she must fly out of the nest of figurative consolations, and like a fledged eagle, spring up to higher teaching. He now leads her to the highest problems and the knowledge of divine things through reason and revelation, such as the Being of God, His where and how, His emanations and the sanctification of man.

The following are a few of his sayings:

"If you would be useful to all creatures, retreat from all creatures."

"Turn from all, remain in thyself."

"God and the devil are both in man."

"He who always lives alone by himself wins a rich fortune."

"Remain on nothing that is not God."

In one of his last letters to her he tells her to let herself be taught by God alone. Elizabeth wrote her book on the Sisters of Töss in 1340. How long she lived after this is not certainly known. Suso survived her and he died in 1365. His "Little Book of the Letters" consists of eleven letters to Elizabeth from which we have been quoting.⁵ More is known of the sisters Ebner, both of whom were mystics and contemporaries of Suso, and the other Friends of God, to whom they belonged, and Margaret Ebner was a Dominican nun.

Margaret Ebner was born in 1291 at Donauwerth, of noble family. She entered the Dominican convent of Medingen, about eighteen miles north of Dillingen. There she lived until she was twenty without any very deep knowledge of herself, but she always realized God's fatherly protection. In 1312 she was seized with severe illness, which confirmed her in the resolution she had previously made, always to submit to the will of God in all things. This illness

⁴ E. Stägel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töss*. Berlin, 1906.

⁵ Seuse Heinrich, "Die Urschrift."

lasted three years. In it she recognized the insufficiency of all human skill, which was exercised often and always in vain on her, which does not say as much for the skill of the doctors of her time as it does for her resignation. She saw, too, that she was now avoided on account of her illness by those who had been kindly disposed to her previously. She therefore became more and more reserved, and in the beginning showed no desire to join the Friends of God.⁶

Her life, poor thing, was one of continual suffering, and more than once she was brought to death's door. From 1314 to 1326 she was bedridden more than half the year. Towards the end of this time (1324-5) she was obliged to return to her family on account of the war, when Louis of Bavaria, with whom she sympathized, besieged the town of Burgau, which was near Medingen. Others of the community were also forced to flee from the convent. Margaret now showed herself more than ever estranged from the world; she was more inaccessible to her family than she had ever been when in her convent, where she preferred loneliness to everything else, and for a long time seems to have had interior intimacy with only one Sister.

It is not known exactly when she went back to Medingen, but now God's favors were heaped upon her. The nearer He drew to her in love the greater became her sufferings, but she felt them less because of her interior peace. A new trouble arose in the death of one of the nuns to whom she was most closely drawn. This occurred on February 25, 1332. This nun had acted as her nurse for some time and at her death Sister Adelheid took her place. To honor the memory of this Sister, Margaret kept silence for certain days and times. It was long before the pain of her loss was mitigated, not until Henry of Nordlingen, in October, 1332, met Margaret at Medingen, when his consoling words comforted her. On this first visit Henry made a great impression upon Margaret. She had expected nothing from the visit, but through it she was bound all the more closely to Henry. The similarity of their natures bound them firmly together, and Margaret soon became the soul-friend and spiritual daughter of Henry, with whom she shared all the favors she received from Almighty God, but which feeling herself unworthy she deplored.

Margaret called Henry her teacher given her by God for her consolation; to him alone she confided her divine consolations, and he at every visit knew how to give her fresh help and encouragement in her many sufferings.

⁶ *Margareta Ebner und Heinrich von Nordlingen von Philipp v. Strauch. Freiberg, 1882.*

In 1334 Sister Adelheid also died, and Margaret said that Henry was "God's dear angel in the light of the truth," who again by his wise words took from her all sadness. It was to her as if God had sent this good priest from heaven to help her, and, says her biographer, "she felt herself through his presence so buoyant, spiritually and bodily, that she seemed to be snatched from earth, and in these circumstances she felt no need for food or drink." The later visits of Henry became for her constantly a time of refreshment and strength in her suffering life. She frequently received from God revelations of the graces bestowed on this priest.

In her revelations, which by his counsel she wrote down in the form of a diary, she gives an account of her sufferings and of her spiritual experiences. They are monotonous and contain many repetitions. Her style is interlarded with rhymes and assonances, but the diary is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an idea of the mystical life in women's convents of the period and also of the state of their education. Herr Strauch says they are characterized by weakness of sentiment, inborn modesty and resignation to the will of God and were penetrated by the deepest love of truth and peace.

Once only did her sufferings cause Margaret to doubt God's mercy; then she was sick nigh unto death, and she doubted whether it was truly God's work which worked in her revelations. This was only a transient experience and soon passed away. She did, however, frequently mistrust her revelations, and was especially skeptical of her dream-visions. She only trusted them if she remained for a long time after them in a state of great grace, in which she shows her wisdom. She was constantly troubled lest the visions she received were in part only her own longing after God, which made her believe that God Himself had appeared to her.

She sought to suit her exterior life to her interior. She was very ascetic; the convent food always seemed to her of the very best, and if the other Sisters complained of it, she never did. She abstained from fruit, although she liked it, as well as from meat and fish. She tasted no wine for thirty years; water tasted so sweet to her that she could not understand why all men did not prefer it to wine or any other drink. She gave up baths, but could not bear any uncleanness in clothing or food. She disliked all ornaments in others as well as in herself. Her bed was most simple. Once when she was ill and the Sisters gave her a pillow, she thought God disapproved of it and heard Him say that it was not seemly for the bride of Christ to sleep on feathers."

Her friendship with Henry was a great interest in her life, and the letters he wrote her were, says his biographer, almost like love:

letters, so great was his admiration for her holiness and his affection for her. There is no mystical teaching to be found in his letters to her. He was eminently practical, and only a mystic by hearsay; but from his intimacy with so many mystics as Tauler, Suso, Rulman Merswin and Margaret and her sister, Christina Ebner, and his knowledge of their writings, he had a mystical manner of preaching which was listened to by the public with enthusiasm, for mysticism was then in the German air, especially in certain districts, and was the fashion among women. He was specially a woman's preacher, for he had a childlike mind; he was pious, gentle and loving and all this appealed more to women than to men. He was not learned except in the best of books, the Bible; he also frequently quoted St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Anselm, which he may well have done from his Breviary without a deeper acquaintance with their writings. He was, moreover, influenced by another mystic, Mechtilde of Magdeburg, as well as by all the Friends of God.

When he first knew Margaret he was a secular priest at his home in Nordlingen, where he lived with his mother and sister, both very devout women, and there he was surrounded by other pious women. At Engelthal he met Margaret's sister Christina, and later he stayed a long time in her convent. At Maria Medingen, Margaret's convent, he was a highly honored guest, and often said Mass there in 1334. The following year he went to Avignon on account of the struggle between the Emperor of Bavaria and the Pope, and he begged Margaret to work zealously in his absence for the mystical life at Medingen.

He stayed a year at Avignon, and for a long time Margaret heard nothing of him and concluded that he was dead, because she saw him in a vision with other departed souls. When she found that he was alive, she had another vision in which it was revealed to her that he had said Mass for them. Soon after he sent her two alabaster statues from Avignon to decorate her altar—one of Our Lady and the Infant Jesus and the other of St. Catherine and her wheel.

Henry, unlike Margaret, was true to the Pope, and although himself a Bavarian, he always spoke of the Emperor as "the Bavarian." He was now threatened with death, and wrote and told Christina Ebner so. She was terribly grieved, when the command came from Nürnberg to her convent to admit only those priests to sing and say Mass who followed the Emperor and obeyed his laws. Christina replied that if she were free she would rather leave Germany than do it.

Henry's position now became more critical. He went to Augs-

burg and wrote and told Margaret in Biblical language that "trembling and fear had got hold upon him, strangers had risen up against him and sought his soul. He waited three weeks in Augsburg, uncertain what would become of him but for his two protectrices there, the Countesses of Graisbach. He had such faith in Margaret's revelations that he waited for her to tell him what to do and what to leave undone, and begs her to send her revelations to him by a messenger. When we remember that Margaret was an adherent of the Emperor, this seems all the more remarkable.

All their letters were written in the Low German of the period, which is very difficult to read. From them we learn that Henry was very grateful to these Countesses, for the trouble they took to help him, but in 1338 he was obliged again to leave his home, as he could not obey the Emperor's laws and remain faithful to the Pope at the same time. He now went to Constantz, but as the Emperor's laws were followed there also, he could not remain there. He met Henry Suso there.

He then went to Basle, where he preached daily, sometimes twice a day, and crowds of people went to hear him. Here he met Dr. Tauler, who had left Strasburg for the same reason as Henry had left Nordlingen and taken up his abode in Basle. Henry called him his "dear and beloved Father Tauler." Tauler took him under his protection and got him a refuge and work in a hospital, where he looked after the spiritual welfare of the inmates and preached constantly, and priests, monks, the nobility and the poor—all classes of men, and especially of women, flocked to hear him. He also became a popular confessor, for all these people would gladly have confessed to him if he had had time to hear them, and he became the most sought for priest of the time. Appointments were offered him and several religious orders sought him as a member. Rich people gave him presents, and his time was so taken up that he wrote to Margaret complaining that he had no time for contemplation. Margaret seems to have known better than he did that this busy life was not the right one for him. The other clergy became envious of people running after him and he had much to suffer on account of his popularity. He pours out all his griefs to Margaret and begs her to pray for him and for his enemies. He longs to see her, and as soon as "the Bavarian" departs he hopes to do so. Tauler and others now beg Margaret through Henry to let them share her revelations, especially those about the state of Christendom, and about those of her friends who were suffering much under it.

In the autumn of 1339 Henry's mother, who had been staying

with Margaret, came to Basle, but now he could not get away so easily as he had hoped to do and was obliged to postpone his promised visit to Margaret at Maria Medingen. In November, 1341, he saw Margaret again after a long separation, and he afterwards wrote and told her that his heart was wonderfully moved and in great misery when he took leave of her. In his place as her confessor and friend he gave her Brother Conrad, of Kaisheim, and begged her to give this priest her full confidence. He visited her again in 1344 and made her promise to write down her revelations connectedly.

In 1345 the interdict for the Diocese of Basle was partially removed; Mass was permitted to be said at Easter, and all might go to confession and Communion. For fourteen years Communion had been denied them. In this year Henry went to Strasburg and made the acquaintance of Rulman Merswin, the former banker and Friend of God.

At last in 1350 he returned to Nordlingen, but the plague broke out there and he did not long enjoy his nearness to Margaret, for she died soon after his return on June 20, 1351, aged 60.

Henry now began a wandering life and went first to Engelthal to see Margaret's sister, Christina, a nun there, but she died three weeks after he reached Engelthal, aged 74. In her visions many things were revealed to her about Henry, which she wrote down. She was told that both Henry and Tauler were greatly loved by God.

From this visit to Engelthal we lose sight of Henry, for it is not known when and where he died. He was a true friend of Margaret, and loved her deeply and longed to bear her sufferings, and was, as we have seen, intimate with most of the Friends of God.

Before leaving the subject we must not omit to mention for the benefit of those interested in the Dominican Order that in 1904 a book⁷ was published in Germany on this Dominican convent at Töss, in two volumes, the first dealing with the history of the convent, the second with its buildings and the pictures on its walls.

DARLEY DALE.

⁷ Sulzer. *Das Dominikaner-Kloster Töss* in 2 Bände. J. B. Ralm. Zurich, 1904.

A CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN THE NOVELS OF ROBERT HUGH BENSON.

THE five historical novels of Monsignor Benson deal with periods of English history which were of vital importance to the Catholic cause. "The King's Achievement" begins with the crowning of Anne Boleyn, covers the dissolution of the monasteries and takes us up to the fall of Thomas Cromwell. "The Queen's Tragedy" is a novel of the reign of melancholy Mary Tudor, a history of existing conditions in England, but particularly a study of the Queen as a woman. "By What Authority" and "Come Rack! Come Rope!" are Elizabethan novels dealing with persecutions of the Jesuits and the religious conditions of that time, while "Oddsfish," the last written, is a chronicle of the times of Charles II., ending with a picture of the famous deathbed scene of the King and his conversion to Catholicism.

In analyzing the historical background of these novels we must bear in mind that Monsignor Benson was in no sense a technical student of history; his brother, Arthur Christopher Benson, says of him:¹ "I do not think that Hugh had ever any real interest in social reform, politics, in causes, in the institutions which aim at the consolidation of human endeavor and sympathy. He had no philosophic grasp of history, nor was he a student of the psychology of religion. Always accurate as to detail, he would steep himself in the atmosphere of the particular period he was studying, taking endless notes and reading every historical book which he could find bearing on the subject." This same brother says of him:² "I have before me a large folio sheet of paper on which he has written very minutely hundreds of picturesque words and phrases of the time, to be worked into the book." Robert Hugh was neither a scientific student of history nor an original investigator; he was rather a literary artist, whose work was to express moral beauty and whose great gift was the power to present religious emotion. Above all, we should never forget that his works are all written to make clear the Catholic attitude, for when he was finally convinced of its value, he felt that it was the only subject worth writing about and the one great thing in life. His historical novels, therefore, are simply chronicles of events from the Catholic point of view.

It is well that Monsignor Benson took it upon himself to accomplish this work, for a really successful attempt to portray the Cath-

¹ Hugh, p. 134, "Memoirs of a Brother."

² Hugh, p. 115.

olic side of the English Reformation had never been made before. The general reader, the man in the street, who constitutes the larger percentage of our British and American public, has, at best, only a superficial knowledge of history. He has no time for anything but general impressions firmly implanted in his mind in school days or gathered from a more or less hasty perusal of such sterling but prejudiced historians as Macaulay, Froude, etc. Naturally his view of the pre-Reformation Church in England, the monasteries, Catholicism in general, and the Jesuits in particular, is apt to be somewhat biased. Some may consider Monsignor Benson is equally biased. If he is so, he has at least opened up vistas of a "via media" for the aforesaid man in the street.

THE KING'S ACHIEVEMENT.

In "The King's Achievement" we follow the fortunes of a Master Ralph Torridon, older son of the Torridons of Overfield, a loyal Catholic, who went to London and became the right hand man of Thomas Cromwell. A quick, eager, very ambitious and not too scrupulous fellow, Ralph grew to be his most trusted agent, whose task it was to feel the pulse of the land and report dissatisfaction; gradually he came under the influence of Cromwell's tremendous personality, his character was completely vitiated and he not only forsook the religion of his ancestors, but became deadened to all considerations of honor, pity or loyalty in carrying out the immense spy system of Cromwell's English Terror.

It was the age of the early Tudors then, "an age of dignity abruptly broken here and there by violence. There were slow and gorgeous pageants followed by brutal and bestial scenes, like the life of a peacock who paces composedly in the sun and then scuttles and screams in the evening."⁸ The great political characteristic of this period was the practically unlimited power of the King and the building up of the Tudor despotism which rode at will over council, courts and parliaments. In a period of great changes, of ever-growing nationalism and dislike of foreign control, Henry with characteristic shrewdness realized that the people would not resist, but would be apt to view with complacency any change which placed the civil power over the ecclesiastical. Cromwell was the able henchman to carry out the King's purpose, and the divorce question which had brought about Wolsey's ruin was settled by the crowning of Anne Boleyn and the work of the Reformation Parliament. In 1532 and 1534 the "Acts of Annates" passed by this Parliament struck at the bonds between the Church of England and the Papacy. The "Act of Appeals," the law for the nomination

⁸ "King's Achievement," p. 157.

of Bishops by the King, and finally the "Act of Supremacy" followed one after another, until, in 1535, the English Church stood separate and apart, a distinct national organization, with Henry Tudor its supreme head on earth.

As the policy of the King ended with a complete rupture with Rome, the foremost Englishman of his time, Sir Thomas More, the finest exponent of the New Learning, had withdrawn without comment from the Ministry, but his silent disapproval and complete loyalty to the Papacy were a stumbling-block in the paths of Henry and Cromwell, and they were resolved to be rid of him on the first plausible pretext. "The King's Achievement" begins at the time when Cromwell was seeking to discover the existence of a conspiracy back of the ecstatic prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent. Thomas More, as well as Bishop Fisher, had been found to have been in correspondence with her, though there had not been the slightest question of any treasonable intention. Part of the contemptible Ralph Torridon's work was to become intimate with the More household, to engage Sir Thomas in frequent conversation in the effort to entrap him to say something which might bring him to the block. Not the least valuable of the historical pictures in the novel is that of Master More, the great scholar, "with his wise, twinkling eyes and strong humorous mouth,"⁴ who loved his dogs and his cool gardens, to whom a classical quotation was like wine, and who had the utmost terror of displeasing his dignified wife. Monsignor draws a charming picture of More's household, of Sir Thomas romping with his dogs, "his pleasant, brown face all creased with laughter,"⁵ of Margaret Roper and her Terence. We see him unshaken as the clouds gather about him. He was asked to take the oath of succession passed in 1534, which declared valid the marriage of Anne Boleyn, annulled the claim of Catherine's daughter, Mary, and declared Anne's children the only lawful heirs to the throne. So much he would subscribe to because of his respect for the civil authority of Parliament; but in the preamble was an acknowledgment that the first marriage was void from the beginning. As this involved a refutation of the power of the Pope to grant dispensation, no loyal Catholic could subscribe to it. As More's refusal to swear to the act of succession only involved misprision of treason, to bring his life within the reach of the law, he was asked to take the oath of supremacy of the King over the Church, and this refusal cost him his life. The novel gives a vivid and unforgettable description of his death, brave, smiling and loyal to the last. Bishop Fisher, the venerable prelate

⁴ "King's Achievement," p. 176.

⁵ "King's Achievement," p. 74.

created Cardinal by the Pope, had preceded him to the block for refusing to take the oath, and there is a touching scene which describes the old man's last days in the Tower, wasted and emaciated, still keeping his loyalty to Henry, his former pupil. He would blame the King's counsellors, not the King, and so unflinching he went to the block, reading for the last time in the Scriptures.

"Here is learning enough for me," he said, "to my life's end."

Arthur Christopher Benson dislikes historical novels, which he calls "webs of imagination hung on pegs of fact."⁶ He thinks the combination is incongruous, and that a historical novel should be like a memoir. Robert Hugh thought far otherwise. He felt that "pegs of fact" stay longer and stick better if they have a few "webs of imagination" artistically woven about them, and it was his conviction that these imaginative webs entice many an unintellectual general reader into a genuine appreciation of historical truth.

The second part of the "King's Achievement" deals with the suppression of the monasteries. Monsignor Benson in dealing with this subject aimed, first of all, to make us realize from the personal experiences of Chris the inner meaning and spiritual beauty of monasticism. It was a great institution for the carrying on of the spiritual commerce of the world, and the whole routine was directed to one end, the praise and service of God. The theory of the religious life was that men sought it not merely for the salvation of their own souls, but for that of the world. From the time when they rose at midnight, that the sleeping world might not be dumb to God, until the tired good-night song to the kind and tender mother of monks, an endless stream of sacrifice and prayer ascended on high. Monsignor Benson so states it. "It was the manufactory of grace where skilled persons were at work, busy at a task of prayer and sacrament which was to be at other men's service. If the father of a family had a piece of spiritual work to be done, he went to the monastery and paid a fee for the sustenance of those he employed, as he might go to a merchant's to order a cargo and settle for its delivery." For as Tennyson says: "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of. . . . For so the whole round earth is every way bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

It was this English citadel of prayer, grown vicious, and corrupt, some say, that Cromwell proposed to attack.

There follows a very vivid description of the visitation of the monasteries, which were made plundering grounds for the brutal visitors, Legh, Layton and Aprice. The dissolution of the monas-

⁶ Hugh, p. 177.

teries was not completed till 1540. In 1536, on receipt of the cunningly contrived report of Cromwell, who had done his work well, Parliament passed a law confiscating the property and dissolving more than three hundred of the smaller houses. The larger abbeys were then dissolved, many on the ground of treasonable conduct, while still others, terrorized into submission, handed over their property to the Crown.

Monsignor Benson does not look on the visitations in any other light than that of wholesale unjustifiable robbery, which it undoubtedly was as far as the results were concerned. So great was the spoil that the King promised never again to call on the people for subsidies. The royal treasury was overflowing with the treasures of the monasteries; the stone, lead, glass, were sold as building materials and the lands of the monks were seized to the Crown or were sold away to Henry's favorites. Insolence, extortion and unprecedented brutality accompanied the visits of the Commissioners. Nothing was too sacred to become the objects of their coarse jests, and the greed of the countryside was fanned by the promises of a share of the monastic wealth. Monsignor will not grant that there is an atom of truth in the reports of corrupt monastic life. As Cromwell's Commissioners undoubtedly were instructed to bring back sufficient charges to justify the suppression, he considers the entire mass of condemnatory tales of immorality and greed unbelievable. An irreligious, mercenary age had revolted against spiritual authority and was only too eager to lull its conscience by seizing upon Cromwell's lying charges. Monsignor Benson's idea is a tenable one in the absence of sufficient evidence.

The Rev. Charles Moberly says of this period: "But it is not to be supposed that the Record Office contains a huge 'mystery of iniquity' in documents which escape publication by being too bad for it. It is to be feared that historians will always be reduced, in the absence of sufficient evidence either way, to acquit or condemn these institutions rather by their own notions of the probable than on any quite convincing arguments."⁷

As to the feelings of the English people in regard to these changes, Monsignor Benson tells us that they were dazed and hardly knew what to think. The sixteenth century was not a religious age; the interests of Englishmen lay in trade, manufacturing, art, the new learning. Only in the North was the religious fervor found which led men to cling to the old faith at all costs and to undertake the pitiful pilgrimage of grace with its tragic ending. Cromwell knew his people and how to appeal to them. On the worldly

⁷ "The Early Tudors," p. 193.

side, the hope of low taxes and a share in the plunder was held before the masses. On the spiritual side Cranmer and his Bishops laughed at the claims of the Old Church and did all they could to discredit them. "It was impossible for the unlearned to know what to believe; new manifestoes were issued continually by the King and clergy, full of learned arguments and persuasive appeals, and the professors of the old religion were continually discredited by accusations of fraud, avarice, immorality, hypocrisy and the like. They were silenced, too, while active and eloquent preachers like Latimer raged from pulpit to pulpit, denouncing, expounding, convincing."⁸

Though Englishmen are naturally of a conservative religious temper, the endless controversies, the loosening of all bonds that bound them to the past and the discrediting of all that they had been taught to hold sacred had its logical result. The Reformation drifted out of the King's control and went far beyond his intentions. The excesses of the Protestants caused Henry to lose confidence in Cromwell, and the unfortunate matter of the Anne of Cleves marriage convinced the King that he had been tricked and that his Minister was plotting against him. "The King's Achievement" ends with the fall of Cromwell and the complete "achievement" of the ambition of the Tudors. Parliament was a tool of the King, the royal will was supreme in the law courts, his was the last word in all spiritual matters, and the forms of worship, even the essence of what one "must believe to be saved," could be altered from day to day by a whimsical royal master. His immense power dazzled the imaginations of his subjects, and the Englishmen of that time were politically, like the Germans of to-day, "docile house servants."

It was unfortunate for the Catholic cause in England that, although two great opportunities presented themselves for the restoration of a Catholic England after Henry's time, first in Mary Tudor's reign, secondly and lastly, in the reign of James II., the personalities of the Catholic sovereigns, on whom so much depended, were so hopelessly lacking in the tact, the intelligence and the statesmanship that were necessary to reinstate a religion which already to the minds of many Englishmen was coming to be identified with foreign domination and suppression of national ambitions. There never was a time when the personality of the sovereign counted for more than during the reigns of the Tudors, and there never has been a ruler more utterly unsuited in character, temperament and aims to rule over the English people than the unhappy woman who has gone down to history as Mary Tudor.

⁸ "King's Achievement," p. 372.

THE QUEEN'S TRAGEDY.

"The Queen's Tragedy" is the story of Mary Tudor's life as Queen as seen by a young gentleman who comes into her service shortly after the Spanish marriage and remains with her until her death. The tale of the lonely, unhappy woman unrolls itself like a bright many colored canvas. Benson's historical descriptions have been compared to Flemish pictures because of the vivid clearness and picturesqueness of his details. There are a series of brilliant scenes in "The Queen's Tragedy" that remain long in the memory—the arrival of Philip in the evening at the English court and his first interview with Mary, the wedding pageantry which united the mightiest thrones in the world, the great day in Parliament, when Cardinal Pole, the Papal Legate, restored England to the Catholic fold while the people fell on their knees and Mary's lifelong dream of a loyal Catholic land seemed realized.

Then darker scenes unfold themselves. The Queen did not understand the temper of her people. If she had been content to wait and be tactful, everything would have come her way in the end. The sympathy of the English was with her when she began to reign, in the rebellion of Northumberland, even in the insurrection of Wyatt. Outside of London, where Protestant sympathy ran strong, the people would have been glad enough to return to the religion of their forefathers. The married priests were driven from their parishes and the statues were restored. England had been comparatively untouched by the religious fervor of the Reformation, but Mary's unrelenting persecutions of "heretics" created ten heretics for every one that was burned. Englishmen can never be driven.

Monsignor Benson shows Mary born to be unhappy with the intense, ardent Spanish nature that longed for love as much as her personality repelled it. She was hardened by the bitter memories of her youth, and long years of brooding had emphasized her fierce devotion to her faith, so that she was prepared to take any measures necessary to turn England into a "garden of the Lord" once more. The subjects had strayed from the fold and must be brought back for the salvation of their souls. This was the ruling motive of her life. One of her bitterest disappointments was her inability to have a child; for she desired a child of her own, who could later carry on the great work in which, as she realized as time went on, she was destined to fail. Her maternal instinct and her jealous love for Philip are infinitely pathetic. All that a child, above all, a son, would have meant to her is visualized in Mary's dying hours, when the author describes her vision of children dancing about a little golden-haired child bearing a circlet of fleur-de-lys set with

blue jewels, her dream son, who would have won the love of a Catholic England and reigned a glorious King.

In the other historical novels of Benson the historical element forms the background for a story. In "The Queen's Tragedy" the main theme is the chronicle of Mary's life as Queen and its bitter failure. Benson shows how she carried through her plans for persecution in spite of the opposition of Parliament, of Philip and of her cautious Catholic counsellors. It was Mary's will and not that of Cardinal Pole that Cranmer should be sent to the stake. Mary's position was complicated by the fact that the new Pope, Paul IV., of the Caraffa family, would stand no compromises with rebellious England and no catering to the House of Austria. The submission which the English Parliament had made to Rome on condition that the nobles' ownership of the monastery lands remain undisturbed was utterly rejected by Paul, who demanded complete restoration of the ecclesiastical property. The reconciliation between England and the Papacy came to a standstill, Philip dragged England into the war with France, and in January, 1558, Calais, the "chief jewel of the realm," was taken. In November Mary's unhappy life was over.

Robert Hugh Benson has been accused of inaccuracy in his presentation of Mary by a writer in the *Dublin Review*.⁹ In "The Queen's Tragedy" she is represented to have been no scholar, to have been unable to read even the Breviary without instruction and to have understood Latin "only here and there." Monsignor Benson's critic, who signs himself "J. M. S.," declares this statement to be false, for all the children of Henry VIII. were noted for their learning. When Mary was only twelve, Lord Morley declares that she was rarely versed in Latin. "Of Mary it is recorded by Ludovicus Vives that she delighted at a very early age in the Epistles of St. Jerome, in the Dialogues of Plato, in the works of Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine."

Elizabeth appears in "The Queen's Tragedy" as a glowing contrast to the sad Queen. She is represented as a consummate liar and hypocrite who would stop at nothing to gain her ends—a clever, sensuous young woman with all the Tudor charm and magnetism. In "By What Authority," the first Elizabethan novel, she is already established on the throne and the recusancy laws are in force.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY.

"By What Authority" is in many ways the finest of Benson's historical works because of its superb presentation of the beauty of the Catholic faith. It was written in the summer of 1903, after

⁹ *Dublin Review*, V. 139, p. 423.

the author had left the Mirfield community and had fully made up his mind to become a Roman Catholic. Arthur Christopher, his brother, says: "He was steering in a high wind straight to Rome . . . not creeping in, under the shadow of a wall, sobbing as the old cords break, but excited, eager, jubilant, rejoicing."¹⁰ Feeling as he did, it was with the keenest pleasure that he threw himself into the work of writing a Catholic historical novel of the age of Elizabeth.

It was in the early part of her reign, "when the menace of the Spanish Empire brooded low on the southern horizon, and a responsive mutter of storm sounded now and again from the north where Mary Stuart reigned over men's hearts if not their homes." The people of England, as a whole, had little sympathy with the constant changing of religion. Those who were irreligious treated the whole matter with indifference; those who were religious saw with a deep regret the passing of the old faith, but policy and a sense of loyalty to the sovereign held them quiet. The Catholics who could afford it paid the recusancy fines for not attending the service of Her Grace's Established Church. In the loyal North the flames of rebellion broke out in Northumberland and Westmoreland under the banner of the Five Wounds, only to be sternly suppressed by Lord Sussex.

Elizabeth is represented in the novel as the "incarnate genius of the laughing, brutal, wanton English Renaissance." As the young nation began to awake and feel its power, it longed to try its skill along every line—in art, in literature, in the exploring of new worlds, in the whole realm of human knowledge, until, as the pride and belief in England's future developed, the idea of a national religion, an English Church, grew apace with it, and the ambitious Englishmen of a material age felt that an English Church for Englishmen was a very patriotic and very correct institution. Monsignor Benson had come to realize when he wrote this novel that there was no Church of England in pre-Reformation days, and he expresses this conviction by the naïve comments of the country people on the recusancy laws, on the tearing down of the statues and the prohibition of the Mass. "If it is all the same Church, why all this fuss about it; and why can we not worship in the old way?" There is a great deal of religious controversy in the book and the Catholic arguments are ably presented; but better and more convincing than mere arguments is the effect of their conversion on the characters of the brother and sister, Anthony and Isabel Norris. Protestantism with its endless mangling, its purely individual, intellectual attitude, seems very barren and comfortless by the side of

¹⁰ Hugh, p. 118.

a religion which produces such reverent devotion, so deep a love of God and a sense of His sacred Presence which is so real that it makes the dullest life very glorious. Altogether, the book is rather dangerous reading for an Episcopalian, and the best kind of a novel to put into the hands of lukewarm Catholics who have not grasped the nobility and historical continuity of their heritage.

Between 1571 and 1577, with the establishment of the English Church, the various parties developed along their respective lines, becoming more bitter and less compromising. Frequent plots were formed against the Queen. The Puritans grew bolder and greater in number, the Catholics more determined, while the Church of England became the haven for all those who desired political preferment and advancement at court. There were numbers of the old Catholic families who conformed in order to secure a future, but the majority remained loyal to the faith and paid the heavy fines, though their halls were crumbling in ruins.

There is a stirring account of Sir Francis Drake's voyages and the effect they had in developing English nationalism. Pride in the nation rose to a high pitch the day the citizens crowded to see the Pelican, drawn up in a little creek on the south side of the Thames, and the Queen made Francis Drake her loyal knight. Benson would make us realize that the men of the day did not draw the distinction between the "things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's," and that in making religion a national matter of blood and boundaries, they were cutting themselves off from the great world Church that knows no distinctions of race and who calls all nations her children.

The last half of the novel is devoted to the persecution of the Jesuits and the coming of the Spanish Armada, which destroyed the hopes of the Catholic cause by identifying it with that of the enemies of England. Elizabeth feared the Jesuits, and with the news of their coming the laws were made very drastic. It became high treason to reconcile or be reconciled to the Church of Rome and overwhelming losses in fortune and liberty were promised to all who heard Mass or would not go to the Established Church. The Government, however, realized that it was bad policy to slay a man for his religion. If it were possible, accusations of treason were always made as prominent as possible.

The novel gives excellent portraits of Campion and Persons, the famous Jesuit fathers who brought so many back to the Church—Campion, the "angel of the Catholics," and Persons, "who knew human nature as an anatomist knows the structure of the human body."¹¹ Their daring, their talent, their hairbreadth escapes and

¹¹ "By What Authority," p. 362.

the heroic death of Campion are unforgettable episodes. The deaths of the Jesuit fathers did not serve the government's purpose, as their courage and sublime faith in the hour of death always called forth the admiration of the crowd, and men wondered if it were justice that led a State to send men to their deaths for their conscience's sake. The dawn of religious freedom was foreshadowed.

Cardinal Gibbons in his "Faith of Our Fathers" (p. 300), in speaking of Elizabeth's persecutions of Catholics, Puritans and Anabaptists, says: "Why are these cruelties suppressed or glossed over, while those of Mary form the burden of every nursery tale?" He continues: "Mary reigned only five years and four months. Elizabeth's reign lasted forty-four years and four months. The younger sister, therefore, swayed the sceptre of authority nearly nine times longer than the elder, and the number of Catholics who suffered for their faith during the long administration of Elizabeth may be safely said to exceed in the same proportion the victims of Mary's reign." Catholics' refusal to subscribe to the oath of supremacy made them liable as traitors, and the question, "Do you believe in the Pope's deposing power?" was used in difficult cases to secure conviction. Protestant historians are not apt to dwell much on this phase of Elizabeth's reign. After all, few writers of history can be other than partisan. "Truth is said to lie at the bottom of a well," says Lowell, "for the very reason, perhaps, that whoever looks down in search of her, sees his own image."

With the Spanish invasion, the Catholic party suffered from the division of its supporters into two groups, the religious and the political. The latter, who were very much in the minority, regarded themselves as justified in plotting to take the Queen's life as a usurper, and the party which remained loyal to the Crown suffered from the fanaticism of these men, for the government made no distinction and treated all Catholics as traitors. Monsignor Benson wishes to emphasize the fact that practically all the priests counseled loyalty to the Queen. They taught the doctrine of "the things of Cæsar," but Elizabeth could not or would not realize this and was relentless in her persecution of them. Their devotion to an ideal and their loyalty to their religion in the face of death won the admiration of the Queen in spite of herself, although it inspired her to renewed efforts to crush them.

"COME RACK! COME ROPE!"

"Come Rack! Come Rope!" met with favorable criticism from the *London Times*, which said it had efficiently taken up a long

neglected page in English history, the tale of Catholic recusancy. Its subject is the history of Catholics in Derbyshire between 1579 and 1588, and much of the material is taken from Dom Bede Camm's "Forgotten Shrines." Nearly all the families mentioned were real Devonshire names, as for instance, the famous Fitz-Herberts, who suffered much for the faith with the one traitor of the name, Thomas Fitz-Herbert. His was the case of a weak man, none too devout, whose spirit was broken by prison fare and who consented to betray his fellow-Catholics. Some of the book is devoted to the adventures and capture of the three Jesuits, Garlick, Ludlam and Simpson. All three died gallantly, even Father Simpson, who was sorely tempted and very nearly recanted. Camm and Persons also appear in the novel, which is chiefly a narrative of the work of the Jesuits in England and of the devotion of the Catholics through all their persecutions. The Jesuits brought many back to the Church who were in danger of falling away through long inability to receive the Sacraments. "Faith blazed up anew from its dying embers, in the lives of rustic knave and squire." Benson offers a great and stirring tribute to the courage, the loyalty and deep fervor of an order which has suffered much from slander.

In the narrative of Babington's plot, he makes it clear that Mary Stuart was innocent of any attempt against the life of the Queen, and that Babington represented only a small and fanatical part of the Catholics, the majority of whom were completely loyal to the Queen even in the face of the Pope's bull excommunicating her. They had no wish to see the Armada triumph. Benson's Elizabethan novels represent the tendency of the English Catholic mind at this time to divide its spiritual and temporal allegiance. Nearly three hundred years before the end of Papal temporal power, they felt that the realm of the spiritual and the realm of the world were two very different and uncombinable things.

"ODDSFISH."

In his last historical novel, "Oddsfish," Monsignor Benson gives a chronicle, rich with historical detail, of the main events in the reign of Charles II. significant to the cause of Catholicism. Perhaps the events are not of themselves dramatic enough to warrant such a wealth of detail; the novel lacks both the thrilling interest and the spiritual passion of the "King's Achievement" and the Elizabethan books. It is, however, a fine piece of historical work and is chiefly valuable because of its very vivid study of the character of Charles II. The description of the dying hours of the King, "that greatest of all sinners," as witnessed by Mr. Mallock

from the little door behind the royal bed, is a piece of canvas work as convincing and artistic as that of Macaulay's description of the same scene.

"Oddsfish" deals first of all with Titus Oates and the Popish plot, the execution of the five Jesuits, Monmouth's plots and the struggle over the exclusion bill. Then comes the impeachment of Lord Stafford, the ridiculous farce of his trial, and finally his execution, which brings the reader to Part III. In all the arrests of Catholics accused of conspiracy, the King, in spite of his solemn promises of aid, allowed them to go to their death without a word of protest. To have saved them or to have declared his own belief in Catholicism would have lost him his crown, and Charles Stuart was no idealistic hero to endanger his position for the lives of others. There was a general feeling that Catholicism was anti-English and utterly idolatrous and treasonable, so the King had to go with the tide.

All through the novel his disinclination to persecute the Catholics is shown, but always the danger of his own position made him forget them. He would have saved the Jesuits if he could, and questioned eagerly when the verdict of guilty was reported to him.

"How did the people take it?"

"They applauded a great deal, sir."

"They applauded, you say. At the end only or all the while?"

"They applauded, sir, whenever any of my Lords made a hit against the Catholics."¹²

That settled it. Charles had felt the pulse of the people and dared not do otherwise. The author makes us realize all through the novel the truth of Macaulay's statement: "In his few serious moments Charles was a Roman Catholic."

A differing opinion is that expressed in the English history of Dr. Lingard and Hilaire Belloc, who believe that Charles was never fully convinced in his beliefs, and it was only the knowledge of his approaching death that forced him to look facts in the face and make his supreme decision.

Part III. of "Oddsfish" shows the loyalty of the King towards his brother James in his further struggle with the supporters of the exclusion bill, the passage of which would have barred James from ever ascending the throne. After dissolving three obstinate Parliaments, Charles' persistence won the day. A popular reaction set in against the exclusion bill because of the people's dread of another civil war. "Oddsfish" describes in great detail the rye house plot, which was discovered at this time, and established the

¹² "Oddsfish," p. 101.

King firmly in popular favor. All opposition to the succession of a Catholic was ended by the utter discrediting of the exclusionists, the exile of Monmouth, the suicide of Essex and the executions of the noble Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. Part IV. is a graphic narrative of the last days and death of the King. Benson has described Charles' death in a more intimate personal way than has Macaulay. It is a picture on a smaller scale as the repentant sinner's reception into the Church is seen by Mr. Mallock from the small room adjoining the royal bed-chamber, but the details are substantially the same.

Charles' conversion is an event that had little influence on the history of England and is chiefly interesting as showing the one serious conviction of a frivolous worldling. He will always remain one of the most vivid characters of history, and Monsignor Benson has made very real the great charm and fascination of the man with his many weaknesses and "the air of strange and lovable melancholy." The author accentuates such details as the King's "lean brown hand set with rings," his petting of his spaniels, his charming smile. Perhaps he makes him seem too attractive; but the hero Roger Mallock sees him as one who "knows the good and doth approve it, too; he knows the wrong and still the wrong pursues."

A prominent character in the novel is the Duke of York, afterwards James II. In spite of his lack of tact, his pompousness and stupidity, his religion is shown to be the dominating influence of his life. It was a faith which, however poorly practiced, was always the unseeing bigotry which afterwards lost him his throne, and it was this faith which later, purified by humiliation, helped him to bear his misfortunes like a man and die a Christian life. Then, as afterwards, James was in the hands of too ardent Jesuit advisers; he refused to heed the Pope's warnings to go cautiously and not to antagonize the people. Monsignor Benson shows how this unwillingness to compromise and be tolerant, as in the case of Mary Tudor, could not do otherwise than result in utter failure and ruin the Catholic cause in the eyes of the masses of the English nation.

Robert Hugh Benson depicts an England under the influence of the new learning awakening so eagerly to the possibilities of this world that it was beginning to forget its spiritual duties. There was no indignant revulsion of feeling against the religion of their forefathers; the English Reformation offered the example of an arrogant King, impatient of authority, planting a national Church over a materialistic, religiously indifferent people. These would have preferred to have had the Church continue in the old way,

but the majority were confused by the endless controversies of the learned and lacked the religious fervor to make any great protest. The nation was becoming great, the people were growing more prosperous, and if the King would have a national Church and be head of it, why so be it, His Grace knew best. Concerning the feeling of the nation at the time of the break from Rome, Charles Beard, of Columbia University, says: "The evidence thus far adduced has not been conclusive that the teachings of Wycliff were widespread."¹⁸ The Reformation in England was of the King's and Cromwell's making. Benson, partly because of the unkind treatment he received after his conversion from some of its members, was always rather bitter against the Church of England. Its smug respectability irritated him, and every one who reads the historical novels can realize that he thought of it only as an impudent interloper, which had dashed out the old lights of faith in England, driven the sacrament from the holy shrines and seized with a marauding hand Westminster, Canterbury, Durham and countless other hallowed sanctuaries of the faith.

In the novels succeeding "The King's Achievement" the author shows the unfortunate train of circumstances by which the Catholic religion was lost to England—the blundering bigoted rule of Mary Tudor, which antagonized a people willing enough to return, and following her, the brilliant reign of Elizabeth, in which people and ruler were drawn together by the excommunication of the Pope and the attacks on the national existence by the cruelest and greatest Catholic power of the age. Protestantism and national existence became identified and Catholicism came to be considered a weapon of foreign tyranny. This classification grew into a national prejudice and became a fixed idea with the masses of the people that centuries has not eradicated. He contrasts with this feeling the deep devotion on the part of the loyal Catholic families and their sufferings for their principles, and emphasizes the great work of the Society of Jesus in reclaiming many of the indifferent.

Robert Hugh Benson has made no great contribution to history, but he possesses a wonderful power of making forgotten times seem very real by his skillful use of old descriptive fragments, his life-like character drawing and his real ability to create a given atmosphere. The historical background of the time is chiefly conveyed by the conversations of the characters—the gossip of courtiers and pages, the anxious talk of a family gathered about the fire in a great country house, the rumors heard at a tavern or the serious discussions between hunted priests. The novels abound with pictures of the pageants, the street crowds, the revel-

¹⁸ Introduction to the "English Historians," p. 374.

ries of court. Above all, his main motive in his writing was to make an exposition of the beauty and deep significance of the Catholic faith, and his greatest talent lay in the presentation of religious emotion. In his history of the Catholic persecutions in England, in his analysis of all that the faith meant and always will mean to a real Catholic, Monsignor Benson has done a piece of missionary work far more powerful than any preaching tract. He represents history from the Catholic standpoint, but the historical element is accurate and lacks the violent bias of the ordinary partisan writer. Few non-Catholics can read this series of historical novels without getting a fairer view of the Catholic attitude than they had before and they will be left with a more sympathetic feeling for the Church which was for a thousand years the Church of their forefathers, while Catholic readers will be strengthened in their devotion and will come to have a keener appreciation of the value of their spiritual heritage.

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THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING BAPTISM UNDER ST. BONIFACE.

WHEN St. Boniface left Rome to betake himself to the field of his missionary labors, Pope Gregory II. furnished him with an apostolic letter by which the saint was officially appointed Roman missionary. In any difficulty that might occur he was to have recourse to the Sovereign Pontiff and he received some general regulations for his work. One point only was strongly emphasized: St. Boniface is to follow exactly the Roman way of administering the sacrament of baptism. The Roman formula with the rubrics is handed to him: "We will that in administering the sacrament thou follow carefully the formula of the office of this Apostolic See which thou hast received."

Obedient like a child in all other matters, the saint no doubt carried out this solemn injunction conscientiously and saw to it that the same was done by all those who assisted him in his great task. St. Boniface always kept in close touch with the Head of the Church. Numerous were his inquiries chiefly on matters of discipline, which he sent to Rome, and detailed answers came back to him from the Eternal City.¹ For about thirty years just this point, the sacrament of baptism, is never mentioned. But we have a lengthy letter of Pope St. Zachary to him, written in 748 A. D., half of which is filled with answers to the various reports of the saint concerning errors about baptism, its nature and the ceremonies by which it is to be accompanied. One Sampson, a "Scotus,"² went so far as even to deny the necessity of baptism for salvation. This reveals to us that among the almost countless heresies, erroneous opinions and superstitions against which the apostle of Germany was obliged to combat, those about the first of all sacraments were frequent and of a very dangerous nature. Nor is there any reason to presume that these errors did not originate earlier than this. No doubt they were rampant before, but at this exact time the question had become acute and thus forced both the apostle to report about them in detail and the Pope to answer his inquiries more extensively.

¹ Many of his letters have been lost. Their contents, however, can often be gleaned from the answers of the Popes.

² At St. Boniface's time the terms *Scotia* and *Scotus* referred to Ireland. This meaning is retained in the German word "*Schottenklöster*," literally Scotchmen's monasteries, which, until about a century ago, existed in about a dozen German cities. These Irish foundations were for long periods recruited from Ireland. After doing incalculable good they were swept away partly in the "Reformation," partly in consequence of the confusion caused by the French Revolution and Napoleon I.

We are not at a loss to find what this occasion was. Three years before the same Pope directed another letter to him, which it is advisable to give in its entirety.

"Virgilius and Sidonius, two pious men who live in the province of the Bavarians, have sent us letters and intimated that thy venerable fraternity orders Christians to be rebaptized. This intelligence has troubled us very much and caused us to wonder whether this be really so as it is related. They reported that there was a priest in the same country who was entirely ignorant of the Latin language, and in baptizing, being unable to pronounce Latin correctly (*nesciens Latini eloquii infringens linguam diceret*), enunciated in a broken Latin: 'Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta.' And for this reason thy venerable fraternity thought it necessary to rebaptize. But, most holy brother, if he who baptized did not introduce any error or heresy,³ but out of ignorance of the Roman tongue merely pronounced the baptismal formula in this broken way as we said before, we cannot consent to rebaptism, because, as thy holy fraternity is well aware, whosoever is baptized by heretics in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost must not be rebaptized, but merely reconciled by the laying on of hands. Therefore, most holy brother, if it is as related to us, let no longer such things be told to them by thee, but what the holy fathers teach, that thy Holiness may try to preserve. May God keep thee in His protection, most holy brother."⁴

Let us notice that Sidonius and Virgilius did not plead their own cause, but championed that of some very ignorant priest, who evidently had been rebuked by the Apostolic Legate. Possibly the two had been ordered to see to it that the priest's neophytes were rebaptized. This would explain as very natural that they reported the matter to Rome and appealed from the Legate to the Pope directly. But whether this be the case or not makes no difference for our considerations.

According to this letter, the fact that St. Boniface ordered rebaptism in certain cases cannot be doubted. But on what ground did he do so? Unfortunately this is not very clearly stated. Nor is it probable that the letter of the two priests which carried the charge against him to Rome was any too clear.

But soon after Sidonius and Virgilius' complaint, another letter

³ "*Non errorem inducens aut heresim;*" this can only mean an error concerning the nature of baptism in such a way as to make a right intention impossible. The chief subject of this letter is to insist that the baptisms of heretics are valid, on the evident condition that their intention be correct.

⁴ Harzheim, "*Concilia Germaniae*," I., p. 59.

of the apostle of Germany reached Rome, which told of the disastrous influences which two certain heretics succeeded in gaining for their fantastic teachings. They had already been condemned by a German synod.⁵ But the matter appeared so important that the Pope saw fit to call a council of a number of Bishops and other ecclesiastics in the Lateran Palace. In three sessions this council took up and discussed the charges against Aldebert, a Gaul, and Clemens, a Scotus, which St. Boniface presented both by letter and through his envoy, the priest Denehard. Their doctrines were indeed monstrous. Aldebert, for instance, allowed chapels to be erected in his own honor, because he placed himself above the apostles of the Lord. His hairs and finger nails he distributed as relics. The people who came to confession to him were told no accusation was needed since he already knew their sins. Needless to say, the Roman synod confirmed the verdict of the Frankish council and ordered the severest measures against the heretics.

The case of Aldebert and Clemens is the most flagrant of the heresies which troubled the life of the apostle of Germany. But it does not stand alone. Endless is the list of similar and other errors and superstitions against which St. Boniface was obliged to combat. He himself complains that the field of his labor was covered with thistles and thorns. Many a letter of his and many of the Papal replies consist of enumerations of these heresies and errors. Very important in this regard is the epistle referred to before, which treats chiefly of false doctrines concerning baptism. In it the saint is expressly reminded of the instructions received from Pope Gregory and exhorted to adhere to them faithfully.

This, then, is the background on which the affair of Sidonius and Virgilius appears. That under such circumstances the "Roman" Archbishop should grow alarmed at everything that looked suspicious is easily understood, and the more so if there was question of the sacrament of baptism, the correct administration of which had been so earnestly recommended to him on his first visit to the Eternal City.

In this same letter the Pope again returns to the complaint of the two "pious men," but in a very different way. They are indeed not to be treated like that Sampson, who denied the necessity of baptism and whom Boniface is ordered to excommunicate without delay. But they must submit to the Legate. Kindness and persuasion is to be employed first. Should this fail, however, severe measures, even excommunication, must be resorted to. They

⁵ This was the period of the active Frankish reform synods held by St. Boniface to improve hierarchy and clergy north of the Alps.

may eventually be cited to Rome, and although the Pope will listen to their pleadings, the Legate's words will be given more credence.

"And concerning the priests Sidonius, above mentioned,⁶ and Virgilius, we have taken notice of what thy Holiness writes about them. We have written to them a threatening letter, as the occasion requires, but more credence will be given to thy fraternity than to them. If it pleases God and we live long enough (*vita comite*), we shall summon them by apostolic letters to the Holy See. For thou hast instructed them and they have not accepted thy words. It has happened with them as it is written, 'He that teaches a fool is like one that glueth a potsherd together. Sand and salt and a mass of iron is easier to bear than a man without sense that is both foolish and wicked. He that wanteth understanding thinketh vain things, and the foolish and erring man thinketh foolish things.' (Eccl. xx., 7, 18; xvi., 23.) Therefore, brother, let not thy heart be provoked to anger, but where thou findest such persons, admonish, beseech and chide them, that they may turn themselves from error to the way of truth. If they become converted, thou hast saved their souls; if they remain hardened, thou wilt not lose the reward for thy exertion. But avoid them according to the apostle's words."⁷

Yet although this settled the question in favor of St. Boniface, it gives us no definite clue as to the precise reason which prompted him to order those converts to be rebaptized. Certainly such a barbarous mutilation of the form in a sacrament so necessary may have been the cause. I dare say there are not many of us that would not be seized with the gravest doubt were they present at a baptism administered in this worse than slovenly way, not many that would not immediately advise at least a conditional repetition of so important a sacrament. The fact that after more than eleven hundred years this controversy is still mentioned in our handbooks of dogmatic and moral theology shows how well founded St. Boniface's doubts were. To omit the last words, "*Spiritus Sancta*," which one perhaps might pardon more easily, is there not an essential difference between *pater* and *patria*, between *filius* and *filia*? It might, therefore, well be questioned whether these corrupted words are in fact still an *objective expression* of the mystery of

⁶ As a matter of fact, Sidonius' name is not mentioned before in the whole letter. This phrase, "above mentioned" (*Pro Sidonio autem supra dicto et Virgilio, presbyteris*), evidently refers to the first part of the letter where the Pope treats of the questions regarding the sacrament of baptism. This part is meant to cover the charge raised by Sidonius, and, of course, Virgilius.

⁷ Harzheim, "*Concilia Germaniae*," I., p. 86.

the Blessed Trinity. The only saving feature was the man's total ignorance of the Latin language. For him there may not have been any difference between those words. St. Boniface, however, may have had good reason to doubt another essential point, the intention to do what Christ prescribes, a presumption which, in view of the religious confusion of the time, was not at all unlikely.

It is in fact incredible that a man like St. Boniface should have been ignorant of the true doctrine of the Church concerning baptisms administered by heretics. He had been educated in a Benedictine monastery, in the same circles in which the great St. Aldhelmus had moved and at a time when his contemporary, St. Bede, wrote immortal books. He had been a famous professor himself, had been called to other monasteries on account of his learning. All his life he had remained ardently attached to study. Nobody was more anxious to procure the works of the Fathers of the Church and the pronouncements of the Sovereign Pontiffs. Nobody was more docile than he. His visits to Rome always meant a long sojourn and numerous conferences with the Popes and other learned dignitaries. He was now more than sixty years old. It is inconceivable that during this long time a question which became practical every day in the field of his missionary labors should never have been broached, never discussed, should never have come up in his conversations, never have been the object of his private studies.

There is therefore no foundation for the presumption that in this matter St. Boniface acted from lack of theological knowledge and that Virgilius and Sidonius were the better theologians. Had this been the case, the Pope would not have ordered his Legate to make an attempt at converting them. The only conclusion is that they must have represented the case one-sidedly. St. Boniface by this time had been in Germany nearly thirty years. He knew its needs and knew the opinions current among its good and bad priests. The letter sent by Sidonius and Virgilius had evidently shocked the Pope. But after hearing the other side of the question, he heartily and vigorously, though at the same time with fatherly mildness, supported the position his Legate had taken.

Postscript—No attempt is made here to establish the identity of the two priests. Was Sidonius, the holy Bishop of the same name, a native of Ireland, who was an ornament of the episcopal See of Constance? Was this Virgilius the one who tried to rouse enmity between St. Boniface and the Duke of Bavaria, who falsely claimed he had been appointed Bishop, directly by the Pope himself over the head of the Apostolic Legate, who taught that "there

is another world and another mankind below the earth" ("quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sunt?") Is he the Saint Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, the apostle of Carinthia and Styria? Or are there several men of each of these two names? Most probably these questions will never be decided to everybody's satisfaction.

F. S. SERLAND.

THE ALEXANDRIAN PHILOSOPHERS OF CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

WERE are two dominant features in the strong personality of Clement: "A deeply religious temperament and a burning thirst for knowledge."¹ To his mind, philosophy and theology, running on parallel lines, blend their aims and associate their aspirations. It has been truly remarked that two different types of Christianity, the rational and the mystical, are delineated in the theological system of Clement. That in it which is purely rational and bound in with intellectual metaphysics has been drawn from philosophy; its mystical utterances, on the contrary, are the genuine offspring of Christian religious feelings.²

As a mystic, Clement of Alexandria is variously appreciated by the expounders and historians of Christian mysticism. Miss Underwill declares that mystic tendencies received a brilliant literary expression at the hands of Clement, who first adapted the language of the pagan mysteries to the Christian theory of the spiritual life.³ Dr. Inge names him "a founder of Christian Mysticism;" Dr. Rufus Jones, "a profound thinker, hitting upon elemental facts of universal religious experiences."⁴ According to Dr. Bigg, "Though the father of all the Mystics, he is no mystic himself; he did not enter the enchanted garden which he opened for others."⁵ As Fleming truly remarks, "Clement's personal mysticism has been carried too far. Cultivated, cheerful and serene, he was certainly no mystic of the cloistered or ascetic type, nor would one suppose his soul had ever been scarred by some devastating experience. Nevertheless, in his thought of God he shows that his own approach to the subject was that which became common to a vast school of Mysticism in later days."⁶ There is some truth in the statement just quoted. The mysticism of Clement is cheerful, too; it does not insist on the crucified love and the craving for death, as that of St. Ignatius of Antioch; in it the ascetic element is overshadowed by the ethical. No doubt Clement teaches us the method to lift the soul to heaven; he lays stress upon the purification of the heart as a preliminary step to the higher knowledge of God; but he

¹ J. Patrick, "Clement of Alexandria." Edinburgh, 1914, p. 7.

² De Fay, "Clement d'Alexandrie." Paris, 1906, pp. 316-317.

³ E. Underwill, "Mysticism." London, 1912, p. 543.

⁴ R. M. Jones, "Studies in Mystical Religion." London, 1909, pp. 83-84.

⁵ C. Bigg, "The Christian Platonists of Alexandria." Oxford, 1886, p. 98.

⁶ W. K. Fleming, "Mysticism in Christianity." London, 1913, p. 56.

avoids preaching a severe asceticism, which a people, like the Alexandrian, devoted to all forms of luxury and enervating pleasure, had sneered at.¹ To use a very modern word, Clement was the follower of a liberal opportunism in his mystical views. He was a Christian of the purest water, who, in his mystical experiences, did not renounce the intellectual wealth inherited from pagan ancestors. I cannot call him one who from the outside lays down the laws of inward religious experiences, a mere theorist of the mystical life. Suffice it to peruse the sixth and seventh books of his "*Stromateis*" in order to be convinced that his marvelous description of the gnostic or the perfect mystic does not at all look like a mosaic, laboriously wrought with precious stones gathered from the writings of previous writers, Christian and pagan. The portrait of the gnostic traced by Clement is so vivid, drawn with so masterly a hand, as to give the impression that he reproduces in it some of his own spiritual experiences, that he himself passed through the stages he distinguishes in the rush of the soul toward God; that on earth he tasted beforehand the supersensuous joy of being nearer to the divine Reality by means of a deeper insight into the Supreme Beauty.

Clement is a systematizer of religious experiences even in the sequence of his writings. They represent the three stages to be passed through in order that a Greek pagan may be initiated into the spiritual life of the Christian religion. The "*Protrepticus*" is a warm appeal to the heathen world to listen to the New Song of the divine Singer, the Word of God; it marks the entering into the road of perfection, the purgative life. The "*Paedagogus*" continues the work of purification and introduces the purified soul into the second stage of the mystical life. "It exhibits the training and nurture up from the state of childhood, and prepares beforehand the soul, endued with virtue, for the reception of gnostic knowledge." (Strom. VI., 1.) The third and highest stage of the spiritual life is set forth in the "*Stromateis*," which conducts the more advanced Christians into a conscious fellowship with God and a moral assimilation to Him.

The chief characteristic of Clement's mysticism is the naturalization in it of pagan mystery-language. Some passages of his writings sound as the voice of the Hierophant of the Eleusinian mysteries: "O truly sacred mysteries!" he cries out, "O stainless light! My way is lighted with torches, and I survey the Heavens and God. I become holy whilst I am initiated. The Lord is the Hierophant, and seals, while illuminating, him who is initiated, and presents to the Father him who believes." (Protr., XII.)

¹ Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Even the terms used to mark out the phases of the ascent of the soul towards God are derived from the Greek mystery-lexicon. In doing so, Clement roused objections from the "*Orthodoxasts*" of his age (Str., I., 9), but he could appeal to St. Paul, who also borrowed mystical terms from the Greek mysteries.

Likewise, some elements of Clement's mystical experiences are drawn from Greek philosophy. The teacher of Alexandria did not taunt philosophy with the gibes of Tatian and Theophilus of Antioch. To him philosophy is a work of Divine Providence (Str., I., 1), a shower falling down from heaven on good land. Greek philosophers have been pilferers, plagiarists from *barbarian* (Jewish) philosophy (Str., II., 1; V., 14). Moses and the prophets have taught them their chief dogmas.⁸ Clement's mysticism has been especially influenced by the mystical modes of thought of Platonism, for Plato has really been a disciple of the Hebrews (Str., I., 8, 15), of Moses, above all (Str., I., 25; V., 11).

In his scheme of the inner life Clement distinguishes several stages. First of all, mystical perfection is the outcome of a spiritual elevation of mind and of a moral holiness of the soul. (Paed., I., 7.) The mystical life runs over, between its purification and its deification, the lowest and the highest rung of the *scala perfectionis*: "Being baptized, we are illuminated; illuminated, we become sons; being made sons, we are made perfect; being made perfect, we are made immortal." (Paed., I., 6.) The stages of the mystical life are represented by faith, hope, love. (Str., IV., 7.) The first stage begins with faith, which excites within us repentance for our sins and gradually leads us from ignorance to knowledge, from foolishness to wisdom, from licentiousness to self-restraint, from godlessness to God (Protr., X). Purified by faith, we raise our eyes from earth to the skies, we look up to heaven. Having wiped off the sins which obscure the light of the Divine Spirit, the eyes of the Divine Spirit are free, unimpeded, full of light. Going nearer to God, the soul needs a teacher, and it finds him in the Divine Word, who changes sunset into sunrise, and through the cross conquered death by life, and having rescued man from destruction, raises him to the skies, transforms mortality into immortality, translates earth to heaven. (Protr., XI.)

In a striking passage Clement portrays the Word of God as a physician who works out the purification of souls before raising them to the summits of divine contemplation: "Some men He mourns over, others He addresses with the voice of song, just as a good physician treats some of his patients with cataplasms, some

⁸ Strom., v., 1.; vi., 2, 8, 17. Merk, "Clemens Alexandrinus in seiner Abhängigkeit von der griechischen Philosophie." Leipzig, 1879, pp. 3-4.

with rubbing, some with fomentations; in one case cuts with the lancet, in another cauterizes, in another amputates, in order, if possible, to cure the patient's diseased part or member. By threatening He admonishes, by upbraiding He converts, by bewailing He pities, by the voice of song He cheers." (Protr., I). Thus, He becomes the Pæonian physician of human infirmities.

The purification of the soul being accomplished by His soothing and saving power, He confers upon us true riches, He fills our minds with light (Protr., XI), and by enlightening us He transforms us into gnostics.

The gnostic is the type of the perfect man in the mystical scheme of Clement. He is the man trained, according to the mysterious influence of Christ (Paed., I., 12), who imitates God as far as possible, deficient in none of the things which contribute to the likeness of God (Str., II., 19). God is enshrined in him (Str., VII., 5). He is very closely allied to God (Str., VII., 7), being a living image of God and the symbol of His power. (Str., VII., 9). God shapes his physical, logical and moral life by righteousness, wisdom and holiness (Str., IV., 26).

The gnostic reaches the measure of perfect manhood (Str., VI., 12), becoming a lover of God (Str., IV., 25; VII., 1), and living in an uninterrupted converse and fellowship with the Lord (Str., VII., 3). He is the man of perfect contemplation (Str., VII., 3).

The highest degrees of the ladder of perfection are reached through knowledge and love. The knowledge of God is the highest thing, the most perfect good. (Str., II., 1). It is a light shining in the hidden parts of man, revealing and irradiating them. (Protr., XI). It is the Divine Word Himself. "Our knowledge and our spiritual garden is the Saviour Himself, in Whom we are planted." (Str., II., 1). It is a higher speculation granted to the believer by faith, a speculation which initiates us into the beatific vision of God. (Str., VI., 12).

Knowledge conveys man through the mystic stages of advancement till it raises the pure in heart to the crowning place of rest, teaching them to gaze on God, face to face, with knowledge and comprehension. (Str., VII., 10).

Knowledge warmed by love perfects the mystical man. "Let us become God-loving men," says Clement, "and we shall obtain the greatest of all things, those which are incapable of being harmed, God and life," (Protr., XII). The gnostic must be a martyr of love (Str., IV., 21). By love he enrolls himself among the friends of God (Str., VI., 9; Protr., IX); by love he enters into a conscious

^a De Fay, pp. 282-286.

fellowship with God (Protr., XI), and God takes His abode in him. The mystical contemplation ending in the vision of God is beautifully depicted in the following passage: "The gnostic's soul, that surpasses in the grandeur of contemplation the mode of life of each of the holy ranks, embraces the divine vision not in mirrors or by means of mirrors, but in the transcendently clear and absolutely pure insatiable vision which is the privilege of intensely loving souls." (Str., VII., 3). The gnostic's life is prayer and converse with God (Str., VII., 12), a holy festival by which he unites himself to the divine choirs. (Str., VII., 7). His prayer is an ecstatic one. He prays without any mixture of material life; he utters his cries of love without voice, by concentrating the whole spiritual nature in the effort within for expression by the mind, in undistracted turning towards God (Str., VII., 7), crying inwardly, by speaking in silence.

The effects of the highest mystical life are thus pointed out by Clement: "A divine power of goodness clings to the righteous soul in contemplation and in prophecy, and governing it, impresses upon it something, as it were, of intellectual radiance, like the solar ray, uniting the soul with light through an unbroken love. Thence assimilation to God is the aim of the holy man." (Str., II., 22).⁹ Such an assimilation, which is to be realized in the contemplative life (Str., IV., 23), consists in a participation in the moral excellence of God. (Paed., I., 12; Str., VI., 17). By contemplating God and by perpetually conversing with Him, man becomes like an angel (Paed., II., 9; Str., VI., 13), the partaker of the divine will (Str., VII., 12). He becomes God Himself.

The idea of deification in the writings of Clement has been drawn not only from Christian sources, but also from Plato, whose saying, "The man who contemplates God lives as a God among men," is quoted by him. (Str., IV., 25). "The Word of God," says Clement, "became man, that thou mayest learn from man how man may become God." (Protr., I). The gnostic is a deified man. (Paed., I., 12; Str., IV., 23; VII., 15).¹⁰

Here it may be noted that for the gnostic immersed in divine contemplation Clement claims the gift of impassibility, the "He who devotes himself to contemplation, communing in purity with the divine, enters more nearly into the state of impassible identity." (Str., IV., 6; VI., 13; Protr., X). But from the quietistic tints of some of his expressions it does not follow that Clement asserts a state of passiveness of the soul that has reached the apex of the divine contemplation. For in the mystical conceptions of Clement

¹⁰ Hort, "Clement of Alexandria Miscellanies," Book VII. London, 1902, pp. 203-204; "Inge," pp. 356-358.

the contemplation of God is not a spiritual laziness, but a real activity, (Str., IV., 6).¹¹

ORIGEN.

In the history of the Mysticism of the Greek Fathers the name of Origen is closely associated with that of Clement of Alexandria, his genial master. But the renown of the great Alexandrian exegete in the annals of Christian Mysticism is not due to a vivid picture of his inward religious experiences or to the depth of his mystical truths. As Inge truly remarks, Origen's mind was less inclined to mystical modes of thought than that of Clement.¹² He is to be considered as the least of the mystic, states Bigg. It is, therefore, elsewhere that we need to find the reasons for the qualification of mystic granted to him by posterity.

In fact, Origen is a mystic in this sense, above all that he submitted to a mystical treatment some portions of the Holy Scripture which seemed to be in a sharp antagonism with any spiritual interpretation whatsoever. In the literature of the Greek Fathers he appears to us as the first mystic-commentator of the Song of Songs, as the searcher after a deep religious sense in the passionate outbursts of a love which seems to blaze up in the glaring features of an exalted sensualism. The *spiritual marriage* of the mystics, the loving ardor of the spiritual bride, that is of the soul immersed in the vision of God, towards her Divine Bridegroom, the Word of God, found in Origen its first poet and singer. Thus Origen created a new mystical terminology and procured a new delicious food for the insatiate yearnings of mystical souls. But we should be greatly mistaken if we considered Origen as a master of mystical experiences. He is the reformer rather than the originator of new mystical expressions. In the dazzling imagery of his style his heart does not beat so vigorously as do those of the true emotional mystics. His positive mind holds him steadily within the sphere of reasoning and forbids the heart to wing its flight heavenward. Origen is first of all a philosopher. In his literary inheritance mysticism takes a very subordinate place. He writes without losing the control of self; he is always displaying dialectic subtleties, even when he is wandering in the mysterious regions of mystical heights. The highest manifestations of the Spirit indwelling in the believing soul, the charismatic endowments of the men of God, excite his scientific curiosity. He compares them with psychological facts, and strives to illustrate them by the natural light of the

¹¹ Capitaine, "Die Moral des Clemens von Alexandrien." Paderborn, 1903, pp. 287-288.

¹² Op. cit., p. 89.

human reason. In the writings of Origen, when there is question of mystical truths, speculativeness chills emotionalism; allegorism charms the imagination without touching the inmost recesses of the religious consciousness. In short, Origen descants upon mysticism as a mere spectator who stares at heaven without letting earth go out of his sight. "Origen," says Denis, "severs himself from the mystics by his unshaken reliance on reason. The words *illumination* and *inspiration* are of frequent occurrence in his writings; the term *enthusiasm* is not omitted. But that light, which comes to us by the grace of God, is so little at variance with the reason as to become identified with the light of the reason itself or of the Word. Inspiration flows out from the Holy Spirit, Who is Wisdom Himself, and Who, as a Vicar of the Word, receives from Him the gifts bestowed upon us. As to enthusiasm, by this is meant only the presence of God within us, that natural communication between the Creator and the creature in the reason and by the reason. Without it the soul would not get even the notion of God. This enthusiasm, this inspiration, this illumination, whilst raising up the soul above itself, yet does not break down the barriers encircling it."¹³

In his mystical theories Origen lays a great stress upon what he calls a divine sense, an expression the precise meaning of which has not been clearly defined by the expounders of his system. According to Denis, the *divine sense* points out the highest stages of the mystical life, applies to the soul indwelt by the Holy Spirit and quickened with the effluence of His grace.¹⁴ Origen mentions it when he marks the difference between the sensual and the spiritual life: "There are within us two kinds of senses—the one immortal and intellectual, which is termed by Solomon a divine sense. By this divine sense, therefore, not of the eyes, but of a pure heart, which is the mind, God may be seen by those who are worthy." (De Princ., I., 1, 9).

In a passage of the Preface to his Commentary on the Song of Solomon, Origen distinguishes three stages in the mystical life. The first, following the version of Rufinus, consists in *emendandis moribus mandatisque servandis*; the second in *renuntiando mundo et omnibus quae in mundo sunt*; the third in *contemplandis et desiderandis eis quae non videntur et aeterna sunt*. Therefore, to enter into the spiritual life, a Christian soul ought to undergo a process of inner purification; then by ascetic labor it will separate itself from external things, and at last, inflamed with love, it will gaze on the Supreme Being and immerse itself in the

¹³ "La philosophie d'Origène." Paris, 1884, pp. 245-246.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 248.

ocean of His uncreated light. This highest rung of the ladder of perfection is to be reached by yielding to the Word of God, Who lifts our soul up to the sunlit heights of the Eternal Wisdom.

Elsewhere Origen distinguishes in the spiritual life childhood, when the believing soul smells the perfume of the grace from above; youth when the soul, strengthened by grace, does not bend under the weight of tribulations and temptations, and maturity when it lives in the radiance of the divine light and fully enjoys the fragrance of the Divine Being. (Cant., ii.; De Princ., III., 1, 21). It is God that takes away all ignorance and implants knowledge in our hearts, (De Princ., III., 1, 15). But the knowledge of God may be considered in its initial stage or in its full possession. Thence we meet with the simple faithful and the perfect man who pierces the veil of the divine arcanum (Joh. xx., 27). Here comes also the famous distinction of Origen between the somatic Christianity resting upon irrational faith and spiritual Christianity, which lifts man up to the clearer vision of God.¹⁵

It is only by spiritual men that God may be seen, even in the mists of earthly life, and it is God only that makes us worthy of His vision, (De Princ., I., 9). The process of this lifting up of the Christian soul to the vision of God is wonderfully described in the following passage: "Rational creatures of the third order are those who, mortifying their members on the earth and rising above not only their corporeal nature, but even the uncertain and fragile movements of the soul itself, have united themselves to the Lord, being made altogether spiritual, that they may be forever one Spirit with Him, discerning along with Him each individual thing until they arrive at a condition of perfect spirituality, and discern all things by their perfect illumination in all holiness through the Word and Wisdom of God (De Princ., I., 8, 4).

The perfect knowledge of the gnostic in the conception of Origen consists in the vision of the Father, face to face. In his teaching the person of Christ does not play the foremost role, as is the case with the teaching of Ignatius of Antioch. To Origen the belief in Jesus as Redeemer is the note of the lower life. "We must rise above the sensible to the intelligible, from obedience to love and knowledge, from Jesus to the Word. Redemption is forgiveness and healing discipline, and the true Christian has ceased to need these." Hence the startling phrase that *to know* Christ crucified is the knowledge of babes; or, again, "Blessed are those who want the Saviour no longer as Physician, Shepherd, Redeemer."¹⁶

¹⁵ Harnack, "History of Dogma," v. II., p. 347.

¹⁶ Bigg, op. cit., p. 171.

The highest knowledge of God cannot be attained without love. The soul athirst for God is wounded for its good by Him and burns in the flames of His love: "*Salutare ab ipso vulnus accipit, et beato igne amoris eius ardebit,*" (Joh. xiii., 67). The soul burning with love for God enters the inmost sanctuary of the divine wisdom in the depths of His life. (Exc. procop., P. G., XIII., 200). By knowledge and love together the gnostic draws nearer to God and becomes as like to Him as possible. (De Princ., III., 6, 1). "Man received the dignity of God's image at his first creation, but the perfection of his likeness has been reserved for the consummation, namely, that he might acquire it for himself by the exercise of his own diligence in the imitation of God, the possibility of attaining perfection being granted him." (Ib.) By this perfection men become the children of the light, and are assumed into the order of Angels.

God Himself chooses the souls of which he purposes to make the *habitacula sapientiae* (Cant., iii., P. G., XIII., 181). These souls are taught by the Divine Bridegroom, who opens to them the treasures of His arcana, the invisible things, the secrets of the divine Intelligence, the horizons of the spiritual kingdom, and rejoices them with the delicacies of the celestial banquet. The souls taught by the Word of God need no longer human teachers, *ut sole illucescente vis lunae et stellarum illuminandi obscuratur*, Joh. i., 24). They become the seers of the Word of God. (Joh. xiii., 52). The divine mind shines for them as a wonderful mirror that reflects all created things, that focuses all the beams of human knowledge and at which gaze the spiritualized disciples of Christ. The kernel of the mystical teaching of Origen might be summed up in the following truism: "*Per hanc viam quae est Christus, pervenire possumus in hoc ut facie ad faciem comprehendamus ea quae prius quasi in umbra et in aenigmate videramus,*" (Cant., iii., 153).

And possessed of such, the highest, knowledge, the gnostic ceases to speak to God in a material voice. In his state of self-communing in a mystical silence only the fibres of his heart praise God and magnify His superessential beauty (Ps., iv., 4; P. G., XI., 1141).

In this final stage of the mystical experiences, body is entirely subdued to soul. "It no longer serves as a hindrance to a virtuous life; for to that which we call the lust of the flesh it has died. The divine Spirit mortifies the deeds of the body, and destroys that enmity against God which the carnal passions serve to excite," (Contra Cels., VII., 4). It is quite evident here that as a result of the attainment of the supreme perfection, Origen with Clement

of Alexandria admits a state of "apathy," which hardens the gnostic against the allurements of earthly passions.

An interesting page of Origen's mystical teaching is that which describes the mystical phenomena produced in the mind or in the senses by the intruding tides of divine light and grace. "There is a kind of general divine perception which the blessed man alone knows how to discover, according to the saying of Solomon, "Thou shalt find the knowledge of God," and as there are various forms of this perceptive power, such as the faculty of vision which can see things that are better than bodies, among which are ranked the cherubim and seraphim, and the faculty of hearing, which can perceive voices which have not their being in air, and a sense of taste which can make use of living bread that has come down from heaven and that gives life unto the world, and so also a sense of smelling, which scents such things as lead Paul to say that it is a sweet savor of Christ unto God, and a sense of touch, by which John says that he handled with his hands the word of life; the blessed prophets having discovered this divine perception and seeing and hearing in this divine manner and tasting likewise and smelling, so to speak, with no sensible organs of perception and laying hold on the Logos by faith" (*Contra Cols.*, I., 48).

But by relating these psychological phenomena of the highest stages of the mystic life, Origen's genius stands faithful to its method of searching, to its inclination for illustrating religious truths and facts by rational arguments or analogies. "It is not absurd to say," he declares, "that the mind which receives impressions in a dream is impressed also in a waking vision, and as in a dream we fancy that we hear and that the organs of hearing are actually impressed, and that we see with our eyes, so there is no absurdity in believing that similar things occurred to the prophets when it is recorded that they witnessed occurrences of a wonderful kind, as when they heard the words of the Lord or beheld the heavens opened."

With Origen, therefore, Christian mysticism takes a step backwards. It becomes, so to say, less divine, less spiritual, less ecstatic. Its heavenly summits have a hold on earth by human reason. Mysticism as a supernatural life of the believing soul evaporates under the influence of philosophical dryness. It exiles itself from the common life and shuts its yearnings within the walls of monasteries. Asceticism takes a more prominent place in the development of the inner life and claims not only the fulfillment of the precepts of Christian ethics, but also heroic deeds and sacrifices, the heroism of those who made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Origen's mystical teaching begins the period

of monastic mysticism (see Bornemann, *In investiganda monachatus origine, quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origenis*, Göttingen, 1885) and clears the ground for one of the bitterest adversaries of the great Alexandrian, viz., Methodius of Olympus.

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REFORMATION WITHOUT REFORM.

HOW long it seems to look back to the historic scene at Wittenberg when Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the castle church. It is a vista of only four centuries, yet they are so crowded with events that they may well seem longer to us than double or treble the number over which Luther looked back to Charlemagne or Constantine.

When Luther, in 1505, entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt as a youth of twenty-two, the world on which he turned his back was ripe for change. Apart from religious considerations, the age was one of adventure. Scarcely had the Renaissance unveiled the past and stimulated the imagination by exhibiting forgotten civilizations to view, when Columbus opened a way for the future, leaving behind him a wake into which a horde of adventurers rushed headlong. The achievements of the navigators are typical of what was going on in the world of thought. At infinitely less risk to themselves, but with great danger to society and religion, whole crews of clever wits were embarking in airy vessels of classic rhetoric upon a boundless sea of speculation. At the opportune moment, when new ideas were teeming in the minds of men, came the printing-press to spread these ideas broadcast in every village of Europe. Here was a condition of affairs. When we add to all this the widespread discontent at the surrounding evils—moral, social, economic, agrarian, civil, religious and whatever else—we can understand that only a push was needed to fulfill the dreams of the Humanists and turn the world topsy-turvy.

Without such an advantage even Luther's indomitable character and marvelous powers of agitation would have been of no avail. Protestantism was not the cause of the awakening. It was only the expression, in one direction, of ideas that were afloat, whilst another set of ideas, in a different direction, strove to combine what was hopeful in the future with what was good in the past. But since many look upon Protestantism as the cause of the modern world, small wonder that they cannot turn their gaze from Luther, for he seems to stand like a colossus bestriding the strait between the Middle Ages and ourselves.

The sudden rise and spread of Lutheranism is not to be compared, as by some writers it has been compared, to the early days of Christianity. Mahommedanism affords a far juster parallel. With a far different doctrine to oppose to human passion than either Lutheranism or Mahommedanism and by far different

methods, the Church of the Catacombs won its way into the freedom of the upper air and gained a footing for the Church of the Councils and the Fathers. It will be necessary to say something about what the doctrines and the methods of Lutheranism really were; but in considering them there must never be lost sight of the manner in which the world was prepared to receive them. Some of the most important considerations have just been indicated, yet even of these the only ones that are essential are those which threatened the Church in a vital spot—loss of faith and deterioration of morals. The *quattro-cento* and the *cinque-cento*, alas, give abundant evidence of both. Still, if the pious reader is fain to turn over the pages rapidly because of the painful reading they make, on the other hand, he finds not a little that is consoling and edifying. As Pastor remarks, when he pauses for a moment to glance at several churchmen as conspicuous for sanctity as for love of classical studies: "It is in the nature of things that phenomena of this sort only too easily escape the gaze of history. Whilst the name of one individual that neglects his duty, especially if he be of the clerical state, is noised abroad in the mouth of all, the most estimable priests are scarcely known outside of their immediate neighborhood." The best proof that things were not so bad as they have been painted lies in the forces for good that were rallied in a counter-Reformation.

Yet, all things considered, there is no denying the fact that reformation was sorely needed. For several generations before Luther the clamor for it had been making itself more and more plainly heard. This in itself was a healthy symptom. But true reform is not an easy thing to bring about, as our age should not need to be told. In the age of Luther the problem was peculiarly difficult. Hildebrands are not born every day, but a whole succession of them would have been necessary to keep the clergy in every parish of Europe purged of the vices to which they were solicited by the evils of the times, and the laity from adding ever fresh attractions to the already existing materials of corruption. Alas, the Papacy was not now what it had been previously to the time between Avignon and Basle. In those sad days, rather than in the days of Luther, was the time when in human probability it ought to have perished. Then Luther was made possible; but by the time he appeared the crisis of the danger was passed. Still, in its weakened condition, a Hildebrand was the last thing to be looked for, and, with the lamentable outcome of certain attempts at reform before his eyes, the strongest character would take thought of prudence. Unfortunately, one of the worst of the Popes sat upon the Chair of Peter during the days of Luther's ado-

lescence, and the Pope with whom he began his struggle was not one of the noblest. Whatever was the neglect of duty by those in whose hands reposed the interests of Christ—and it was certainly great, from the highest to the lowest—the Church has been made to rue it most bitterly, and the lesson should not be lost on ourselves.

But, at any rate, reform was not to be effected by the destruction of the old and the substitution of something new; least of all by such a thing as Luther had to offer. In Luther's own lifetime the reform was begun in earnest; and this much of thanks he deserves that he forced it on, and that through his efforts a large part of the most deeply infected mass was separated from the body of the Church. On his part, Luther aimed at nothing short of the destruction of the Church, and his work was characterized by the deadliest hate.

When were the seeds of this hatred first sown in his soul? Not, certainly, up to the moment when he donned the cowl. He had not been hanging loose upon the Church like those of the Humanists who, pagans in life and teaching while bearing the name of Christian, attacked the ideals and the institutions of Christianity. Neither was he led by the existing evils to join in the abuse of monks and clergy and Popes, of which pre-Reformation literature is so full. In a crisis of his soul it was to a monastery that he turned his steps, seeking there the highest prize of life. The course may have been ill advised. Luther was the creature of impulse, and it may very well be that his entrance into the monastery was the effect of impulse rather than the answer to a vocation. Perhaps his old father, whose open expression of misgiving marred the festivities of the First Mass, saw more clearly than the son. Still there is nothing to show that his early years in the convent were a disillusionment. On the contrary, his utterances at the time serve to check the partisan and often inconsistent misrepresentations of his later years. The portrait of Luther as a monk was the one that pleased Tennyson best of all. It is not until the tenth year of his religious life, in his *Lectures on the Romans* (which in our own day have been added to our knowledge of Luther by Denifle), that a change becomes apparent. Here appears for the first time Justification by Faith, with its corollary, the Uselessness of Works. In this doctrine we have the cardinal idea of Luther. This it was, and not the Bible, nor Indulgences, nor anything else which used to be thought, that led to the break with Rome. This created the issue, Shall Luther be taught by the Church or shall she allow herself to be instructed by him? The significance of this doctrine will appear presently; at this point it is enough to ob-

serve that two years before he draws the eyes of the world upon himself Luther has ceased to think with the Church.

How did this change come about? It is easier to show that Luther's own accounts are untrustworthy than to be certain about some other explanation as the true one. Whether through moral causes, as Father Denifle undertakes to show, or, as Father Grisar inclines, because he had become fascinated with the German mystics whose writings he misunderstood, or for some other reason or reasons, Luther, just before the Indulgence controversy, was so far from being the monk whom Thomas à Kempis depicts that this ideal had become positively distasteful to him. The change, in itself, need excite no surprise. That state of soul which finds disgust in striving after personal holiness and in all that such striving implies—prayer, self-denial, frequentation of the sacraments, and the like—is no extraordinary phenomenon. It is only when, as in Luther's case, or in such cases as the Quietism of Molinos, spiritual inertia is worked out into a system, that it has more than an individual interest. Above all, when the development of such a doctrine is not only accompanied by a change from fervor to tepidity, but also starts an historical epoch, are we curious to know something of the manner of life of him who puts it forth.

There are, in fact, some ugly rumors connected with Luther's life as a monk; but as none of them are better than doubtful, and some of them are clearly false, they afford no sure ground for a judgment. What we are sure of is that he failed to protect himself against a danger against which all spiritual writers hold out a warning. He had allowed himself to become immersed in distracting occupations to the neglect of the care of his soul. His spiritual life ran low. Days of negligence were followed by days of spasmodic fervor. In such a life it is easy to understand that there was little room for that joy and peace in the Holy Ghost which Scripture holds out as the possession of the fervent, and concerning which spiritual writers before, during and after his day are so eloquent. Whatever the genesis may have been, there is no doubt about the final result. Luther abandoned all effort after personal holiness, and provided a substitute in Justification by Faith.

This was the doctrine which Luther asked the Church to adopt as her own. She could not receive it without proving false to her divine mission. Luther was not the man to recede. The outcome was a struggle the echoes of which will never wholly die away. In different conditions he too must have failed as others had failed before him. But his vantage ground would have availed him little had he been other than the man he was. Of all men

then living, perhaps of all men that ever lived, no one was better fitted to carry on such a struggle than Luther. It is true that in certain qualities of mind he loses by comparison with other personalities of the Reformation. Calvin, for instance, surpassed him in powers of organization, Melancthon in analysis. In scholarship, save for knowledge of the Bible, for which even in his Catholic days he met with applause, he has nothing to distinguish him. Of originality of view he had little; as a Protestant writer has pointed out, his doctrines, down to the "Bible the Rule of Faith," can be found in the ages before him. His intellect was assimilative rather than creative, practical rather than speculative. But in qualities that fit for popular leadership he stands supreme.

Yet even in this respect some qualifications must be made. He was better able to fight the battles than to plan the strategy of a great campaign. If the illustration may be allowed, nature had fitted him to be a great leader, like Stonewall Jackson or Phil Sheridan, rather than a field-marshal. A man of restless energy and iron will, with a prodigious capacity for work, full of resources to meet every new turn in the situation, he was perfectly at home in the midst of the turmoil which he had himself created. No man understood better than he the arts of winning the populace to his side. An imagination extraordinarily vivid and an emotional nature which prevailed over the reflective supplied him with images and ideas for a remarkably copious flow of words. Whatever he said was uttered with an assurance that bore down all opposition and brought conviction even against better knowledge. Above all this, or including all this, was a personality—that indefinable something without which popular leadership is out of the question. How great this was in Luther's case, or how strong its power of attraction or repulsion, is testified to by those who fell under or resisted its spell. One trait that is remarked by both friend and foe is the light in the deep-set, piercing, quick-glancing eyes, which, on the former worked like a charm, to the latter seemed something uncanny.

At this point we are prone to ask ourselves, what if Luther had used his splendid gifts in the cause of a real reform? What if he had been another St. Bernard? Or, since that is to ask too much, another Savonarola? The suggestion will raise a smile on the lips of those who rejoice in what he accomplished. Nevertheless, regret for the rent which Luther made in Christendom is not confined to Catholic circles. The same lament can be found in the pages of Protestant writers.

In the religious sphere, how far Luther's work was from being an unmixed blessing belongs properly to our subject. But

Lutheranism was more than a religious movement. Christianity had been woven by the ages of faith into the very texture of society—its literature and art, its morals and politics. It had already taken hold of the new materials and was busily employed with them when Luther laid violent hands upon the web and snapped all the threads of continuity. To fanaticism even what was good in the past became an object of hate. This is in accordance with what Charles Lamb notes as quite the usual thing in “converts from enthusiasm”—“who, when they apostatize, apostatize all, and think they can never get far enough from the society of their former errors, even to the renunciation of some saving truths with which they had been mingled, not implicated.” This certainly fits Luther. The mere fact that anything belonged to the old Church was enough to condemn it in his eyes. He himself tells us that he felt like throwing the Eucharist overboard merely to spite the Pope. To say nothing of the positive harm that was done, even the stopping short and beginning over again was a loss of precious time. All in all, wherever the Reformation breathed upon the soil of the Renaissance its immediate effect was to parch the growing fruits. It is a matter of familiar knowledge that the New Learning, which in spite of all the extravagances of the Humanists had a healthy growth under Catholic influence, met with a check from the Reformation. In the arts we have the appeal of Hans Sachs to God against Luther. In politics, a Protestant authority tells us that down to the nineteenth century the nations were engaged with problems of Luther’s making, for which he himself showed slight comprehension, and whose solution he even rendered more difficult.

Luther by splitting up a united Christendom into fragments did more than “reform” religion, and those to whom the prospect of “one fold and one shepherd” brings no delight have discord to their hearts’ content. At any rate, but for Luther thousands to-day who, because they have no faith and no hope and no charity, are pulling the world this way and that would be able to live in something like peace and harmony. But it was as a religious reformer that Luther came before the world, and as such he must stand or fall.

That upheaval in the sixteenth century which came about when, by an historical occasion, a state of soul was brought into conjunction with a state of affairs has succeeded in getting itself called by the name of “the Reformation.” Like other names for comprehensive ideas, it can be understood vaguely, and even when a definite notion is attached to it, it can mean different things to different minds. Whatever we take the nature of the movement to be, Luther’s share in it, though the principal one, is not exclusive, or even paramount. That he was the one who set free certain gigantic

forces in the social, political, moral and religious worlds is certainly true; but it is no less true that, like the jinn in the tale, once out of the bottle, these forces completely gained the mastery over their liberator. Whither they led he was forced to follow. Once fairly launched on his career he becomes the creature of circumstance—not steering his course whither his principles would have guided him, but dragged violently, now to the right, now to the left, forward and backward, upward and downward, the sport of the winds in that outrageous storm from the violence of whose fury the world is yet rocking. His doctrines, his exegesis, his policies, his exhortations are all likely to prove upon examination as occasional as his outbursts of rage, his abusiveness, his slanders, his inconsistencies, nay, even flat contradictions. Hence the search for the real Luther has been a game of hide and seek, and it is possible for the champions of rival camps to quote Luther against himself. To nothing can we liken him so well as to Phaeton, borne headlong by the horses of the sun, mounting majestically into lofty regions of thought, only to tumble of a sudden into depths of mystification amid the foul atmosphere of ribaldry and indecency.

To follow him up and down and round about would make a chronicle of moods rather than a review of opinions. But in all his vagaries Luther remained true—not as far as consistency required, but as far as fate would let him—to the set of ideas with which he began. These were to work a reform. But before glancing at them it will be well to consider what the Church of Christ (or, as a Protestant of our time would rather say, religion) actually stood in need of. This was a quickening of the conscience which would make men turn with horror from their evil ways, a strengthening of the moral fibre and a stimulus to effort in works of piety and zeal—all of which should find its impulse in a vivid realization of the truths of faith and its mainstay in the means of grace with which Christ had supplied His Church. This one would think was the essential. Excrescences upon the beliefs and practices of Christianity could be dealt with more at leisure or would disappear of themselves with a return of health and vigor. Such was the manner in which real reformers set about their work. The effect upon morality produced by such great men as St. Bernardine of Sienna, Gerhard Groot and St. Charles Borromeo was as different from the outcome of Luther's reformation as the difference in method would lead one to expect.

Luther began by sweeping away the very basis of morality—human responsibility. According to him the commandments of God are impossible of observance. He goes so far in his more violent moods as to treat Moses with words of scorn, and he even includes

the natural law, which the Creator has engraved on the heart of the savage, in his sweeping statements. In fact, the will is helpless in the domain of morality. One of his most important works—one of the two which he thought worthy the admiration of posterity—was his *De Servo Arbitrio*, "The Will in Bondage." The will he compared to a saddle into which God and the devil leap by turns to drive man one way or the other. Concupiscence is the original sin; it can be neither eradicated nor controlled. It not only makes man a sinner, but it plays its part in his very best actions, vitiating them and rendering them sins. Nay, since man cannot help himself, God (Luther says so in plain words) is the author of sin.

But why did God command the impossible? The answer is, to show man that he (a logician would have said "that *He*") is a sinner. It is idle, then, to expect that holiness, virtue, justice can be found *in* man, and still more idle to work to establish it there. The plain fact is that man cannot become just. Properly speaking, he is always a sinner, and a sinner he must remain, do what he will. The sin is in his very nature and there is no getting rid of it. But though *we* cannot fulfill the law, Christ has fulfilled it in our place. Whoever, then, turns to Christ with confidence—let his life be what it may, and continue to be what it may—will find everything done for him which he is unable to do for himself—forgiveness, satisfaction, merit, the fulfillment of the law. Thus our sinful nature can be covered over by the merits of Christ, and so there remains an exterior, an imputed justice. Hence the just man is not really a just man, but only one to whom the justice of Christ is imputed. His sins being cloaked over by the merits of Christ are as though they were not, and he is not looked upon by God as the sinner he actually is. This is Luther's justification by faith. Faith, the confidence that Christ has fulfilled for me, the law which I am unable to fulfill for myself—faith, not charity, is man's greatest obligation; nay, not only the greatest, but the sole.

A comfortable doctrine, surely, for weak human nature as could possibly be thought out—if only it had not its difficulties. On experiment it proved anything but easy for the sinner to quiet his conscience with the reflection, "I am saved by the merits of Christ." Luther testified repeatedly to the difficulty he himself found in doing this. The remedy he proposed was to crush down all misgiving, and to make his meaning clearer, he used language which, though not meant as a direct invitation to sin, had an awful sound and led to awful consequences. More than one statement of the kind was heard from him, but the most startling of all and the best known is the advice to "sin boldly and believe more boldly still." But then what was the use of trying? The

human will, a slave to sin, powerless to do the least good—how was it capable of this “faith,” compared with which all else in Christianity is of no account? And if every action of man is sinful, how is this act to escape the taint? And if the act belongs wholly to Christ and man coöperates not at all (as Luther explained), how is the act a vital one? It might just as well have been fashioned in heaven and be put ready-made into the soul of the justified.

When urged by such difficulties, Luther cut all discussion short by ruling reason out of court. He grows loud in his denunciation of “the sophists,” who would cite the “gospel” before the tribunal of human reason. Thus he dealt a serious blow to religion, a blow which is working pernicious results down to the present day, since it left his Christianity defenseless against rationalism and infidelity and a prey to emotionalism in the hearts of its followers.

But some grounds for his faith man must have so long as he is a rational being. What answer, then, was Luther able to return to those who demanded to know the grounds on which his religion should be embraced? His final answer was that his word should be taken for it; he should be looked upon as a messenger from God. He did, indeed, appeal to Scripture; but, as practically he allowed no one to interpret it in a sense different from his own—neither a church for the faithful nor an individual on his own account—his word had to settle the matter. This will become clearer while we follow him, as we now proceed to do, over the zigzag course of his wanderings.

It would be wrong to conceive of Luther's mind as moving in an orbit. Mathematicians find the problem of more than two sources of perturbation insoluble. The perturbations set up in Luther's system were manifold, but we may fix our attention upon Scripture, the masses, the civil power and the Catholic Church as the most important.

Luther had no intention of following his doctrines up to the bitter end of their logical conclusions. But the crowd has a rude sense of logic, and once it is “drunk with new truths,” it proceeds to draw inferences with a merciless rigor at which its teachers stand aghast. This Luther had to learn. He furnished the principles; the crowd drew the conclusions.

However, before his principles passed out into the possession of the crowd, Luther was constrained to enunciate them clearly. They were soon forced to take shape in his mind. Every authority he was confronted with he brushed aside until no authority remained. When the Pope withstood him he appealed to a council; when the councils were quoted to him, he fell back upon Scripture; when the condemnation of his doctrine was pointed out to him in Scripture, he

rejected the passages which he could not explain away. This was his position at the Diet of Worms. In the writings which at this period he scatters broadcast he stands forth as the fugleman of evangelical freedom. According to him, a seven-year-old child that has the faith can interpret the Scriptures better than all the Popes and Cardinals and councils, etc. Here was something that even a seven-year-old child could understand, and soon the land was filled with sectaries thronging after preachers who were putting the maxim into practice.

Nothing was further from Luther's mind than such a carnival of gossellers. All that he meant was that everybody was free to think for himself so long as he did not differ from Luther. A disintegrating principle, however, had been set in operation, and there was nothing powerful enough either in the harmony of his doctrines or in his eloquence to hold together the Church which he had founded. If his work was not to go to pieces in his own lifetime, a cohesive force must be found somewhere. The power which he himself lacked was possessed by the State, and so in Saxony, just as soon after in Geneva, England and Scotland, and in fact everywhere where the Reformation was introduced, Protestantism began its career by a repudiation of its fundamental principle—freedom of conscience.

The preservation of his doctrines was not, however, the only, or even the first, motive that forced Luther into the arms of princely patronage. Indeed, it was to the princes that in the first instance he had directed his appeal for the extirpation of Popery and all that thereto appertained. But finding his incendiary language fallen upon deaf ears, he turned to the mob, and for a time he appears in the rôle of a popular leader. The pun which Burke twisted out of Horace's line to Pindar into a description of an English demagogue suits Luther at this stage:

numcrisque fertur

Lege solutis—

"he is borne along by *numbers* released from law." Enraged at the nobles for their apathy in dealing with the Papists, he incites the masses to fury against nobles and Papists alike. He was taken at his word. But the horrors of the Peasant War caused Luther to pass from one extreme to the other. His language increased in violence, but it was directed now against those whom he had incited to insurrection. To his dying day Luther had a contempt for the common people, often expressed in his own characteristic way, whose origin is doubtless to be found here, but which in general he must have conceived from observing the ease

with which he drew the masses after him and the ease with which others enticed them away. He once asserted that in two or three sermons he could lead his followers back into Popery. At any rate, when the tumult subsided and the nobles returned to the smoking ruins of their castles to set their heels on the necks of the peasants, Luther's place was found with the victors, not with the vanquished. Thenceforth his success depended on princely favor.

To hand the "gospel" over to the State cost Luther the sacrifice of his original conceptions of the Church, the State and the relations between the two. The Church he had conceived of as the union of true believers—those who were predestined, who were justified by faith; and, since no one could tell who these were, they formed an invisible society, without hierarchy or government of any kind save the preaching of the "Word." The State was to busy itself with secular concerns alone. So widely separated were the two spheres that the Christian—and he alone was a Christian who had the "gospel"—lived at the same time in two different worlds, with two incompatible sets of duties. The teachings of the Gospel simply could not be made to work in the society of men, as men go in this world. Coercion is unchristian, but the Christian ruler must perforce exert his authority. Christians are to be ruled by the "Word" alone, but the Christian subject must submit to authority and so be coerced of his liberty. This was the form his theorizing took when he was pleading for the liberty of his new gospel. When, however, that liberty, once gained, failed to manifest itself in results that were to his liking, then, feeling himself supported by the arm of the State, he is no longer content to leave the Word to speak for itself, nor the State to keep within the bounds he had marked out for it. The secular prince is changed into a spiritual potentate. The Church ceases to be a mere union of the souls of true believers and becomes a visible society, with laws of Luther's making and doctrines of Luther's formulating. State functionaries, called "visitors," who receive their instructions from Luther while they derive their authority from the civil ruler, use main force to compress everything into the shape which he desired. He never, it is true, altogether ceases to use the old phraseology, but henceforward liberty must be understood as a permission to read out of the Bible or into it what he expounds. Luther is a champion of religious liberty for Lutheranism and for nothing else.

What, then, is to vouch for the truth of the views thus enforced? Not reason—that is mere sophistry. The authority to which Luther appeals is Scripture. But if anywhere he shows himself arbitrary it is in his treatment of Holy Writ. There is no exaggeration in saying, as has been said by a Protestant critic, that he approaches

Scripture with the determination of making it say what he thinks. By the most drastic methods, whatever can be made to favor his pretensions is dwelt upon to the exclusion of other passages which would furnish light for interpretation; what has no application to his views, or an improbable one at best, is violently twisted into one; what is adverse and will not admit of being explained away is rejected outright. All proceeds in the spirit of the words with which he justified the foisting in of "alone" in Romans iii., 28; "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.*" Because I will have it so, and there is an end of the matter.

Not only does he apply this method to isolated passages, but he stretches the canon itself on a procrustean bed. To him belongs the illumination to see which of the books contain the Word of God, and in what measure; the touchstone being, of course, the encouragement given to his personal views. He even arranges something like an order of excellence. Very low down are the Epistles of St. Peter, which are unworthy of an apostle; whilst the Epistle of St. James is an epistle of straw.

Certainly it was far from his mind that every one should be free to treat the Bible in this way; but there were his own words, made to reverberate in thunder when it suited his purpose, such as that a seven-year-old child can interpret Scripture as well as the Pope. Having provided the principle and set the example of renunciation of authority, it was expecting too much of human nature to hope that others would stop where he left off. The claim that Luther was a friend to the Bible is answered by the fate of the Protestant Bible to-day. But Luther in his lifetime had a foretaste of what the future held in store. The splinters he was hewing from the tree which Christ had planted were flying about his ears, and all his coaxing and scolding could not call them together into a new trunk. He had as much success as Lear when he railed at the storm.

That he of all men should lay claim to infallibility, setting himself up to replace the authority he had undermined, makes an ironical commentary on his denunciation of authority in general, whilst at the same time it shows the effrontery of the man. But this aside, he was of all men the least fitted to play the part of a Pope. There are dark spots enough in the Papacy, but where can we find in all its long history a Pope playing such fantastic tricks in the Church Catholic as Luther during his brief span played among his little handful of followers? Nothing could be more unlike the calm, clear, unwavering voice which has sounded through the centuries from the Chair of Peter than the arrogant, violent self-assertion of Luther. He was able to understand Scripture, whilst Zwingli, Carlsadt, Schwenkfeld, Agricola and the rest could not.

They, unlike him, neither were raised up by God nor had undergone those interior experiences without which there is no knowing what Scripture means, and so on, and so on. And this is really the last word which Luther has to give for his doctrine—an *ipse dixit*. Nor had he any other answer than louder railing when he was charged to his face with setting up the Inquisition and a Papal chair at Wittenberg. Even the intimates of his own household had much to endure from his autocratic sway—how much, their correspondence remains in part to show.

All this would be bad enough if Luther had himself been sure of what he said and held to it firmly. But it is vain to look to him for an honest attempt to follow out to its logical conclusion any statement for which, with all the solemnity of which language is capable, he puts himself forward as a witness, raised up by a special providence and speaking with the sanction of heaven. To a certain extent, indeed, it can be conjectured beforehand what he is going to say; not, however, by glancing to the constant light of truth, but to the veering winds of circumstance, which caused him to say and unsay, to recover his old ground, and then to desert it again. Either on the principle of expediency or according to mood, the Bible is so clear that a child can understand it and so obscure that it is beyond the comprehension of all save a very few; the Bible is the rule of faith and treated contemptuously as a "heresy-book;" tradition is rejected outright, appealed to in support of the Eucharist against the Zwinglians, and set aside, merely out of hatred to the Catholics, to introduce his doctrine of Impanation; good works are useless, good works are necessary, the grounds of which necessity are made to shift again and again; the civil ruler is to keep his hands off the affairs of religion and to order the religious life of his subjects. And so one might go on with a long list of contradictory statements, to say nothing of contradictions between statement and practice, as, for example, between denial of free will and exhortation to a right choice, between freedom of conscience and its refusal to those who will not accept his views.

Thus it is possible for men of widely different opinions to make Luther their spokesman. Orthodox Lutheranism does so, unmindful of the principles by which it came into existence. It has no difficulty in quoting Luther in its favor. But neither has Rationalism, which, with better logic, throws one-half of Luther overboard as not worth saving, and keeps the other half to use in its own favor. And it is with the latter view that the taste of the present day is most in accord. Between the claims of individualism and authority it decides for liberty; for, apart altogether from the attractions of freedom, on the plain grounds of reason it has become clear that

the old faith alone can plead before man's intelligence with a claim based on logic and consistency to be heard. Luther thus regarded as the assertor of freedom is hailed as a champion by men of all beliefs and men of no beliefs, many of whom care very little for what he otherwise said or did. It is enough for them that he showed the world how to get rid of the Catholic Church. As Brown- ing puts it:

“Pray, does Luther dream
His arguments convince by their own force
The crowds that own his doctrine? No indeed!
. . . Boldly deny!
There is much breath-stopping, hair-stiffening
Awhile; then amazed glances, mute awaiting
The thunderbolt which does not come; and next
Reproachful wonder and inquiry: those
Who else had never stirred, are able now
To find the rest out for themselves, perhaps
To outstrip him who set the whole to work.”

Whether the Church should have been thrown off as a universal nuisance is a question which would lead us very far afield. It is answered in the affirmative by many who take for granted that nothing is to be said for the other side; who reflect little upon how much they owe to her, and how much she is saving now for which future ages will find some use. Nevertheless, instead of suggesting a corrective of the popular notion, it will be more in keeping with our subject to point out Luther's share in its genesis.

To instill a hatred of the Church of their fathers into the minds of his proselytes was an indispensable condition of Luther's success. Even apart from considerations of policy, his hatred of the Church knew no bounds. Hatred of the Pope was the legacy which he bequeathed in express terms to his disciples. When the heads of the saintly More and Fisher fell under the axe of Henry the Eighth he gloated over the deed and longed for more such kings of England to cut off the heads of Pope and Cardinals. Erasmus has left us a picture of a Lutheran congregation issuing from church after a sermon, "like men possessed; with anger and fury in their faces; walking like soldiers that have just been harangued by their general." Luther, being the man he was, could not hate the Church as he did without wishing to make her hated by all the world. Perhaps some of his disciples have hated her as much as he, but to equal his explosions of rage they must have joined to equal capacity for hatred equal powers of vituperation.

No headway was to be gained with the masses by fairness in

controversy; for, whatever may be thought of the Catholic Church, she is not like vice, a thing "which to be hated needs but to be seen." Many outside of her fold have spoken—some sympathetically, some in warning—of her seductive power. No denunciation of real abuses would have availed aught against an honest presentation of her beliefs and practices. So Luther proceeded according to the familiar method of drawing a picture of all that is abominable and christening this monster by the name of his enemy. There never has been in the world a collection of human beings possessing the qualities which he ascribes to the Catholic Church. But, thanks to him, at the mention of the name "Papist" an image made up of accumulated horrors has come into the minds of many generations of Protestants. The campaign of slander against the Church has him for its father, as Dryden says with truth:

"Which ribald art their Church to Luther owes;
In malice it began, by malice grows."

Already in his writings the catchwords of Protestant controversy, used as bugbears to scare the timid away from Popery, have made their appearance. The Papacy is Antichrist, as is clearly stated in Scripture. Another of the pet names that he finds for it in Scripture had best be spared to modest ears. The charges are rung on monks and monkery, superstition, idolatry, Popery, slavery, the Bible kept in darkness, the people kept in ignorance, and other such high-sounding nonsense. Though the diffusion of intelligence has driven these creatures of darkness from the sight of men, such is their vitality that they still creep forth to meet us in the pages of the ignorant or the malicious.

Some of these were due to ambiguous wording, which Luther was not averse from having understood in the wrong sense, for example, that he "discovered the Bible," meaning his justification by faith, or that he "never heard of Christ when he was a Papist," alluding to his doctrine of imputation. But he did not stop short at amphibology.

There is a passage of Carlyle where, in his characteristic manner, he strains the English language to express Luther's abhorrence of a lie. This represents things as they ought to be. But a phrase has slipped in which awkwardly reminds us of the pun which passed between Hamlet and the gravedigger; and a sufficient reason for noticing it is that it furnishes a hint which comes nearer the mark than all the rhetoric. There we read the words, "Lies under a sacred duty." Now, if Luther may be allowed to speak for himself, he approved of lying "under a sacred duty." To him we owe a notorious, pernicious maxim to the effect that there is a virtue in

a good strong lie told for the sake of the "gospel." On this principle, and on the principle that the end justifies the means, he shapes his conduct when he has a point to gain. Not the Catholic Church only, but Erasmus and every one else with whom he came into conflict found this out by bitter experience. Honesty and fair play! They are two admirable virtues, easy to blame in the breach and praise in the observance. The inconveniencies of the practice are demanded from the wicked Papists; but not even the principle of them can fairly be called Lutheran.

This campaign of defamation was not confined to Luther's Saxony. Father Denifle has unearthed the figure of a chapman on his way to the Netherlands in Luther's day, his pack stuffed with broadsides of Luther's calumnies. If there were time for the curious and by no means unprofitable employment of following the footsteps of this worthy, we should find that one place to which they would lead us would be to the early English theatre, soon to win for itself, besides a halo of imperishable fame, an influence which enabled it to mould contemporary opinion. Through Bishop Bale, Shakespeare himself comes into contact with Luther. But we have more than enough to occupy our attention with Luther directly, and one characteristic of his calumnies more revolting, if not more criminal, than their unconscionable mendacity is their unblushing indecency.

The saying of Bentley, that "no man was ever written down except by himself," has its application to Luther. It seems never to have occurred to him that when he was carrying out his threat "to hold up the filth of the Papacy to their noses" he was furnishing history with the opportunity to say, *de te fabula narratur*. Nor was it only his enemies that he bespattered with filth. The most sacred subjects are not kept free from it. Nothing short of his own unquotable words could convey an idea of the mingled foulness and buffoonery with which the name of God and things that are holy are trailed through the slime. Indeed, estimable as are many passages of his writings, it is no exaggeration to say that one has to wade through a *cloaca maxima* to reach them.

No words are too strong to characterize this skulduddery of the reformer. Attempts have been made to explain it away, but they are all futile. We are told that it was a habit contracted in his Catholic days; but the farther he gets away from Catholicism, that is to say, the older he grows, the worse things become. Indeed, the language of his Catholic days is comparatively innocent. Or again, that it was an age of plain speaking; but it is on record that his contemporaries, Protestant and Catholic alike, were scandalized and amazed. And even if there were more in this explanation than

there is, Luther as a religious reformer should have risen above the common level, not sunk below it.

And this brings us to the correct standard by which he is to be judged, for in his own day there were men earnestly striving for reform. Needless to say, if there were to be found in the writings of these servants of God anything resembling the obscenities which disfigure Luther's pages, anything like the cartoons which could only proceed from one lost to all sense of shame, they would have forfeited every right to be held up by the Church for the example and encouragement of her children. Neither is this the only particular in which Luther loses by contrast with such men. Both in ideals and practical conduct, his words and example tend to make broad and comfortable that road which the Saviour pronounced to be hard and narrow.

It needs no sympathy with the ideals of the cloister to measure the scandal he gave by his exhortation to monks and nuns to forswear the life of voluntary self-denial and close imitation of the Master to which they had voluntarily pledged themselves; the example set by himself, a priest and a monk, of marriage with a nun; and his coarse jest, in allusion to the number of such ill-sorted unions (for which, by the bye, he paid the price of very teasing embarrassments), that, like Abraham, he was the father of a great people. What had he in the way of reform to set over against the ideals of the cloister, which before a champion of the Gospel could at least plead the invitation of the Master to leave all and follow Him, and before a licentious and unbelieving world held out the protest of a life of self-renunciation in striving after better things? Nothing except his own doctrine of faith and works, so comfortable to our lower nature, which is proverbially inclined to the easier, that is, to the downward course—and his own example.

Let it be so that his life was too filled with strenuous labors to be called epicurean; still it exhibits in too great a degree the gratification of instincts which pagan sages, to say nothing of Christian saints, have taught should be curbed. Not prayer and such like means, but self-indulgence, is the remedy which he counsels his disciples in their hours of temptation and sadness. When he appeals to his own experience as a proof that the remedy is efficacious, some reliance is to be placed on his words. The worst of the stories connected with his name must, indeed, be rejected as untrue or exaggerated; but about the evil report in general which was busy with his reputation, the least that can be said is that he gave cause for gossip. Indeed, his own statements about himself furnish grounds for it. Nor can all specific charges be lightly dismissed.

However much exaggeration there may be in the stories about his fondness for the flowing bowl, the *Catechismusglas* is one of several strong testimonies to the depth and the frequency of his potations. The snatch attributed to him about "wine, woman and song" seems to be apocryphal as to its form; but though the wording be not his, the meaning can be found in his correspondence, in his Table Talk, and, worst of all, in the spiritual counsel just alluded to, which he gave to his disciples. This trait also has been apologized for and even praised as a healthy love of life. But who will dare to say that, even in as far as it might be called innocent, it is an expression of the teachings of Christ, and not rather the hoisting of a pagan standard to supplant the sublimity of the Cross.

But what are the legends of his private life compared with that episode of his public career which has left a blot of infamy on all the rest of his labors, were they as glorious as those of St. Paul? The corruption of the flesh, of which there is so much directly connected with the rise of the Reformation, was not absent from the *incunabula* in Saxony. As though to stamp Luther's work with an unmistakable character came the malodorous bigamy of Philip of Hesse. To this, of a surety, is applicable the *bon mot* of Erasmus concerning the monastic marriages, that a marriage used to be the end of a comedy, and now it is the end of a tragedy. Here we see the "gospel" depending upon princes, the end justifying the means, and in particular Luther displaying himself as the defender of bigamy, hypocrisy and lying, not merely as expedients to which weak human nature is fain to have recourse, but explicitly on principle clearly formulated. Nothing will serve to sweeten this nasty chapter in Luther's checkered career.

To such means had Luther brought himself in his efforts to reform Christianity. He has left upon his name the stigma of some reproaches which would bring a blush to the cheek of an honest, self-respecting man, and compared with which, in the eyes of a real hero, death and even failure itself would be a thousand times more welcome. Had he in his Catholic days been confronted with this picture of himself he must have started back in horror. Did it cost him no pangs of conscience to undergo that change?

Into the secrets of the soul it is not permitted us to enter farther than our knowledge of human nature can lead us, unless the person himself take us into his confidence. It is not in human nature that Luther in his moments of calm reflection should have felt no twinge at his disregard of the most solemn obligations, no misgivings about the course of action into which he had plunged with such headlong precipitation. That such doubts did occur to him we know from his own words, and on the same authority we know the means by

which he tried to set them at rest. He strove resolutely to crush them down.

It is no picture of contentment over the past and of complacent outlook upon the future that his closing years afford. The world around him, even his own world of Protestantism, was a frightful spectacle in his eyes—worse, he says, than in the days of the Papacy. A larger and larger part is played by the devil in the views he takes of all that concerns him. The end of the world, he thought, could not be far away. He even went so far as to fix a date for the catastrophe—1548.

Before the prediction could be falsified he had passed away. But he lived to see what chagrined him more than anything else could have done. The old Church, to which he had thought to deal a mortal blow, was showing signs of renewed life and vigor. The Council of Trent had begun, and it provoked him to his last paroxysms of ungovernable fury.

The character of Luther still awaits the artist who will be able to picture him to the life in a few bold strokes which the discerning will approve of as just and adequate. Certain traits stand out strikingly enough, it is true, to let us catalogue them with ease; but to unite these into a picture that will win instant recognition as belonging to a type of human nature will task the hand of a master. Contradictions almost as great as in his teachings exist in his character; but they remain contradictions, whether we think that they are disappointing in one of so much promise, or redeeming in one that could sink so low. If we except his hatred of the Church, nothing is visible to give direction to the impulses by which he was driven for better or worse—no definite ideals, no singleness of purpose, no lofty aims. His conduct is the counterpart of his theology. As the one, for want of the logic which he treated with such lordly disdain, is a medley rather than a system, so the other, having no fixed principles to guide it, often remains a labyrinth without a clue. He was consistent neither in embracing nor in eschewing his distinctly Lutheran maxims of conduct. The influences of his Catholic days, nay, his natural rectitude, were too strong in him to let him do the former in a whole-hearted way; his hatred of the Church and the causes which led him to this kept him from doing the latter. Powerful currents of feeling seem to meet in his soul to toss and struggle without ever gliding at last into a stream of energy or into a surface at rest. Perhaps he remained a puzzle to himself. His comparison of the will to a beast of burden driven alternately by God and the devil must have been furnished in the first instance by introspection, and if it can be fairly thus interpreted it amounts to something like the perception

of a dual personality. According to this, seen through his own eyes, he would appear as a *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. And indeed he has his moments when he seems to be sitting for the portrait of an old Satyr grinning with cynical leer over his flagon at all pretensions to virtue. His worshippers, naturally, avert their gaze from all that is shocking to seize upon him in his more amiable moods, and they can find no words strong enough to paint him as the hero of religious liberty, the patriot of the Fatherland, the loving husband and father at the domestic hearth, the prophet of a new religion. Enough of good is to be found in his life to prevent us from saying that such accounts are all a figment of the imagination, but the evil which is so lightly passed over is no less a part of the man and gives to the good an entirely different aspect. No picture which excludes either the one or the other can present us with the real Luther; no picture which does full justice to both can let us think that he was of "the seed of those men by whom salvation was brought to Israel."

But did Luther experience in himself and did he give to his followers what he promised them, that most precious of earthly gifts, interior peace of soul? The question is an important one, for over and above the general consideration that religion ought to tune the spiritual nature of man, and the particular consideration that the Gospel is the "tidings of great joy," Luther makes this peace the badge of his new religion to distinguish it from the old. Against all history, against all the testimony which the servants of God have left of their inward experience, he depicts the God known to the ages of faith as a sombre Deity, only to be placated by crushing down every glad motion of the soul. Nowhere else does he so persistently and so groundlessly calumniate the spiritual life of the generations which built up Christendom. We are asked to believe that it was the revelation made to him that the "justice" of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was not, as all the doctors had thitherto taught in the schools, the justice of an angry God, that led him to the knowledge of his "justification by faith." This misrepresentation of Catholic exegesis has been buried by Father Denifle beneath a mountain of learning such as was never before piled on so wanton and baseless a charge. Nevertheless it served Luther's turn, as did many another falsification to the same effect. But just as all authentic records—the *Imitation*, for instance, which is in the hands of so many Protestants—belie the accounts which Luther gives in order to make Catholicism pass for a monstrous system for robbing man of his peace of soul, so, conversely, are the rosy promises of peace to be found in the new doctrines belied by the facts of history.

Nor is the reason far to seek. The order of nature and the order of grace have been delicately adjusted in their workings by the Divine Author of each, and it is only by keeping close to the teachings of Christ that we can preserve them in harmonious co-operation. Luther's attempt to make a fundamental change in their relations gave them a violent wrench, set up discord in the spiritual nature of man, and so was bound to fail in the attainment of that peace which "surpasseth all understanding." Such, at least, is the explanation which would satisfy many a soul that has found in the faith which Luther rejected the peace which he sought in a way of his own devising, and sought in vain. But there is another explanation which will be more satisfactory to others. Multitudes, thanks to Luther, have no consciousness of those relations which have just been alluded to. Human nature, however, is within the ken of all, and it is not hard to see that his system does violence to human nature.

Theoretically, it may be allowed that, if the conditions were possible, peace would come to the soul of one who could say to himself with unhesitating confidence, "I am one of the elect." But to a reflecting man salvation is a serious matter, and, if this confidence is not to be foolhardy, it must rest upon some solid grounds. "What reason have I," an earnest Lutheran might have said to himself, "to be assured that I am saved without any effort on my part, while my Catholic neighbor, who is trying to use the means appointed by Christ to work out his salvation, is hopelessly lost?" Luther's answer to this pressing difficulty was not calculated to bring consolation to a soul in doubt. On the one hand, his doctrine that the law of God cannot be observed, taken by itself, would have plunged the whole human race in despair. But then his other statement that Christ has died for us all (which he admits to be plainly in Scripture) and that He has fulfilled the law in our stead might have led to the conclusion that all are saved, and so proved comforting to those who would have been ready for such sanguine optimism. But Luther was no Universalist. There could be no hope of salvation for Papists, Turks or Jews. Why, then, are not all saved, since Christ died for all and God wills it so?

His way out of the difficulty was only a plunge into deeper confusion. He distinguishes between the will of God manifested in Scripture, which may be only apparent, and the secret will of God. This clumsy and blasphemous subtlety, which leaves Scripture a mere enigma to mystify us, could be made to serve his turn only on the supposition that he had been admitted into the *arcana* of the divine counsels to learn what was real, what only apparent, in the Scriptural manifestation of the divine will. Actually, God does not

wish all men to be saved. Multitudes misled into this mistake by the words of Scripture go hopelessly to their doom, and in the meantime God picks out whomsoever He wills to be saved by the merits of Christ. Hence the needs of Luther's "faith," that supreme act of confidence, that leap in the dark, at whose boldness he is himself amazed. And it is important to notice that Luther is a Predestinarian, less obtrusively, but not less decidedly than Calvin. For in his efforts to keep his "act of faith" clear of all appearance of "good works" and all appearance of "merit," he paradoxically represents it, as we have seen, as not a human act proceeding from a human faculty, but produced directly by God. And yet, on the other hand (error owns no obligations to consistency), he cannot suffer it to remain in the hands of God, but in season and out of season he is instant in calling upon his followers for this "work" at least, never ceasing to exhort them to arouse in themselves this confidence.

He failed to do so. Nay, on his own confession, he was unable to keep his own soul in the calm and steady possession of such a confidence. A struggle arose within him which he would have been better justified in attributing to the voice of grace, or the voice of conscience, than to the devil. At all events, the annals of the Reformation furnish anything but a picture of tranquil possession of God and a confident outlook upon eternity. A book has been written upon the *Melancholy of the Sixteenth Century*, and another upon its *Suicides*. Luther's assurances could weigh little with one that pondered the answer of Christ to the young man who came asking, "Good Master, what must I do to have eternal life?" And even the voice of nature could not but be raised. For the teaching of Luther, stripped of all ambiguity, is a systematic effort to stifle the voice of conscience. But after all is said and done, the conscience will still utter the cry of Robert Burns:

"God knows, I'm no the thing I should be,
Nor am I even the thing I could be."

Despite all, *Everyman* at the summons of *Death* will wish to go before the Eternal Judge accompanied by good deeds. To this debt of responsibility Luther only added. For the notorious degradation of morals in the camp of Luther is directly traceable to his teachings.

The problem which Luther in trying to solve botched in so painful a manner had been solved long before him by the theology which he misrepresented and taught others to misrepresent, until it has become a byword in the mouth of those who know less about it than he did, which is saying a great deal, for Luther was not well seen in theology. Or rather, Catholic theology, in a spirit different from

Luther's by sitting humbly at the feet of Christ to learn, and not to dictate, understood what place He assigns to grace, what place to nature, in the economy of man's salvation; that "without Him we can do nothing," while "we can do all things in Him who strengthens us." It did not, as Luther so slanderously blames it for doing, detract one tittle from the debt we owe our Saviour for our redemption, or for the grace which lends us the power to do so much as give a cup of cold water in His name. Neither, on the other hand, did it blasphemously cast aside Christ's exhortations to virtue as meaningless, or shirk the responsibility for sin by making God its author.

That there are deep mysteries here, as impervious to brightest intellects as to the budding intelligences of a child, all save a few proud spirits, such as Abelard, had no disposition to deny. But the practical truth—which is the important matter—was perfectly clear, and equally so to the budding intelligence of the child as to the brightest intellect of the best-trained theologian: The grace by which we are saved is a gift of God, but with it we must work out our salvation in fear and trembling; or, as St. Augustine expresses it, "He who redeemed us without our coöperation will not save us without our coöperation." And these two truths, the goodness of God and personal responsibility, were not at war in the soul, but worked together in harmony for the production, outwardly of deeds of devotion and inwardly of peace of soul in those who really took Catholic doctrine as something to live by.

That peace in God and holiness of life are unknown outside of the Catholic Church would be unjust to say. But the way to them is not the doctrine of Luther. Indeed, Luther himself when hard pressed had to color his doctrine with a dash of Catholicism to preserve even the semblance of Christianity. The details of his doctrine have not occupied our attention; nor is there any cogent reason why they should. His theology now, even as patched by the synergism of Melancthon, is little more than a curious study in psychology and in the history of human thought. For no one will assert that at the present day the Lutheranism of Luther is the religion of any man. Orthodox Lutheranism in whatever shape is a thing of little and fast waning strength.

The same is true of orthodox Protestantism in all its multitudinous forms. A bewildering number of sects still exists, it is true, each of which bears a name to call up associations of a man by whom or a movement by which within the last four centuries some new rent was made in the seamless garment of Christ, and thus they still bear witness to the chaos which Luther created in Christendom. But the practical workings of his principles have at last

been recognized as a *reductio ad absurdum*, so as to bring all but a very few, and these the least influential in Protestant circles, to a conclusion which is the death of sectarianism. Convinced that its own claim to be the Church of Christ is untenable, that any other sect could put forward the same claim with as much show of reason, every sect has quietly dropped the claim, and there is pretty general agreement that what no one is individually they all are together, with their history of mutual bickerings and their contradictory doctrines witnessed to in the name of Christ. The old names and, to a certain extent the old forms, are kept up, but historical associations are more potent in perpetuating them than religious convictions. The Bible is still the rule of faith, and every one is free to interpret it for himself, but the fact that a book out of which has come such a medley of beliefs has proved, in Luther's phraseology, a mere "heresy-book" has resulted in a loss of that which alone makes it different from other books—the supreme reason for interpreting it—the acknowledgment that it is in very truth the Word of God.

And so the reasons for sectarianism have disappeared. With their disappearance the way is open for unity. But this unity can be on no other grounds than those of rationalism, however much tintured with a flavor of Christianity this may be; not on the grounds of revelation. He who according to Luther did everything in our place has been shorn of His divinity, and being only a better and wiser man than one of ourselves, can do no more than may become a man. His Gospel has met the same fate. It is still found in the hands of the sects, still printed, still scattered broadcast by the hundreds of thousands, still spoken of in terms that reëcho the words of the early days of Protestantism. But the same minister that expounds it to his flock and sends it out to the heathen holds views about it which rob it of its original virtue, without which the reverence paid to it partakes of idolatry and superstition. This Protestant Rationalism is Lutheranism carried to its logical conclusions. If, then, to reform Christianity be to rationalize it, Luther, however unwittingly and unwillingly, wrought a reform.

But if Christ and the religion of Christ are all that He claimed for Himself and for it, then Luther has been the ruin of religion for countless thousands. Not, however, for all. He who gave that solemn testimony of Himself before the Roman Governor foretold that His words should not pass away. His words have not passed away. They are still heard, taught in their entirety, the hard sayings along with the consoling maxims, the sublime doctrines along with the "sweet reasonableness," just as before Luther began his work of destruction.

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CARDINAL GUIBERT.

II.

THE episcopal city of which Monsignor Guibert took ecclesiastical possession was primitively part of the ancient capital of Helvetia, the *Alba Augusta* or *Alba Helviorum* of the Gallo-Roman epoch. It is a city with a history, the remnant of an older one destroyed by the Vandals. Under the name of *Vicus Albæ* it had survived the ruin and desolation which marked the progress of the fierce warlike tribes who broke up the decadent Roman Empire when the conquerors of the world had themselves to submit to conquest by barbarians. It was an important place during the middle ages, its Bishops being feudal lords, landowners on a large scale, who received special concessions from the Kings of France and Emperors of Germany. They were counts and princes, and the barons of the Vivarais were their liegemen. They were churchmen who wielded the sword as well as the crosier; who had their armed retainers; who would doff the cassock to put on a coat-of-mail and lead their little army to battle against whoever dared to contest their rights; maintaining a long contest with the Counts of Toulouse and only yielding to the *force majeure* of Philippe le Bel. His dual character of the mediæval prince-prelate seems to us incongruous; but it originated in the needs of an age when men in power recognized and obeyed no law but the law of the strongest hand uppermost; when they had to be forced to respect the rights of the Church—the only power that stood between oppressor and oppressed. These warlike Bishops were the protectors of the people against the tyranny of nobles as well as against highway robbers and rogues. When famine and pestilence ravaged the country, one of them, Aymar de Lavoulte, drew so largely upon his resources to succor his flock that he became as poor as any of them himself and had to have recourse to the charity of other dioceses or churches to come to his assistance.

As in Corsica, upon his arrival in Viviers he had to evolve order out of chaos. At the time of the Concordat the ecclesiastical territory of Viviers had been merged into that of Mende, the episcopal see being only restored in 1821. It was ruled for two years by Monsignor Molin, who was sixty-four when nominated. His successor, Monsignor Bonnel de la Brageresse, was still older, very pious, but weak in health and character, and who, unfitted and unable to reform certain abuses and saddened by the restless spirit of a clergy he had not well in hand, resigned the see in 1841. His resignation, signified by himself to the chapter, was accepted by the minister. He had much reason to say "Save me from my

friends." One of them, who was archpriest of the cathedral, told him that the two vicars-capitular, elected by the canons, had not been taken from the partisans of his administration; that as the Government had not yet notified his resignation to the chapter, he could regard it as premature and invalid. The aged prelate adopted this view of the situation and ceased to consider his resignation as an accomplished fact. Two new vicars-general were appointed by him. Out of this arose a conflict of authority, two diocesan administrations keeping up a crossfire of antagonistic censures and interdicts.

Monsignor Guibert when he came upon the scene resolved to select a vicar-general outside the diocese. He had a large diocese to reorganize, with a restless clergy little accustomed to live under rule and who had long been left to themselves without any direction. Failing to induce Père Courtès, one of his Oblate brethren, to accept the office, he conferred it upon M. Bicheron, a learned Marseilles priest. The choice was not a happy one. The new vicar was afflicted with the *cacoethes scribendi*, and a letter of his reflecting on Monsignor Guibert happened to fall into the hands of the latter; so, hearing of this, he hastily packed up his traps and returned to the south without venturing to take leave of the Bishop, as he might have done; for the latter, too charitable or high-minded to harbor resentment, took a noble revenge by subsequently securing him the chair of professor of history in the theological faculty at Aix. Second thoughts, they say, are best; so, without looking elsewhere, he made the Abbé Martin, a priest of the diocese, his vicar.

However vexed his sensitive soul may have been by these initial difficulties in putting things in order, he was more than compensated by the enthusiastic reception he met with everywhere when he made a pastoral visitation of his extensive diocese, with its 150 parishes, and got more into touch with priests and people. His zeal, prudence and *savoir faire* in administration gained all hearts, particularly those of his clergy, who were proud of having at their head such a Bishop. As to the rural population, he writes: "These poor people, who had never seen a Bishop among them, are so glad that it would have been cruel to deprive them of this happiness. They cannot separate themselves from me; the inhabitants of a parish come *en masse*, despite my entreaties, to accompany me as far as the borders of the next parish, where again I find the people assembled. . . . My visit has been a long procession from one end of the diocese to the other." His route was a difficult one and lay over the mountains and through the deep ravines of the Vivarais to almost inaccessible regions, where in the memory of man they had neither seen nor heard a Bishop. During the second year

of his episcopate he was more than forty days continually on horse-back in all weathers. He was very touched by the simple faith of the people. "We are truly here in the times of the apostles and of the primitive Church," he told Monsignor de Mazenod. "It is not unusual," he said, "for the curés to be unable to point to a single inhabitant who has not fulfilled the Easter duty. All these good people come to communicate during my passage; and as they believe that we have inherited all the privileges of the apostles, they bring their sick children for me to cure them. Judge of my embarrassment, as if I were a man to perform miracles! I get out of it by sending them to St. Francis Regis, and that great saint, protector of this diocese, supplies for what I cannot do, for he works many cures at Louvese." At the finish of an autumnal visitation, he wrote: "There is no one in Ardèche now who knows the diocese as I know it. I have administered the sacrament of confirmation to 18,000 persons and Communion to 30,000." After resting during the winter he resumed the visitation in the spring, for it took him five years to thus traverse the whole diocese. On December 6, 1847, he records: "I have just finished the general visitation of my diocese; there is not a parish, however small it may be, or situate in the most inaccessible mountains, where I have not spent twenty-four hours and discharged the functions of my ministry." He was unsparing of himself in the help he gave the priests. "Thus," he says, "I identify myself as much as I can with the ministry to which I was vowed, or rather I have never been more a missionary than to-day."

Cardinal Bourret, in his *Souvenirs*, gives us the key to the influence he exercised, how it was that he drew clergy and people to him. "It is not precisely that Monsignor Guibert was what is called a popular man," he says; "very open-minded or very communicative. No, it was the representative of religion they saw. What was most striking about him was dignity, bearing, reserve, a certain austerity of aspect which well became a man in habitual intercourse with the Divinity; he imposed more respect than aroused enthusiasm; one felt thoughtful in his presence more than carried away or allured. The sentiment of episcopal dignity, such all his life, and particularly at the opening of his episcopal career, was one of the qualities of Monsignor Guibert." As the Abbé Boullay, of Tours, said of him, "He is a born priest, a born Bishop from his mother's womb."

Few dioceses in France were then so religious as the Diocese of Viviers. It was his episcopal first love, and he was always faithful to it. It has been said that he was Bishop of Viviers all his life, and that neither Tours nor Paris could make him forget the first years of his episcopate.

Monsignor Fuzet, Bishop of Beauvais, tells a good story of Monsignor Guibert, which shows the manner of man he was, his resourcefulness, energy and resoluteness. It had been decided to build a church in a hamlet of the Ardèche, situate on one of the highest mountain plateaus, in time for confirmation. At the date fixed, the masons had not yet put a hand to a trowel. On the arrival of the astonished prelate the workmen told him that work was impossible, because sand was wanting. What, messieurs," he said, "you can't build here?" "No, Monseigneur; there's no sand." "But there is in the river at the bottom of the hill." "No doubt, but there's no way to get it up." "And that pathway that leads towards the plain?" "And if Monseigneur was a tradesman he would know well that it could not be brought that way; it is too steep." "Well! I'm going to show you that it can." And the Bishop got a basket and, to their great astonishment, descended by the abrupt pathway to the river, filled his basket with sand and reascended with the alert step of a mountaineer carrying his heavy burden. After that the church was built.

While Monsignor Guibert was thus busily occupied in pastoral visitations, missions and church-building, his predecessor was living in retreat in a very modest dwelling, where he observed with perfect punctuality the rule of life he had laid down for himself. His exactitude was so well known that he was as good as a living time-piece to the inhabitants. When they saw the old prelate, bent with the weight of years, slowly ascending the steep street that led to the cathedral, they said, "It's surely four o'clock, for here is Monseigneur going to pay his visit to the Blessed Sacrament." He died in June, 1844. Monsignor Guibert administered extreme unction on the 13th of that month, the day when in the Sulpician seminaries they keep the feast of the priesthood. Then, kneeling before the saintly old man, he begged his last blessing for himself and the flock confided to his care. On the Sunday following he brought him the Viaticum. The dying prelate exclaimed in transports of joy: "It is the feast of love, it is the feast of love! *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis!*" After uttering these words Monsignor Bonnel expired.

Both his predecessor and himself labored much and were heavily burdened, the former during the close and the latter during the beginning of his episcopate. The Church in France had been passing through an epoch of transition. The system of ecclesiastical administration that had existed under the Bourbons had given place to a new procedure since the Concordat. The relations between episcopal authority and the clerical rank and file became the subject of heated controversy which lasted for several years. While it was ad-

mitted that there was much in the new administration that needed rectification, some unquiet spirits, impatient of reform, sought by presbyterianizing and democratizing the Church to remodel its government. It was not satisfactory, in their opinion, that the Bishop should be judge in his own diocese. It was not, they contended, conformable to natural equity that the same man should have in his hands administrative and judicial powers; they wanted a new kind of official executive composed of persons independent of the Bishop—a kind of ecclesiastical jury to try clerical causes. The priest, they said, ought to be judged by his peers. Adopting the plan followed by the Jansenists which led to the civil constitution of the clergy, they would have the curés or parish priests nominated by the people, limiting the Bishop's rôle to a simple canonical institution. As these "reforms" were not possible under the Concordat régime, they demanded the separation of Church and State. The chief fomenters of this movement, which threatened a schism, were two priests of the Diocese of Viviers, the brothers Charles Regis and Augustin Allignol, the creators of what came to be known as Allignolism. As the episcopal tribunal would not pay heed to their vagaries, they appealed to the tribunal of public opinion. With this end in view they jointly wrote and published a pamphlet on "The Present Position of the Clergy in France," in which they urged "a return to ancient discipline" and strove to reduce, to the point of extinction, the judicial authority of the Bishop. It sounded the tocsin of a long newspaper war, some journals supporting and other journals opposing them, the bad press eagerly profiting by it to give an impetus to anti-clericalism. They found themselves all at once leaders of a party in revolt against the existing order of things, and, carried away by the current they had set in motion, got out of their depth and went farther than they originally intended. Removed from their positions by Monsignor Bonnel, they appealed to Rome, where the book or pamphlet was examined by two doctors designated by the Congregation of the Index, who detected a certain number of errors in it, one of them, Father Perrone, criticizing it severely in a separate report, extracting therefrom three propositions impregnated with Presbyterianism and analagous to the three propositions condemned by the Bull *Auctorem fidei* as false, temerarious, contrary to the apostolic constitutions to the obedience due to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and tending to favor schism and heresy.

Such was the state of affairs when Monsignor Guibert was nominated Bishop of Viviers. "I find myself at the front in this battle," he wrote to Father Courtès. "Despite my feebleness, I accept this painful post, and I hope God will give me the grace not to fail in

my duty." He did not fail or falter. It was mainly due to his prudence and firmness, never dissociated from charity, that a danger which threatened to divide the French clergy was averted and peace and order restored. But his patience was sorely tried and it cost him many a pang before this happy termination was reached. M. Savin, archpriest or administrator of the Cathedral of Viviers, an ambitious man who sought to have himself nominated Bishop in place of Monsignor Bonnel, headed the malcontents whom the brothers Allignol gathered round them and became Monsignor Guibert's inveterate enemy. Insulting letters to the latter were found outside the door of his room, and even under his serviette in the refectory. They even descended so low as to make wicked and odious insinuations against his own family. He could not conceal the grief it occasioned, for his altered countenance betrayed it. He was often seen on his knees before his crucifix with his eyes full of tears and heaving deep sighs and heard to say in anguished tones: "My God, Thou knowest I never wished to be a Bishop!"

Most of the priests of the diocese were then in retreat, to the number of more than three hundred, and at its close gave indignant expression, on the occasion of the renewal of the clerical promises, to their reprobation of the unworthy conduct of a dozen of their confrères which "only inspired disgust and contempt." This address was sent to two journals which paid a tribute to his indefatigable zeal, his evangelical meekness, his gracious affability and his charity which caused him to be often compared to St. Francis de Sales. "He is none the less admired," said the writer, "in his private life and even in the seclusion of his episcopal palace, which resembles a regular religious community in the order that reigns there, the spirit of piety one breathes in it and the amiable hospitality extended to every one."

When compelled in the exercise of his episcopal office to withdraw their faculties of preaching and hearing confessions from the brothers Allignol, to restrict those of M. Savin to the city of Viviers, and remove M. Hilaire, a curate in Meylas, with complete deprivation of faculties, he would have wished to go no farther; but the offending priests obliged him soon to adopt other severe measures. "With God's help," he wrote, "I hope I shall purge my diocese of this bad leaven of schism. Unfortunately there are other dioceses where the evil is perhaps still greater. I have written to the Pope to draw his attention to this new sect and given His Holiness to understand that a few words from him would be enough to put it down, as his encyclical stopped the progress of Lamennasianism. I have got several Bishops, who have asked me for information about this party to similarly approach the Holy Father." On

January 6, 1845, he issued a pastoral "on the dangerous tendencies of a party forming in the Church in France against episcopal authority," in which he wrote: "They want to throw off the yoke of episcopal authority; they don't conceal it, the 'emancipation of the clergy' is the object they are pursuing. The emancipation of the clergy! . . . Others have proclaimed the emancipation of reason, and we know what they mean by that. These words 'emancipation of the clergy' are very strange in the Church; they are those 'profane novelties' which the apostle recommends us to avoid. One would understand the use of this expression, if it was a question of rescuing the clergy from the oppression of a foreign and inimical power. The Catholics of Great Britain wished to be politically emancipated from the tyrannical laws with which Anglican Protestantism oppressed them through intolerance worthy of a merely local religion. But here, what emancipation do they demand? That of priests in regard to their Bishops, whose power is thus likened to the unjust domination of heresy! They want to emancipate the priests from what they dare to call 'the despotism of the Bishops.' In that language alone there is a complete revolt against the authority of the Church."

After some further pastorals, in which the Bishop's action was strongly supported by pronouncements of the Holy See, quoted therein, the brothers Allignol submitted, retracting all the censured doctrines in their book. The incident had a great effect upon the Church in France, and the resolute action of the young Bishop was applauded by his episcopal colleagues. Unwilling to proceed to extreme measures, he left the erring priests time for reflection in retreat and humiliation. Their reconciliation was the work of two holy Bishops, Monsignor de Mazenod and Monsignor Devie. Monsignor Guibert's action was as prompt as it was prudent. Only ten months after he had condemned the rebellious priests and seven after the issue of his pastoral the party was broken up and its leaders and supporters restored to favor. Under the previous administration indecision favored the growth of errors; the new Bishop's clear, sound doctrine and vigorous action had restored order. Monsignor Guibert's justice was seasoned with mercy; the inculpatated but penitent priests were pardoned and restored to the ministry. This procedure received the high approval of Pope Gregory XVI., who on November 26, 1845, sent the Bishop of Viviers a laudatory brief, containing some words of encouragement to the brothers Allignol, praising the example which their submission had given to the clergy.

When, after the revolution of 1848, another swing of the political pendulum substituted for the "citizen monarchy" the second

Republic, Monsignor Guibert, in agreement with the majority of the French episcopate and clergy, gave his frank adhesion to the new order of things. In a letter to his diocesans counselling a respectful attitude towards the new Government and in a *mandement* for the elections of 1848, he made his position clear and definite. He had not been satisfied with the monarchy, which was weak in its defense of religious interests, insincere in its relations with the Church and too timid in regard to the university monopoly and freedom of education. The Republic started with the declaration of freedom of worship and that "Religion and Liberty are two sisters interested in living on good terms with each other," proclaiming, as its maxims, principles which the Church has professed and practiced from its origin. Liberty, order, fraternity, equality, he reminded them, are words borrowed from the Gospel, upon which all preaching from the pulpit has been only one long commentary. "The new Government," he said, "has only entered upon a path which we have trodden for eight centuries. . . . A republican constitution, broad and generous, strong as well as moderate, is what all good citizens desire. . . . If the Church is not opposed to any form of Government, it must be admitted that the application of the principles of the Gospel cannot find under any Government a larger sphere than under a Republic based upon the eternal foundation of right and justice. . . . It is true," he goes on, addressing his flock, "that you would not wish for an irreligious, violent, anarchist Republic; but is it not the Republic that France wishes? No, assuredly; this noble country wants a Republic made to its image—that is to say, a Christian, pacific and moderate Republic." These words are applicable to contemporary France as they were to the France of 1848. It is to be hoped that when the country, chastened, purified and renovated by sufferings shared by all alike, shall emerge from this terrible war, it will present before the world the realization of Monsignor Guibert's ideal. Addressing himself to the commissaries of the new Government, he said: "The Republic has need of religion." The third Republic needs it just as much or more. Among its gallant sons on the battlefield were thousands of priests—combatants whose heroism, inspired as much by religious as by national sentiment, consecrated and consolidated the union between religion and liberty, between faith and patriotism.

He was not, however, over-sanguine, although he regarded the result of the elections as "marvelous," the Abbé Sibour being elected deputy by a very large majority. Still the political horizon was clouded. Subordinate officials in the provinces, village tyrants, who had exaggerated notions of their self-importance and of Republican independence, were already assuming an attitude of hos-

tility to ecclesiastical authority. A petty persecution, foreshadowing the anti-clericalism of later days, broke out here and there. There were encroachments of the municipal authorities on the rights of the clergy. In one locality, having deprived the employes of the church, such as the bellringer and beadle, of their offices, and taken possession of a portion of the curé's garden, Monsignor Guibert, with characteristic decision, immediately withdrew the two priests who ministered there. The deprivation of religious services, a practical interdict, brought them to their senses and led to a reaction.

When the fateful moment came for the election of a President, he foresaw that France was about to become the prey of adventurers. He did not like any of the candidates, but leaned to General Cavaignac as the best of the bad. It seemed to him a choice of evils. "The future appears very dark to me," he wrote. "It is the whole nation which is diseased, corrupt, without faith, without virtues, and it is the philosophers and sophists who have plunged it into this abyss." In counselling his clergy to act with a prudence, moderation and dignity befitting their priestly office, not to sink the priest in the citizen in such a way that the citizen should lower the priest in the people's eyes, he says:

"The time will come when minds, enlightened by experience, will recognize that the remedy for evils is not where they have sought it up to this. The great plague of modern society is the want of faith, unbridled cupidity, hard selfishness, the love of physical enjoyment, the absence of common principles and the infinite diversity of human opinions. There is the immense, profound evil of our time. The remedy is in our hands, since we are the depositories of truths which form the only foundation upon which it is possible to reëstablish disturbed social order. Sooner or later they will look to religion for the necessary elements of national vitality. The force of events will one day lead minds back to this sacred source of the good and the true."

Meanwhile the Church in France, availed of the liberty given it to reassemble its provincial councils, Monsignor Guibert took part in that of Avignon which condemned several modern errors, including naturalism, indifferentism, Communism and the doctrine of the brothers Allignol on the importation of laity into the government of the Church. The Sovereign Pontiff was petitioned to proclaim the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and it was decided that the Roman liturgy should be introduced into the five dioceses of the province. Monsignor Guibert, who presided over the commission on discipline, urged professors to devote special attention to subjects to which the trend of modern thought had given a new importance, such as philosophy, history, physics and mathematics. Forestalling or anticipating what Leo XIII. was to make the subject of his special solicitude, he formulated a scheme for the higher

and broader education of aspirants to the priesthood—a central institution to which each Bishop would undertake to send two students every year, the realization of which was postponed to a more favorable time. That time came twenty-five years later, when, in 1875, he was enabled to carry out in the capital the plans he had unfolded in the Council of Avignon. Another remarkable circumstance which his biographer notes was that the fathers of the council crowned their labors by consecrating their dioceses and their resolutions to the Sacred Heart, a distant prelude to the great Catholic and French movement which later, under the guidance of Cardinal Guibert, was to lead up to the erection of the basilica of the National Vow of Montmartre.

A few years afterwards the French episcopate was involved in an agitation for freedom of secondary education, initiated, or rather reopened, by the important law of 1850. Under the monarchy the Government was on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, it did not wish to alienate the clergy, and on the other, it was afraid of Voltaireans in the university which officially controlled public education. Louis Veuillot, in his opposition to the loi Falloux, as it was called, contended that it offered them a share in the educational monopoly instead of the freedom of education which they demanded. Monsignor Guibert, although he abstained from public discussion, wrote privately to the Minister of Worship, telling him that the State has no right to teach, because it has no aptitude for it; that all the trouble arose from the official system of education, and begged him to modify or rather suppress the clauses which provided for the inclusion of a representation of the episcopate on the council, as a large number of Bishops would refuse their concurrence. He recognized in the bill a good and bad element; the good was that it gave greater freedom to voluntary schools (*établissements libres*) and fathers of families; the bad, the concurrence in official teaching which it demanded of the Church. When it was passed, he wrote: "There are two clauses in this act which inspire me with a repugnance I cannot get over—it is the inspection of our *petits séminaires* and an intervention in the superior council. Is it not a supremely indecent thing that laymen should inspect the *morals* in houses under the direction of Bishops who are appointed by the Church and paid by the Government to teach Christian morals? It is we who have the right and the office of teaching morals to these inspectors. There is in that an incredible forgetfulness of what is becoming and even of sound logic; under pretext of equality and common law, they put Bishops on a par with those speculators who take it into their heads to open educational establishments.

True legal equality consists in treating every one suitably accord-

ing to his status and position. And then what would our four delegates do in the upper council in the midst of a gathering of Jews, Protestants and rationalists? In seeing them there, would we not consecrate in the eyes of the people that baneful principle of indifference in "religious matters?" When reproached for keeping silent, he openly wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction, protesting against the inspection of seminaries and declining to make any arrangements with the inspectors about their visits. "It is requiring too much," he wrote indignantly, "to want me to regulate with these officials the day, hour and manner of this humiliation which, in the name of the Government, they will come to inflict upon my sacred character. It is enough that I should submit to it with Christian resignation and place it at the foot of the Cross of Him Who has left us as our inheritance opprobrium and contempt." In other letters he strongly opposed the system of mixed education adopted by the State, pointing out the unsuitability of associating children of different creeds and the official indifference which their teachers are obliged to profess. He also protested against the inspection of boarding schools taught by nuns. In taking up this attitude he was in complete accord with the whole French episcopate.

The unity on these questions, which made the French episcopate a compact force to be counted with was speedily broken when the opposition to the *Univers* and the body of opinion it represented, that of the most militant section of French Catholics, divided them into opposite camps and a polemical paper war was waged by the religious press. It is now evident to any impartial student of contemporary history that Monsignor Guibert and those who thought and acted with him took the wrong side when they hotly assailed the able editor of that journal, who, from a small local organ, made it a power, and who was the foremost, most vigorous and most chivalrous of the lay champions of the Church in France. Had he not been a man of strong faith and of unselfish devotion to the great cause he so ably advocated he might have been driven into the ranks of the anti-clericals or relegated to lay journalism, where all his powerful talents would have been lost to the Church. But he appealed to Rome and Rome defended and protected him against formidable adversaries, animated though they were by what they conceived to be good reasons. Had they succeeded, they would doubtless have alienated from the service of the Church many excellent laymen whose concurrence, though not essential, is valued by all broadminded ecclesiastics. Pius IX. by his encyclical to the French Bishops terminated this regrettable episode, exhorting them to favor writers who in books or papers defend and propagate sound doctrine, support the rights and acts of the Church and com-

bat opinions opposed to its authority. "Your charity and your episcopal solicitude," wrote the Pontiff, "should, then, stimulate the ardor of those writers animated with a good spirit, that they may continue to defend the Catholic cause with zeal and knowledge. But if in their writings they should be lacking in many things, you will admonish them, but in prudent and paternal terms." It would have fared better for French Catholics then and since if there had been more lay Catholics of the type of Louis Veuillot—men of strong convictions and with the courage of those convictions, men of backbone and resolution, not timid or time-serving sycophants of this or that dynasty or government, men who would not "sell the truth to serve the hour," who would resist oppression at every point, and by united action prevent the accession to office of the avowed enemies of their religion. In three words Pius IX. outlined for Veuillot the policy he was to pursue—"charity, firmness, truth." The great Catholic publicist faithfully observed the Pope's injunction, which was to him what the word of command is to a soldier in action.

Monsignor Guibert endowed his diocese with many valuable institutions, the principal being the Seminary of Aubenas, domiciled in an old college built by the Jesuits before the Revolution, which he enlarged at a cost of 400,000 francs, until it was capable of housing 150 students. He was justly proud of it. When later he formed the project of building a *petit séminaire* in the neighborhood of Paris, he often repeated: "It must be a very good one, large, lasting and commodious as at Aubenas." It was the realized ideal of his last years. The Aubenas Seminary is larger than that of St. Sulpice. In 1844 he increased the number of religious orders by introducing into his diocese a community of his own congregation, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who were given charge of the pilgrimage of La Blanchère, a shrine of Our Lady dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, where the Blessed Virgin is invoked as Our Lady of Good Help. Twenty-five years later, when he was almost an octogenarian and Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, he returned to place, in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, a crown on the brow of the statue of Our Lady of La Blanchère.

The clergy of Viviers were very much impressed by the administrative ability he displayed. His biographer quotes the following appreciation from a manuscript memorandum by M. Actorie, a Basilian, who was the first superior of the *petit séminaire*: "Monsignor Guibert is a man of merit, rare among the rarest. What appears to us to distinguish him is the union and balance of eminent qualities which seems absent in most men and which, in him, blend and balance in a way that none remains inactive and all, far from clashing with one another, as generally happens, contribute

to the success of a long and glorious administration. This prelate has decision, perseverance, strength of mind to stand the test of every trial; but he knows when to listen to advice, to retrace his steps at need, never stumbles against difficulties and gets round the obstacle when he cannot confront it. He has a high opinion of the episcopal character, never lets his authority be infringed upon and holds in his hand the thread of all affairs; but he is not infatuated about governing and doing every little thing himself; he is content with giving the impulse to a uniform administration, of laying down general principles to serve as a rule to the members of his council and leaving to them the care of matters of secondary importance and seeing that they are attended to. However, while supervising things from a higher point, Monsignor Guibert knows, too, when necessary, to concern himself with the smallest details with an ease and a facility which seem foreign to minds of that order. He writes with the purity and elegance of a professional writer and with the most exquisite taste, and brings to all he undertakes a calculating and foreseeing mind, a practical sense and a knowledge of men and things hardly met with among *litterateurs*: Finally, that nothing may be lacking in these contrasts, the prelate is of a delicate constitution, which he only preserves by the help of a strict regimen and endures better than any one desk work and the fatigue of the external functions of his ministry. It was fortunate for the Diocese of Viviers to possess such a man for fifteen years; the diocese, administered by two old men after its restoration, in some sort did not exist; it was Monsignor Guibert who put life into it, for he has given it the *petit seminaire* of Aubenas."

When, in 1854, the cholera ravaged his diocese, he hurried back from Paris and visited the most afflicted parishes, going with his vicar general to the bedsides of the sick, organizing relief and spending all he had, from 2,000 to 3,000 francs, upon it. In the first parish he went to, the parish priest was dead and he found five corpses in the public square. When his secretary told him that there would not remain enough money to pay for their return to Viviers, the charitable Bishop replied: "Give, give always, for I want funds for the building of my *petit seminaire*, and there is nothing brings them in so well as being generous oneself."

It was in his diocese, in 1853, was inaugurated those annual retreats for the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, now so general. More than a hundred gentlemen belonging to the various conferences made a retreat in his seminary and gave great edification. He presided at all the exercises and heard their confessions. "It is a marvelous thing," he said; "one cannot calculate the effect which these retreats may produce if the attraction spreads. I believe the work

of these conferences, which are rapidly multiplying and being established even in the country districts, may regenerate our unhappy France. Religion was first established by the preaching of the faith; now it will be restored by the practice of charity." When, in 1883, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul celebrated its golden jubilee, Cardinal Guibert recalled with emotion this retreat of 1853, and told how afterwards on one occasion they had 150 retreatants, on another 200 and how the members went on increasing to 250.

"After fifteen years of episcopate at Viviers," says M. de Follenay, "Monsignor Guibert had then a great position in the Church of France. His clergy regarded him with sincere admiration; the Government willingly listened to him; a movement in his favor was influencing public opinion, which, at first slow and timid, went on increasing to the point of investing him with a high reputation. To get at the source of the qualities of wisdom, firmness and kindness which gained for him such brilliant success, we must look into the prelate's heart. We there find the treasure, already admired, of his religious virtues, blossoming in the sunshine of life, ripened by contact with men and affairs, strengthened by struggle, elevated by the sense of heavy episcopal responsibilities, but always the same, growing out of abnegation and the purest supernatural spirit. It is easy for us to discover the secret of this treasure. Remaining simple and faithful as on the morrow of his novitiate, the Bishop of Viviers has nothing hidden from his friends, Monsignor de Mazenod and Père Courtès; the letters he wrote them are monuments of his profound humility and the exquisite delicacy of his sacerdotal soul. . . . In regard to Monsignor de Mazenod, he was always the novice of former years, an affectionate and confiding child who asks advice from his father and whose whole ambition is to resemble him. Monsignor Guibert's soul, to its inmost fibres, was the soul of a religious." When Monsignor de Mazenod called him a model Bishop—*modèle des évêques*—he replied: "That hardly suits me; if there is some little good in me, it is because I strive to reproduce as well as I can the features of another model I have constantly before my eyes, and whom God, in His goodness, has given me to serve as a pattern. In this respect I have only the merit of being a weak and pale copy. But, model of filial love and devotedness, oh, yes, I accept it, for I feel that these sentiments are in my soul and that I wish to be thus all my life. I cannot understand how one can be otherwise. It is in that, after what I owe to God, consists the happiness of my life." He was very detached and unworldly, or other-worldly, looking upon this passing show with the half-averted gaze of one who realized the truth of St. Paul's words that we are strangers and pilgrims. "My dear

friend," he writes to one, "the closer I look at things, the more I perceive that everything is very little in this lower world—men, ideas, pretensions—and that petty passions are mixed up with everything. Great souls, uplifted hearts that seek the glory of God and the good of the Church absolutely before all, are very rare." Referring to the promotion of Monsignor Sibour to the Archbishopric of Paris, he wrote: "For my part, my dear friend, I shall remain where I am. You know that I do not frequent clubs, and, besides, God has given me the grace to know myself and to be convinced that I cannot mount higher without signal temerity." He refused the Archbishopric of Avignon in 1848, the Bishopric of Grenoble in 1852 and the Archbishopric of Aix in 1857. Humility was his chief characteristic. When his sisters came to see him at Viviers, after bestowing special pains on their toilettes, he refused to receive them until they had resumed the simple and modest costume in which he had known and loved them at Aix.

But his was a light that could not be hidden under a bushel. In January, 1853, he was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and in the spring of 1857 he was translated to the See of Tours. It has been assumed that the reason he declined the Archbishopric of Aix was because it would have made him the titular superior of his superior, for as metropolitan he would have had Monsignor de Mazenod as his suffragan. But the real reason is given in a candid letter to a Government official, in which he says: "I was born in that country, as you know; I belong to a family rather numerous in that city and of very humble station; my father lived by the cultivation of a small holding, the slender revenue from which now maintains my mother, whom I have the happiness of still possessing. In that old capital of Provence there is a numerous aristocracy, proud of its titles, disdainful like all provincial aristocracies, who would think themselves humiliated in having as chief pastor a Bishop without fortune and of obscure birth. This sentiment may not be just from the point of view of the Gospel, for the apostles, in going among the people, were not wont to produce titles of nobility. But still prudence requires that one should take into account such a prejudice, especially on account of the particular position in which the Diocese of Aix is at present. That see needs a holy Bishop, a capable man of real worth, who could repair all the evils you know, but at the same time it needs a Bishop who at the outset would not come in contact with unfavorable prejudices calculated to paralyze the action of his sacred ministry."

Then he goes on to give his views as to the state and needs of the Church at that epoch: "I am really touched by His Excellency's solicitude to uplift our Church of France, so abased and so dimin-

ished in these latter times. No one is more afflicted than I am at the evils to which it is a prey; I deplore them every day at the foot of the holy altar. Division has invaded our ranks; a spirit of exaggeration and imprudence has taken hold of a certain number of minds, and has thrown us into the most dangerous ways. One must have lost the sense of the commonest wisdom not to see that in presence of universal opinion, such as brought about by successive events for more than a century, the only means left to ministers of religion to bring back people consists in holiness of life, in evangelical mildness, in unbounded charity. It would be an inexcusable anachronism to think nowadays of the efficacy of violent measures, which might have succeeded in other times, but which now would produce the contrary effects. I should be happy to lend my weak help to such a desirable result. The minister, whose judgment is so sound and just, will think as I do that it is not at Aix my good will and my devotedness should be put to the test." He came to this decision without, as customary with him, consulting Monsignor de Mazenod. "It is the first time in my life," he wrote, "that I ran counter to the wish of one whose will has been my rule of conduct. But here the question was too grave, and I feared with reason that I would not belie the proverb which says that no one is a prophet in his own country."

His departure was the cause of sincere and poignant regret on the part of clergy and laity. "At Viviers," says his biographer, "they were proud of Monsignor Guibert, of his talents, of his masterly style, of the consideration he enjoyed in the Catholic world, of the elevated place he occupied in the episcopate and of the dignity of his character. They sincerely loved him as the benefactor, better still as the founder of the diocese, where on his arrival he had found no live work, neither institutions nor traditions, nothing but the sad memorials of a senile administration and painful divisions; he left at parting wise laws for the sanctification and instruction of priests, a fine house of ecclesiastical education, habits of respect in regard to authority, and the edifying spectacle of the union of minds and hearts. Those fifteen years had been productive. They had produced not that premature vegetation which lasts as short a time as it took to grow, but robust plants destined to brave the destructive forces of time."

It was a pain to him to sever the tie that bound him to priests and people. He was not a prelate who kept aloof from his flock and only went among them on set occasions when some ecclesiastical function called for his presence. He visited the smallest hamlets, he trod all the paths that led up the mountain heights, he sought out the people in the most remote country districts. His greatest

happiness was to find himself in the midst of the simple country folk whose faith and religious spirit were akin to his own, and whose familiar confidence constantly reminded him that he was their spiritual father and they his spiritual children, as they eagerly sought his blessing, which he never wearied of imparting to young and old. Loving and beloved, he would have preferred to spend the remainder of his days among them. But it was not to be: to him were to be addressed the words, *Amice, ascende superius*, which were to bring him glory, if not gladness. Writing to the Bishop of Chartres, he said: "I only wished one thing—it was to end my days in the midst of my mountains with these good and simple people who inhabit them. Several times I refused a change of see; things have shaped themselves in such a way as to render a refusal impossible. Since the news of my translation, which I knew on the eve of the day when it was made known to the public, my priests and I are weeping like children."

About the 4th of May, 1857, Monsignor Guibert left Paris for Tours to take possession of his new see, accompanied by the Abbé Bourret as private secretary, later Bishop of Rodez. As he entered his cathedral, wherein were assembled all the ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities, people were much struck by his grand air, the dignity of his bearing and the gravity of his countenance. His long, thin, austere features resembled those of the canonized Bishops portrayed in stained-glass windows, recalling St. Gatien, St. Germanus and St. Martin, or St. Basil returning from the desert. A lover of holy poverty like them, his first act on the day after the imposing ceremonies was to order the removal of the shrubs and rare plants that in great profusion lined the stairs of the episcopal palace, as they had done in Cardinal Morlot's time, saying: "Take away these flowers this very day; the money they cost might be more usefully spent on the poor." Another act which gave them the measure of the man who was appointed to rule the diocese took place after his reception of the pallium. His predecessor had left him an enormous accumulation of debts to discharge, amounting to over 300,000 francs, and an empty exchequer. It was characteristic of his thoroughness and decision to at once close, permanently or temporarily, some institutions that were a source of expense in order to liquidate the diocesan debts, in which he was aided by voluntary gifts from priests and people, subsidies from Government, liberal donations from Cardinal Morlot and a personal contribution from the Emperor, who on one day remitted to the Archbishop of Tours a sum of 15,000 francs, 10,000 of which were offered in his own name and 5,000 in the name of the Prince Imperial.

Four or five of the first years of his episcopate were spent in a general visitation of the diocese, which led him to this conclusion: "Our people here greatly need to be stimulated and renewed in the spirit of faith. Material well-being, which is the great preoccupation of our time and the only object with which Governments concern themselves, deadens souls, stupefies people and renders them insensible to all that raises one above the physical world."

Ultramontane on principle, like Monsignor de Mazenod, he made the adoption of the Roman liturgy obligatory in accordance with the wishes of Pius IX. Roman to his heart's core, the Pope's will was a law to him. "He has received from God power and jurisdiction over the Universal Church," he wrote in a pastoral letter dated February 15, 1859; "it is he who has his hand on the rudder of the vessel; perhaps he has felt one of those passing breezes precursors of the tempest, which warn him to draw closer the ties that unite particular Churches to the Church which is their mother and mistress; he is assisted by graces and light from on high; he has examined everything, weighed everything in his wisdom. We have, then, only to follow the indication that comes to us from this supreme authority. The whole strength of the Church is in the subordination of the hierarchical powers which binds together the various classes of spiritual society: therein resides the principle of its life and its perpetual triumph throughout the changes and revolutions of this world. Let us never deviate from this way: let the faithful be guided by the priest; let the priests obey the Bishop; let the Bishops be united and subject to the Pope. There is no other means of securing order and salvation in the great Christian family founded by Jesus Christ."

The next object that claimed his attention was the building of a sanctuary dedicated to St. Martin on the site of the ancient basilica in which all France had honored the great wonder-worker of the Gauls. He wished to revive devotion to the soldier-saint who had planted the faith there and under whose protection he hoped for its restoration, knowing that people are easily moved by such inspiring memories of the past. He was not the only one who had this thought in his mind. It was one of the day-dreams, and more than a dream, of Leon Papin Dupont, called "the Holy Man of Tours," the apostle of devotion to the Holy Face, well known to English readers through the admirable biography by the late Mr. Edward Healy Thompson. A native of Martinique and of a noble family of Breton origin, ever since his arrival in Tours he never ceased to think of it and pray for it. At a time when no one entertained any thought of it, or, if they had formerly done so, had not dared to revive it, imagining it to be more than ever impossible of realiza-

tion, this great Christian had already made it his fixed idea before God, looking on the rebuilding of the splendid basilica and the restoration of the ancient pilgrimage as two things not only possible, but necessary for the times in which we live; and he had no doubt but that the one and the other project would eventually be realized. Although at this epoch the position of the holy tomb was not clearly determined, the angle formed by the streets of St. Martin and Descartes had a peculiar attraction for him; he went there often in the evening or the morning or in the midst of the darkness and silence of night, to offer long prayers. Each time during the day that he passed the spot, no matter what weather it was nor by whom he was accompanied, he never failed to make a pause, to uncover his head and slowly to recite in a low tone of voice that verse of the Psalms: *Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut ædificentur muri Jerusalem.* (Ps. l., 19.)

Under Monsignor Morlot, in 1854, he was the promoter and the soul of the Clothing Society of the Poor, visited and relieved by the members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which, as every one in Tours knows, gave birth to the Society of St. Martin. He was also the ardent protector and the enthusiastic organizer of the first pilgrimages in honor of St. Martin to Marmoutier, Olivet, Ligugé and Candes, which might be looked upon as the forerunners of the great contemporary pilgrimages of which we are witnesses. It was at his instance that in 1856 the novena preparatory to the feast of November 11 was kept with more than ordinary solemnity. At its close the spiritual director of the Society of St. Martin, in presence of Cardinal Morlot, expressed a wish that the scattered stones of the basilica should be gathered together and the saint's cultus revived. The proposal was well received by His Eminence, and when Pius IX. was made aware of it, he encouraged it with his Apostolic Benediction. Although the ancient basilica was immense, very little remained of it. It had survived the revolutionary crisis, but in 1806 the prefect of Tours, M. de Pommereuil, instigated by anti-religious feelings, caused it to be demolished, leaving only two isolated towers standing. Streets were made over the site, so obliterating it that one no longer knew where the saint's tomb was.

Monsignor Guibert held M. Dupont in the highest esteem. When consulted as to the credence to be accorded to the miracles attributed to him, he replied: "I do not know if M. Dupont performs miracles, and if all that is related of him on this point is veracious; but what I can bear witness to is that he has the virtues and sanctity of those who do." "The holy man," he later said, "had his feet on earth, but his head, his heart, his thoughts, his desires, his whole life, were in heaven. However, we were not always in agreement, and when we had well debated and discussed and I did not

give in to his opinion, on leaving he scattered medals of St. Benedict through the house; I knew it," concluded the Cardinal, smiling, "and I was edified."

It is easy to understand this divergence of views. They were not only different types of men, but their relative positions were widely different. Dupont had that rarest of rare things—the faith of the saints—the faith that moves mountains, and had no officially responsible position; Guibert had to be guided by the ordinary light of human prudence, was habitually cautious and circumspect, and, as Bishop, was invested with a grave charge. "M. Dupont," observes De Follenay, "was so sure of his own sincerity, so enlightened from on high, such a stranger to the reserve that the exercise of ecclesiastical authority imposes, that he did not understand why the Church, in the person of the chief pastor, was slow to approve of his design and still slower to execute it. It was almost to scandalize him to object to the difficulties of the undertaking. He had arguments of crushing simplicity, the charming logical excesses of children and of all those who have had the happiness not to be belittled in contact with our mediocrities."

It was a question of adapting the successive reconstructions to the plan of the old edifice. Monsignor Guibert rejected this as unrealizable. The ancient basilica was almost as large as Notre Dame in Paris. While as anxious as any one to pay due honor to a saint who shed such lustre on the Diocese of Tours, various considerations made him hesitate—the large outlay it would involve, the suspicion that Dupont and his pious friends were carried away by perfervid enthusiasm and the prejudice against lay initiative in ecclesiastical affairs. He thought of renaming the Church of St. Julien under the invocation of St. Martin and making it the centre of the revived devotion to the latter, to the regret of M. Dupont. Meanwhile several houses on the site of the ancient basilica were purchased by one of Dupont's generous friends, and, touched by the piety which prompted it, Monsignor Guibert decided to restore the pilgrimages by raising an altar to this great saint and glorifying his tomb, not in a strange sanctuary, but in the very place where fourteen centuries before he had been honored by the whole Catholic world. "Gentlemen," he said frankly to the members of the commission, "I give up St. Julien's because I recognize that your ideas are nearer to God than mine." He was strengthened in his resolution by Monsignor Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, who, in preaching the panegyric of the saint in 1858, urged him not to draw back because of the difficulties which beset such a bold undertaking, assuring him that he would be sustained by all Catholic France. Monsignor Guibert had already, on his arrival in Tours, promised, in

presence of the relics of St. Martin, which had been providentially preserved, to repair as far as possible the ruins of such a great disaster. "Of this precious monument of the piety of our fathers," he wrote in a letter to his clergy on December 8, 1859, "nothing more remains than two large isolated towers which overlook from their majestic elevation the city and the whole surrounding country. If they have escaped destruction, it is no doubt because their massiveness and solidity have discouraged the hand or revolutionary vandalism. They remain there as a protest of past times and as a solemn teaching to make known to people how cold impiety may destroy in an instant the priceless riches that the faith of thirty generations has bequeathed to them."

This letter was a formal approval of the work which he prayed God to bless, that by His grace all hearts might be moved to devotion to St. Martin, one of the most powerful protectors of France, so that princes and peoples as of old might come to prostrate themselves before the restored tomb of the wonder-working saint. "It will be the happy sign of a complete return of our country to the faith of its fathers and the beginning of a new era of happiness and peace," he said in conclusion. "Our eyes doubtless are not worthy to contemplate this enrapturing spectacle, but how consoled we would be if in dying we carried with us into the tomb the pleasing thought of having begun, with the help of the generous piety of our people, such a just and necessary reparation, which future generations will complete!"

Dupont's strong, simple faith, and the stronger because of its simplicity, had prevailed over merely human considerations. The Archbishop had at least given into the pious layman, who was convinced that the reparation of the impieties of the Revolution by the cult of St. Martin would be the condition and sign of the religious revival in France. He was, in fact, one of the first selected by Monsignor Guibert in 1860 to form a special commission for the restoration of the devotion. It is said that while they were making excavations in search of the saint's tomb they one day heard "heavenly chants full of sweetness and melody." On November 12, 1860, Mass was celebrated for the first time by Monsignor Guibert in an oratory erected over the crypt in which this search was being carried on. The Archbishop did not know that the altar at which he offered the Holy Sacrifice was exactly over the tomb, the discovery of which was made on the night of December 14, feast of the Reversion of St. Martin, the anniversary of the marvelous return of his body brought back from Auxerre, whither it had been taken through dread of the Normans in 853, and where it had remained for more than thirty years. When Dupont announced to the kneel-

ing multitude the discovery of the venerated tomb, profaned by the Huguenots in 1582 and hidden for seventy years, they sang the "Magnificat," led by M. Petillault, an aged curé who had been a choir boy in the old basilica. The saintly layman who was the prime mover in this triumph of faith and zeal was in transports of joy. It made a lasting impression on his colleagues. Dreading that his long absence would cause disquietude to his aged mother, he hurried home to say to her, "Rejoice, mother. At last we have found it and possess it!"

The news of this remarkable discovery made the tour of the world and awakened the liveliest interest. Pilgrimages to the tomb multiplied and many priests solicited the favor of saying Mass there. Monsignor Guibert induced the municipal council to allocate a sum for the partial reconstruction of the old Church of St. Martin, himself tracing the plan of the portion to be restored and fixing two million as the amount to be gathered before commencing the work. This was followed by a *mandement* giving a rapid and eloquent outline of the saint's life, the sad story of the devastation of the sanctuary in 1807, an act of unpardonable vandalism, severely censured by the first Napoleon, and an account of the recent discovery of the tomb. Before appealing to the French episcopate, without whose concurrence it was impossible to embark in such a costly undertaking, he went to Rome at the close of 1862 to beg the Pope to give his solemn approbation to it. "When I was at the feet of the Holy Father and unfolded to him the object of my journey," he wrote, "what was not his astonishment at learning that there was no church in Tours in honor of the great St. Martin! His Holiness could not recover from his painful and sorrowful surprise. The Holy Father then deigned to say to me with an expression which I believed inspired: 'You will build a temple to St. Martin; it is a mission that God gives you, and I, His vicar, give it to you also.' While I was speaking of great difficulties, His Holiness added: 'God will enable you to surmount them;' and at once, in the excessive goodness of his heart, he would offer me a large sum, which I had to refuse at the risk of being wanting in deference and respect. 'How can I receive this money,' I said, 'when we, your children, should provide for the needs of our father? No, I cannot consent to take back to my diocese a part of the sum my filial love has humbly laid at your feet.' His Holiness, in terminating this interview, assured me that he would interest himself in this important affair in the presence of God and in prayer. Some days afterwards I was recalled and the Holy Father handed me a letter in Latin, saying with an amiability it is impossible to describe: 'You didn't wish for my subscription in money; here's a draft which will be better.

I am sure it will do honor to my signature." On his return the Archbishop addressed an humble and modest appeal to his colleagues in the episcopate which, needless to say, met with a sympathetic reception. "May God be blessed!" he wrote to Father Courtès. "When I began this immense undertaking, I really did not know what it would become. I placed it in the hands of St. Martin, accepting success as well as the humiliation of defeat. This work may do the greatest good to our poor France and be the beginning, I hope, of a revival of piety; so all the Bishops think."

All was going on well, and already 400,000 francs had been collected, when opposition arose. The prefect refused to approve of the decision of the municipal council. Then pamphlets, insulting libels and caustic epigrams in verse were published against the originators of the work. Most of these attacks were treated with silent contempt, but one was so gross that the learned Abbé Chevalier, in a masterly *étude*, entitled *Figure historique de St. Martin*, pulverized the pamphleteer and showed that the apostle of Touraine and Gaul had been the man of Providence, who was the guardian of France's nascent nationality and the savior of its civilization. Were it not that Montalembert was then busily occupied with his monumental work, "The Monks of the West," he would willingly have complied with Monsignor Guibert's request and lent the valuable aid of his pen in furtherance of what he called "a glorious task." Having learned from the Dowager Princess von Hohenzollern, who visited him at Tours, that the Benedictine Monastery of St. Martin of Beuron had been restored by her, he made her the medium of transmitting to the prior a relic of the great wonder-worker. Similar gifts were made to other religious houses placed under the invocation of St. Martin. In October, 1862, he issued another *mandement* prescribing for five years an annual quest for the building of the church in honor of one whom Pius IX. called "the luminary of priests and souls consecrated to God," and in the following year appealed to religious houses for their support—an appeal which was responded to with holy enthusiasm.

All this gave a great impetus to pilgrimages, preluding that extraordinary movement he was to witness at the close of his life, one of the most marvelous manifestations of faith in the nineteenth century. With remarkable foresight, his inner vision already discerned what the nearing future was to reveal when he wrote: "One will hardly see, as formerly, the pilgrim, staff in hand, coming slowly on foot from the most distant countries to kneel at the tomb of the great thaumaturgist. It will rather be numerous caravans of Christians who will rapidly arrive by rail to venerate the

holy relic, and who will return home, joyfully bringing with them abundance of divine graces. *Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.*" In 1864 he was able to announce that he had in hand a sum of 825,000 francs, which he hoped would soon be increased to 1,200,000, necessary to begin the erection. In 1869 the Emperor and the imperial family subscribed 18,000 francs. In 1870 the Archbishop had banked 1,200,000 francs, the fund increasing by more than 100,000 francs annually. The provisional chapel, in the form of a magnificent shrine, was in the Roman style, which was that of the ancient church.

After the death of the first chaplain, the Abbé de Beaumont, he confided the custody of the sanctuary in 1867 to his religious brethren, the Oblates, three in number, who had as their superior Père de L'hermite, succeeded by Father Rey, who died a few years ago at Liege, and who, the Abbé Janvier says in his "Life of M. Dupont," was really the inspirer and apostle of the devotion to St. Martin of Tours. To him was due the revival in 1869 of the Archconfraternity of St. Martin. In one year it counted more than 12,000 adherents, including most of the French Bishops.

The years which followed were years of strenuous activity. A militant prelate to the finger tips, he took a leading part in the resolute resistance to the tortuous policy of Napoleon III. which menaced the liberty of the French episcopate and the rights of the Holy See. He was the pen of the movement and wielded that weapon which Lytton said is "mightier than the sword" with consummate skill and address. In the beginning of the sixties of the last century the temporal power of the Papacy had entered into its agony—an agony prolonged for a whole decade and which only ended when the Sardinian troops entered through the breach near the Porta Pia. A firm believer in the necessity of its maintenance as a safeguard of the personal independence and freedom of action of the Roman Pontiff, he fought hard for its retention. Pius IX., by his encyclical of January 19, 1860, refused to cede the Romagnas as the price of peace, and uttered his famous "*Non possumus.*" Monsignor Guibert highly approved of this decisive action. "Let us," he said, "save honor if we cannot save the legations. Weakness would be useless; it would mean recommencing after a few months. Once on the incline of concessions, the Pope would be pushed nearer and nearer to the time when he would be shut up in the gardens of the Vatican." These words show his keen insight, and events have justified his forecast. The Popes have been relegated to "the Vatican and a garden," as Edmond About suggested. Monsignor Guibert was the chief interpreter of the views of the French Bishops, whose outspoken pastorals more and more irritated the Emperor

and his Ministers, who forbade the papers to publish them without the authorization of the civil power. Then came out the Vicomte de la Guéronnière's pamphlet, "*La Pape et le Congrès*," which proposed the reduction of the Pope's dominion to the city of Rome, possession of which was to be guaranteed by the other Powers, with a revenue furnished by the Catholic States and a militia formed of the élite of the Italian army. The city itself was to have large municipal liberties, relieving the Pontifical Government of the details of administration. "Thus," said the author, "the victorious Emperor of the French may save the Papacy while freeing Italy, and reconcile the Pope as temporal sovereign with his people and his time." It was well known that the pamphlet was inspired or dictated by Napoleon. A fortnight after its publication Monsignor Guibert, in a letter to the Minister, wrote: "What is proposed is the renunciation on the part of France of the rôle of protector which it has filled since the origin of the monarchy. Its princes called themselves extern-Bishops (*les évêques du dehors*) and our nation the eldest daughter of the Church. Would it be honorable or profitable to our country to renounce this noble mission? See how watchful England is and how it thrills at seeing break out symptoms which seem to announce the end of this centuries-old rôle. It knows well that the influence of France in the world rises or falls in proportion to the prosperity or weakening of the Catholic Church, and that if it succeeded, at the expense of Catholicism, in extending the conquests of heresy, its universal preponderance would be assured."

When a few days afterwards the suppression of *L'Univers* marked another stage in the progress of arbitrary government, he regretted the disappearance of "that courageous organ of a considerable portion of the Catholics." Not only lay Catholics, but ecclesiastics were struck at. He felt deeply hurt and bitterly complained of the orders given to commissaries, village Mayors and *gardes champêtres*, to the intellectually lowest types of men, to note the Sunday sermons of the curés. And when new Italy, by the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, paid the price of the acquisition of the Romagnas, and the Government ordered a *Te Deum* to be chanted in all the churches, the Archbishop of Tours, while complying with the Minister's instructions, took occasion in a circular to his clergy to let it be known how he regarded it. "We declare," he wrote boldly, "that if a real connection existed between the acquisition of the new territories ceded to France and the usurpation of a portion of the dominion of the Holy See, and that we had certain proof of it, no power in the world would be able to obtain from us our prayers for an event which would be linked to a sacrilegious injus-

tice. Prayer is not destined to celebrate the triumphs of iniquity, and if we made such a criminal abuse of it, in place of the blessings of heaven, it would call down the Divine reprobation on those who would profane such a holy thing." In a letter to M. Poujoulat he said: "To obtain prayers and pastorals which have singularly contributed to make the war* acceptable to those opposed to it, they assured us by the most formal promises on the subject of the temporal power of the Pope, and when the war succeeded and peace was signed, we see the States of the Church invaded, usurpation daily consummated and all the fine promises forgotten. It is enough to tell us that they regard the Bishops as instruments of a personal policy, of whom they make use when they want them, even against the Pope's interests, and then contemptuously reject them when they have made them subserve designs which they condemn." M. Rouland, the Minister, having reproached him with attacking the Government, Monsignor Guibert replied: "When the Italian war was decided, the Government asked the Bishops for prayers for which they felt a profound repugnance, foreseeing the misfortunes that this war entail upon the Church. To calm our too well founded fears, we were promised in the most formal and solemn manner that the temporal power of the Pope would be safeguarded in its integrity. The war took place, our arms were successful, the Pope has lost a third of his States and sees the rest menaced by the revolution. In reality the prayers we offered then for the success of our arms have turned against the interest of the Church." In a pastoral on "the new excesses of the Revolution against the States of the Church," after dwelling on the indifference and inaction of the Catholic European sovereigns in view of such a violation of every principle, he besought the prayers of the faithful for "those courageous soldiers who shed their blood in defense of right and justice," the brave volunteers from Ireland, France, Belgium and Spain who formed the Pope's Brigade and reflected honor upon themselves and their homelands at Ancona, Castelfidardo and Spoleto by their heroism. The late J. F. O'Donnell ("Caviare") paid a touching tribute to their memory in a monody, in which he, too, asked for prayers for these dead heroes:

"Pray for the martyred dead. The seeming fabled story
Of chivalry in them renewed
Shines out with a resplendent glory
Above that field of parricidal feud."

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Dublin, Ireland.

*The short campaign in North Italy.

A SUMMER TOUR ALONG ANCIENT TRAILS.

THE westbound antiquary may break his ride at that ultra-modern cosmopolis we call Chicago, but things archaic are not germane to the second city of the realm, and a day or two later he is speeding across the highly prosperous farm lands of Nebraska or Kansas—lands that yearly send forth vast crops of almost every product known to man. It is in this section of the Middle West that the romanticist allows his phantasies to dwell on the old-time nation of Quivera, which, so the legends say, died of inanition generations before Columbus scanned the Western shore. Pseudo-archæologists assert that Quivera was a land of riches; and perchance it was, but only those of a visionary trend of thought place any degree of belief in its existence. However, Professor James W. Savage, a real archæologist, went all the way to Madrid to investigate the archives of Coronado, Castaneda and Penalosa, who traversed Nebraska about 1540 for the purpose of finding the mounds of gold said to be lying around the old-time habitations; but his researches are not convincing.

Let us pass the broadspreading granaries of Kansas and the vast coal fields of Southern Colorado, and prepare to scale the ridges that stretch from Trinidad to Raton Pass. Two compounders up ahead and a cyclopean "pusher" in the rear give tangible evidence that the next fifteen miles are somewhat difficult to negotiate, for in those fifteen miles we are to ascend nearly two thousand feet, and much of the road is as crooked as a snake swinging leisurely from branch to branch. We leave Trinidad with a flying start, and begin our circuitous flight up and around the serpentine track. Higher, yet higher we climb, while the sputtering giants convert the cerulean bay into sheolic and funereal shrouds. From the bending cars we see the dwarfish stacks soaring skyward their empurpled volumes like demons in angry mood, and the very rails beneath us transform to venomous imps that flash their fiery fangs as the "drivers" slide and whirl untrammelled on the bands of steel. But now the vitality of the belching colossals seems to wane—we are slowing down on terrific steepes thousands of feet above those miners' huts in the gulch below. Screams of affright still the heart and shatter the sepulchral pall—the "pilot" frantically calls to cram the fireboxes to the limit and to throw the throttle to the uppermost notch. A jerk from up ahead and a jolt from the rear tell us the call has been answered—the leviathans are roaring like myrmidons to attain the goal—and an hour or so later, after passing

through Raton Tunnel, a half-mile long and 7,500 feet above the sea, we have bridged the abyss that leads to the land so dear to the heart of antiquary and archæologist, for New Mexico is a huge reliquary of a far-flung and shrouded past.

Little did Castaneda imagine that a day could dawn when a Santa Fé Railway Company would build a first-class hotel bearing his patronymic in the lackadaisical little town of Las Vegas—half-Spanish, half-American—6,000 feet amidst the most transparent blue, with 10,000 people, cozy homes and two sanitariums, St. Anthony's being conducted by the ubiquitous Sisters of Charity; while those peculiar signs and those soft-syllabled tones so familiar to the fragrant *avenidas* of Vallombrosa are just as familiar across the bridge that spans the "river" to the thoroughfare known as the *Calle de Puente*. Our friends of Hebrew blood control the important commercial establishments, and sheep grazing is the principal pursuit of the people who dwell over the hills and vales behind the town. It may have a fanciful sound, but in this warm, dry atmosphere the Gallinas Canyon annually gives up 40,000 tons of natural ice, which is made possible by the perpendicular walls of the canyon obscuring the sun's rays from the ice that forms during the nocturnal hours. This vast tonnage is distributed to ice houses over a territory six hundred miles in extent.

Archbishop Lamy did good work among the Pueblos, of whom there are at least 20,000 in New Mexico, so the early railroad builders honored his memory by designating Lamy as the junction point that connects with the capital, eighteen miles to the north. *La Ciudad Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco* (the True City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis) was probably quite *apropos* in the Andalusian days of 1606, but such cumbersome cognomina finds no place in the vocabulary of the unpoetic Yankee, therefore this venerable mother of all American cities (with the solitary exception of old St. Augustine, Florida) is now known to the world as Santa Fé. The old town, hemmed in by towering mountains, is a quaint and curious spot, with its twentieth-century buildings and adobe huts that were patriarchal ere the battle of Lepanto was fought and won. Lew Wallace was the Territorial Governor for a while, and here he penned "Ben-Hur" in the long and pillared one-story adobe "palace" of the Castilian viceroys. The structure is now a museum under the direction of the American Archæological Society. Fifty per cent. old Mexican and the other half American, we gaze on business blocks of modern mould, and then we scan tumble-down shacks of dirty clay and virgin timber; nor could Munchausen himself imagine anything more divergent in

architectural lines than the classical First National Bank, a replica of the New York Stock Exchange, and the uncouth pile of mud and wood they call the Old Curiosity Shop over yonder in Adobeland.

In this seat of legislation 7,000 feet amidst the eternal stars, where days are warm and nights are cool, and a bad place for hearts that falter, we find more contrasts, more ancients and more antiquities in ten-minutes' walk than can be found in ten square miles in any other spot in the universe; and perhaps the most sacred and most venerable of all is San Miguel Church, built in 1607, destroyed in 1680, rebuilt in 1710, and said to be the oldest religious edifice in continuous use in the United States. As New Mexico contains a heavy percentage of Catholics, Church institutions of every kind are numerous.

Automobiles take the tourist along the scenic highway to Buckmans, and here we behold thousands of lofty cliffs and subterranean caverns the progenitors of the Pueblo race called their homes. It is a wonderful region of sky-piercing mountains, bottomless canyons and waterfalls that merrily and perennially pitch earthward their foaming volumes down cascades that roll up and on beyond the clouds. A trip through this land of enchantment would be an incongruity without a visit to our archaic friend, the Taos Pueblo. It lies far to the north, but the automobile at Taos Junction in an hour or so whisked us along to the oldest settlement in the United States. The pueblo is a striking example of the "flat" style of architecture that prevailed innumerable generations before our Mayflower patricians landed on Plymouth Rock. Built of adobe, one dwelling tops the other in true Manhattan fashion until the fourth story has been reached. The second-story lodger must needs climb a rickety ladder to reach his part of the vast communal dwelling, and so do the third and fourth-story housekeepers. The Indians eke out a livelihood tending little gardens of vegetables, and the Sisters of Loretto conduct the local educational establishment.

We are now westbound from Lamy, twisting and turning around crags and canyons and zigzagging along the circuitous banks of the Rio Grande to Albuquerque, chief city of the State. The citizens number 18,000, and while the newcomers represent every habitable place on the planet, the old-timers of the old section still give utterance to those mellifluous notes uttered by the padres who came up from Mexico in the sixteenth century and founded the modest and white-coated edifice of San Felipe de Neri. Albuquerque is a marvel of up-to-dateness and enjoys a clear and

equable climate. Central avenue is lined with many large business houses, and at least one private dwelling is said to represent an outlay of \$30,000. It is chimerical to assume that the "wild and woolly West" is made up of a low grade of humanity; on the contrary, its citizenship comprises the most intelligent and the most energetic part of the Republic. Moreover, wages are higher, and living conditions are far superior to those obtaining in the crowded Eastern States. Water, however, is not very plentiful; but water is scarce all over this section of the Southwest. It rarely rains, and even then there is no way to husband the aquatic flow. The price of a few dreadnoughts would irrigate a million acres of land—land that would jump in value from thirty cents to thirty dollars an acre after the first inundation.

It is quite true that the United States Reclamation Service has consummated valuable work for the lower section of New Mexico and upper Texas by constructing the Elephant Butte Dam, which will impound nearly nine hundred billion gallons of water, sufficient to irrigate 200,000 acres, or more than enough to flood the State of Delaware to a depth of two feet! The massiveness of the structure and the capacity of the reservoir make the project not only the biggest thing of its kind in the United States, but the most ambitious in the world. The Assuan Dam in Egypt impounds only two-thirds as much water. From the lowermost point of the parapet wall the dam rises 318 feet (or about the height of a thirty-story building), and the base is 225 feet thick. This strength is needed to halt the onrush of the erratic and torrential Rio Grande and to hold the accumulated waters so that they may be supplied slowly and safely to the widespread acres reaching for 171 miles. The climate down around the large city of El Paso is agreeable, and the soil is abundantly productive when properly watered. A practical and energetic farmer with \$5,000 working capital has a splendid chance to place his family beyond the "bread line" when the sere and yellow milestone of life is reached.

Laguna is not far beyond Albuquerque, and a conveyance as ancient as the hills roundabout us jogs along to San José de la Laguna, founded in the late years of the seventeenth century. The settlement is one of the largest and most elaborate now extant; indeed, the Pueblo "boosters" claim a population of 1,600 souls, and they also assert that the elkskin painting in the local parish church is the biggest on record. As in our own cultured and civilized era of righteousness, avarice was a penchant of many of the empire-builders of the day, so the architects planned the model city of Acoma to perch on a hill 400 feet above the plain,

to be better prepared for the onslaughts of those who sought their goods and chattels. The Indians of 1629 displayed deep love for their faith by carrying up the steep mound all the materials necessary for the erection of the Franciscan edifice.

Farther west on the Santa Fé we arrive at Zuni, one of the seven cities of the alleged kingdom of Cibola; and it was at Zuni that Friar Marcos de Niza first preached the Gospel in "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." He came up from Mexico in 1539, and his diary while peregrinating through those pristine wilds would undoubtedly surpass the famous tour of Stanley when he pierced the heart of Africa on a still-hunt for Dr. Livingston. The hyphenated Welsh-American, it will be recalled, had made great preparations for his journey, and his entourage was unlimited, whereas Friar Marcos was accompanied by one companion and three or four Indians. The African explorer carried guns for game and protection, while the Spaniard traversed an absolutely unknown land, and a section of the world where game, provender and water were more precious than kohinoors.

The twentieth-century traveler who lolls in an armchair on the rear end of the fleeting "de luxe" must needs allow his mind's eye to roam back to a cycle when human feet carried the premier trail-blazer over the virgin prairies and precipitous mountains that extended from far-away Sinaloa to Zuni—a serpentine route of perhaps fifteen hundred miles. As illustrating the conditions to-day with those of even a generation ago, let us glance at the schedule of the "Overland Mail," which galloped from the Missouri River to Santa Fé, a route commonly referred to as the Santa Fé Trail. The Trail was about 800 miles long, the fare \$250, and the trip required fourteen days to consummate—if the weather conditions were propitious. To-day the same trip is made amidst palatial surroundings—the æsthetic ones may even be tonsorialled and enjoy their matutinal spray—in fifteen hours, and the railroad fare is \$23. The railway operates its own system of hotels, and the tourist is allowed to break his ride at the most obscure spot "a thousand miles from nowhere" and secure accommodations equal to the best in any city in the land.

Lest we forget, a word should be said in behalf of the missionaries who so zealously labored to Christianize and civilize the aborigines of the Southwest in the sixteenth century. Their task was fraught with many dangers, and a recent volume, "Commissary of the Holy Office and Conversions of New Mexico," is a complete translation of the famous memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, which was prepared in 1630. Fray Benavides furnishes a striking

description of the people with whom he came in contact—the “nations which dwell along the road to New Mexico,” “people very fierce, barbarous and untamed,” who “always go totally naked and have no house and do no planting,” reminding one of the natives with whom Father Serra dealt in California; “the Mansa nation of the Rio del Norte,” who are always encountered at the crossing of the river, who, “if they see their way, do all the evil they can; but if unable, all come peacefully to seek us, that we may give them something to eat, and who likewise are naked and do no sowing;” the many tribes of New Mexico proper, of various character, living mainly in pueblos and in houses of adobe; and finally of the “huge Apache nation,” which surrounds all the nations dwelling in pueblos, and who are “a people very fiery and bellicose, and very crafty in war,” and who “do not dwell in settlements nor in houses, but in tents and huts,” moving “from mountain range to mountain range, seeking game, which is their sustenance.” In all those places where such establishments were made were the Indians not alone instructed in Christian doctrine, but to read and write and to play on instruments and sing and in “all the trades of civilization.” Like a refrain does the statement of this fact run through the whole report of Benavides, giving a clear insight into the policy of the friars. Among the Taos nation we also read that “the land is very fertile, because a religious has brought it water for the irrigation of its seed lands.”

To say the least, it is nothing short of a calamity that a nation whose wealth transcends the wildest flights of avarice should allow the abandoned missions to totter and finally perish from the surface of the earth. We should be willing—nay, eager—to restore and preserve, if only as national monuments, the humble chapels built by those zealous ambassadors of God who worked so assiduously for the regeneration of our earliest inhabitants, and whose heroic labors find fruition to-day in the high morality of a great army of peaceable and well-disposed citizenry.

New Mexico's area is somewhat in excess of the British Islands, and geologists say a hundred billion tons of coal and many other minerals are locked within its subterranean vaults; timber lands are also plentiful. It is claimed that the resources of the Commonwealth can readily support ten million people—a sharp contrast with the 400,000 inhabitants at the present time.

Like other places in other lands, Arizona bore a “hard name” in days gone by, for the censorious ones assert that it was filled to overflowing with vile men, vile ambrosia and all the vile appurtenances that coalesce with things iniquitous. But it is a long

road that has no end, and in a cycle as yet unborn, when tourists from Mars wing merrily o'er the curving banks of the enchanted Hassayampa and the fast express roars above and beneath the throbbing arteries of Cactus City, the poet shall sing of the aquatic avalanche that swept against the salacious walls of the "Three Card Monte" of Casa Grande, the "Miners' Roost" of hot Tucson, the gay "High Hat" of Mohawk town, and last—but by no means least—that rollicking old hospice wherein no true saturnalian e'er passed away unshod—the "Three Buckets of Blood" of Tombstone City! The "wets" said prohibition would blast poor Arizona's hopes forever and aye, but the Commonwealth is growing richer and more populous with every turn of the universe.

Arizona, with a population of 250,000, is somewhat larger than Italy, and its future is assured, for the soil is fertile and the mountains are vast treasure-houses that outrank the wealth of all the Indies; the lumber trade is a valuable asset, and agriculture has received a great impetus because of the conservation and distribution of the streams that flow through the various sections of the State. And just to prove that "there is nothing new under the sun," archæologists claim to have discovered many miles of canals that prehistoric races constructed for carrying the water necessary to irrigate 250,000 acres of land.

The Grand Canyon is as familiar as household words, and the automobile has superseded the veteran stage that formerly rolled along to scan the appalling deeps, gorgeous cathedrals, fallen coliseums and titanic shafts of every hue and every form down at Grand View Point. The Canyon is a mile deep, thirteen miles wide and 217 miles long, and the man standing at the rim merely gets a fleeting view of this gigantic "grave dug by a god for the interment of the world." Airships have "made good" in Europe, and they could be used over the Canyon to great advantage, as this is the only way to survey the enormous mounds and sunken valleys that run riot all over this tremendous gash in the surface of the earth.

The Painted Desert, the Petrified Forest and the Aztec Ruins well deserve more than a transient visit. Things have not changed materially since Father Niza and Coronado introduced European ideas and the Christian religion to the Papagos and Hopis back in 1540. Adamana is the point where we leave the train to enter the chugging little "universal car" that conveys us to the Petrified Forest. From what remote epoch in the chronology of time these ossified giants—some of them are 200 feet in length—have lain prone and helpless no archæologist cares to define; but a feeling

of awe suffuses the soul of the bewildered spectator as he scans this heaven-airod mausoleum of colossals the æons have transmuted into stone. Our ancient friends of the Aztec nation were just as restless as the nations of to-day, so they became weary of the habitations of their youth and migrated on to Mexico, but with true magnanimity consigned to posterity the débris of what were adobe dwellings of microscopic proportions. As paper famines prevailed then as now, the leading illustrators of the tribe sought out the sides of many cliffs whereon to portray the fantastic artistry that percolated through their chimerical souls. None but Assyriologists of rare profundity would care to decipher the peculiar drawings and hieroglyphics that embellish the Aztec Ruins.

There are occasions when Americans feel proud of their native heath, and this is especially true of the southbound tourist who leaves the "limited" at Ash Fork Junction. Over on the right of the track are a few Indian huts, and towards Nevada we flash the binoculars on mountains bleak and bare. A small general store and a half-dozen shacks at the rear complete the view; and the thriving copper town of Prescott is full sixty miles away. However, the Sante Fé had to have a caravansary to accommodate occasional tourists, so they built a handsome hotel at a cost of \$150,000 and emblazoned on its façade "Escalante," in honor of the padre who visited these wilds the year our Declaration of Independence was signed. Raindrops are as scarce as vegetables, but the tank cars bring water hither from a far-distant spring.

The old yarn about the Hassayampa—that those who drink of its waters will never afterwards tell the truth, never have a dollar nor dare to leave the sacred hills of ancient Arizona—may just be a romantic ebullition, but it cannot be denied that the professor of nomenclature who fashioned the titles along the zigzag route that runs from Ash Fork to Phoenix evidently felt that a gorge 170 feet deep and four times as long should be catalogued among things subterrestrial, so we hold our breath and try to appear nonchalantly blasé as the creaking train crawls over that yawning gulf of death the conductor calls "Hell's Canyon!" The engineers who built the road were builders of rare repute, for boulders of tremendous girth dot the undulating landscape in great abundance. Quite a few of these rocks are almost as big as Manhattan Island, and as the fascinated eye flashed back to the primitive age of man we saw the effulgent orb of day pale and darken as mammoth Cyclops hurtled their batteries of granite against the onrushing Titans of the Stone Age.

Six or seven thousand people live in Prescott, and the comfort-

able homes of the plutocrats and proletarians lend strong emphasis to the claim that poverty is not one of the characteristics of the community; moreover, there are several handsome business structures, with the large Mercy Hospital high up on the eminence that dominates the town, and all are kept in motion by the copper mining industry. The place is nearly a mile above the level, but we are now rapidly dropping down to earth once more, for in fourteen miles the rails descend about 2,000 feet, and this brings us into the vast irrigated orchard lands around Phoenix, the clean, handsome and prosperous capital of the State, with a population of perhaps 25,000, though the big business buildings on Adams street give it a metropolitan aspect. There is no denying the heat of the locality during the summer solstice; coats are rarely seen, and collars are likewise discarded in churches and the better-class restaurants; but the dry atmosphere neutralizes the enervating conditions that otherwise would prevail, and in late September, when Old Sol's glare begins to wane, "them rich lungers from the East" return to many rose-embowered bungalows on cultured Central avenue, a stone's throw from the stately Capitol, ensconced within a park that few can equal and none surpass.

Large automobiles are rapidly replacing the rickety stages of the good old days that penetrated the recesses of the Southwestern hinterland, and this means vast improvement in roadway and transportation. Sightseers leave Phoenix at 7 A. M., and are soon bowling along the ancient Apache Trail, which skirts the Salt River all the way to the great Roosevelt Dam, eighty miles to the east; and now we behold on every hand a series of landscapes at once entrancing and sublime. Here a gulch that rolls down to the fathomless depths of Canyon Diablo, and then we scan the rugged escarpments of the Superstition Range; from the heights of Cape Horn we swing the glass on an amphitheatre of peaks and valleys, tortuous creeks and wooded glens that call forth the plaudits of the most sang-froid.

Ah! how fleeting, how transitory is the handiwork of vainglorious man! We coax from earth and forest the minerals wherewith to mould the ambitious dream of architect and artisan; we boast of our wisdom and our skill; our works shall be impregnable bastions against the ceaseless storms that sweep in with the tides of Time. But let us leave the car and rake the chasms and the buttes of the gorgeous phantasma they style the Painted Cliffs.

Prostrate lies the grand chateau wherein once rang out imperious commands from imperial lips; broken and decaying columns of gigantic length rise high above the withered nave they proudly

held; staggering walls of a Hall of Fame enshroud in dust the niches of the great; towering aloft as Corinth towered above her Lilliputian rivals, the glass brings home a spectral temple of the pagan gods; down in the deep labyrinthine lanes we descry a moss-strewn palace of a haughty king. Now a plume of darkest jet dims the sovereign orb and floods the world with uncanny gloom. Up from the Pantheon's débris stalk hideous ogres of bloodcurdling frame; on the cracked and dust-blown steps of the fallen Capitol monstrous gilas belch out their flaming breath; on a plaza whence cavalcades proudly pranced now lurk the whining wolf and gaunt grimalkin of diabolical hue! Darker, yet darker grow the reaches of the hadean cells, and across the Stygian cauldron rolls a rumbling fanfare of ominous acclaim; Plutonian strategists flash their searching rays up and down and around the purpled Inferno; again and again the giant centimetres hurl their bursting shells against the Martian bulwarks. The world is a seething vortex of flaming swords and crimson-visaged ghouls of satanic shape! And as the stupefied eye sweeps the pits of this wretched Brocken a thousand mortars of terrific mould shatter the air and crash against the pillars uplifting the Sarcophagus of Mammon! The pulse of an empire has ceased to throb; "dust to dust" is writ in bold relief at every side; the silence appals and stifles the human heart! The Prince of Darkness has claimed his ruthless toll—pomp and power, pride and poverty, all have perished from the surface of the earth—and as the mournful "caw-caw" of the winging hawk breaks the awful silence we catch the plaintive cry: "Nought but the handiwork of God shall be eternal!"

Roosevelt Dam is not quite as big as the Painted Cliffs we leave behind, but the engineer has displayed his cunning by impounding sufficient water from Roosevelt Lake to irrigate 250,000 acres of land—land heretofore used for the sole purpose of holding the United States together. The Spillway is a younger brother of Niagara Falls, and the harnessed and foaming cascade that tumbles 300 feet down the precipitous cliffs makes us proud of our Yankee perspicacity. There are more than 250,000 acres in Arizona, but even that amount of reclamation will help to keep down the high cost of living and give several thousand families an opportunity to get away from the do-or-die methods of twentieth-century civilization. Not only is the dam to bring forth crops for miles around, but its 27,000 horse-power will illuminate towns, drive trolleys in Phoenix and keep machinery moving far and wide. Moreover, placid and majestic Roosevelt Lake is slated as a pleasure resort for the growing population of the State. Drove of anglers now inveigle the wily bass and pugnacious trout that play hide-and-seek

below the shimmering ripples of this charming replica of the far-tamed Como. Very good accommodations may be had at a cozy chateau they call "The Lodge," whence we secure a commanding view of this hill-encased inland sea, four miles wide and thirty miles from end to end.

Our stay is all too short in this American Engadine, but time presses, and the following day the chauffeur heads the car along the Apache Trail that runs to the thriving city of Globe, forty miles to the east. Like the Cliff Dwelling Aztecs elsewhere, the altitudinous pagans of days gone by had a keen eye for the picturesque, so they scaled the tall escarpments to perennially gaze upon the edenic prospect to the north and east of them. The scenery along the route is a reproduction of much that has gone before, and at the summit of the Mazatzal Range the car is stopped to give the tourists a view of the enthralling valley that stretches to the lake. Globe is a mining town of importance, and so is hustling Miami. Neither was known to cartographers a few months ago, but now they claim all the honors that go with the metropolitan rank, and alcoholic beverages are conspicuous by their absence. The Southern Pacific Railroad has constructed a branch line from Bowie to Globe, in order to tap the rich mineral lands of this section. The hotel system is good, several large inns being operated by the railroad corporation.

Tucson and Phoenix are now at daggers' points as to which shall become the metropolis of the State, but Tucson outshines the capital in matters antique. San Xavier del Bac, on the Papago Reservation, was founded by Padre Eusebio Kino a generation before George Washington was born, and services are held there regularly. Yuma is a big place on the main line of the Southern Pacific, and the July mercury occasionally soars up to 110, for the town is near the level of the sea, so malevolent tongues around Tucson and Phoenix relate a yarn about a reprehensible character who died and traveled unto the Avernian bourne. After a day or two he flashed a "wireless" to his friends to send down his overcoat, stating apologetically that inasmuch as he had long dwelt in Yuma the caloric atmosphere of satanic cells was far too frigid for ordinary comfort. However, cool clothing and non-stimulating diet enable the natives to live and enjoy life without the rushing and the pushing prevailing in certain animated Commonwealths not remote. Moreover, the winters are delightful, and two crops a year render touring cars absolutely indispensable to the "poor farmers" of this section of our beloved Republic.

Camden, N. J.

WILLIAM S. LONG.

Book Reviews

THE MASS BOOK FOR ALL: The Mass Book for every day in the year.
By the *Rev. E. A. Pace, D. D.*, and *John J. Wynne, S. J.* The Home Press, New York.

A love of the Liturgy, such as is spoken of in the January issue of the *QUARTERLY*, has until comparatively recently been impossible of cultivation among the vast majority of English-speaking Catholics because of their unfamiliarity with the language of the Missal. This obstacle no longer exists; it has been effectually removed by Dr. Pace and Father Wynne, and in such a way as to render the means of acquiring that love of the Liturgy simple and most attractive. Says the publisher: "About a year ago appeared the newest thing in prayer-books in the form of a 'Mass Book for Sundays, Holy Days and Other Days of Special Observance,' by the Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J. In this book Catholics had, for the first time, an arrangement of the Mass which was simple enough for all to follow. The book became popular at once, and an edition of 50,000 copies was sold in the course of a few months. A departure so new and so satisfactory was bound to be followed. It gave an immediate impetus to the production of other Missals, both here and abroad, and, as usual, it found imitators. All these new editions and attempts at imitation have only proved the necessity of having on the same plan the complete Missal, a 'Mass Book for Every Day in the Year,' with the same simple arrangement, the same easy directions, and, above all, with a real English translation. The Missals already in the market are difficult to follow, overcharged with explanations, introductions and other prayers that are out of place and altogether inadequate in comparison with the prayers of the Church. Nor are the prayers in these Missals always well translated. Worst of all, the type used in all of them is so small and so crowded together, on paper of poor quality, that the reader finds them wholly unfit for use. No wonder the devotion of devotions, the Mass, is not known; and no wonder the Mass is not attended by the thousands who would frequent our churches every morning, if they had a means of following the Holy Sacrifice with the priest at the altar, through the sublime prayers of the Church. In the 'Mass for Every Day in the Year,' the Rev. Edward A. Pace, D. D., of the Catholic University, and the Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., have availed themselves of all the good points of the Sunday Mass Book which Father Wynne published so satisfactorily a year ago. First of all, the type is the same, large and legible.

The ink impression is clear, clean-cut and brilliant. The paper is special India, through which no type shows. The spacings between the lines, between the prayers, between the Masses are free and open. There is no crowding. The longer Epistles and Gospels are broken into paragraphs so as to make it easy to follow them. The book is light, small in size, only 6x4 inches, and the form is symmetrical. It is, of all prayer-books in the market, the easiest and most pleasant to read. There is no other prayer-book like it. Dr. Pace and Father Wynne leave nothing to puzzle the reader. The antiphon of the Introit is repeated. The 'Glory be to the Father' is always printed in full. They also give the terminations of all the prayers in full, as much out of respect for the prayer as to help the reader. In every Mass the reader is referred by precise page references from the Ordinary of the Mass to the proper, and, in turn, from the Proper back to the precise place in the Ordinary. These directions are simple and intelligible to all. They are for the people and not for the priest. And they are all according to the latest liturgical decrees. It is all in English, with no confusing Latin references. The explanation of each part of the Mass is given as it occurs, not in an elaborate or closely printed essay which is read with difficulty, if at all. The headlines enable one to find anything in the book at once. Marking ribbons keep the place of the Mass or of its parts. The fixed Feast Days, or Proper of the Saints, begin with January, just as in the priest's Ordo, and not at the end of November, necessitating the breaking of this month into two, some at the beginning and some at the end of the ecclesiastical year. The Common of the Saints, to which reference must be so frequently made, is put before the Proper of the Saints, and not at the end of the book where it is difficult to find. Each preface is put in the principal Mass to which it belongs, so that it may be found by a page reference whenever it is to be said in other Masses. At the head of every Feast or Saint's Day is a brief explanation of the feast or a short life of the saint, freshly written, according to the very latest results of scholarship. The book is itself a series of miniature Lives of the Saints, telling when they were born, what they did, when they were canonized; for Popes, e. g., the numerical order of their succession after St. Peter is given in each case. It contains all the special prayers and services connected with the Mass: The Asperges, and Prayers after Mass; Blessing of Candles, Ashes, Palms; the Holy Week services complete; Processions, Rogation Days, Forty Hours' Adoration, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the Absolution after Mass for the Dead, Various Prayers for the Dead. Besides all these good points, there are three which will make this book specially the Mass Book for all. One is

that there goes with it a calendar specifying for every day in the year the precise prayers and such changes as are required in the Mass on account of the variable days, as in Lent, or for Ember Days, and changes occasioned by the Sundays falling on different days each year. Another good point is a brief form of devotion for Confession and for Holy Communion by the use of the prayers of the Mass, showing how to employ these prayers for the pious reception of the sacraments."

HEAVEN OPEN TO SOULS: Love of God above all things and perfect contrition easy and common in souls resolved to avoid mortal sin. By *Rev. Henry Churchill Semple, S. J.*, Chaplain of Fordham University and Moderator of the Theological Conferences of the Archdiocese of New York. 567 pages; silk cloth, 8vo.; size, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches; net, \$2. (Postage, 15 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

The Catholic theologians of our day are unanimous and outspoken and positive in teaching that acts of love and perfect contrition are easy and common in souls resolved to avoid mortal sin. The Our Father and each one of the Psalms contain acts of love, as do nearly all the prayers of the Church. Our Lord, the Holy Spirit, and the Church thus suppose that love is easy and always has been. To love God has always been the greatest and first commandment, and none of His commandments is heavy. Each human being is created by the Father, redeemed by Jesus, called by the Holy Spirit to know and love God in this life and to be happy with Him forever in the next. God gives His graces in abundance to each one any they make love easy. For all adults before the institution of the Christian sacraments and for the vast majority since, our good God has required an act of true love as the means of justification from original sin or actual mortal sin. The error that love is hard and rare has been widespread, even among Catholics who have been dupes of foolish isms. He who has any remnants of lurking doubts about the easiness of these acts will rarely try to make them and his rare trials will be ever hesitating and half-hearted. He who has no such doubts will try often and always succeed. How much merit and happiness may follow from this study and how many souls may be saved who would otherwise be lost. Such are some of the matters treated by the author, who is the first who has ever had the thought and taken the pains to put these things together. His book is in the form of a familiar chat. It is addressed not so much to theological experts as to hard-worked pastors, Brothers, Sisters, parents and other teachers of catechism, and indeed to all who have souls to be cheered and saved! It is suited for spiritual reading made in common. A number of ser-

mons or instructions can be based upon it. It is appropriate for premiums to students and for presents to friends, whether Catholic or non-Catholic. The book is made up of instructions given at ecclesiastical conferences, and it is full of consolation as well as instruction.

HER FATHER'S SHARE. By *Edith M. Power*. 12mo., with three illustrations, net, \$1.25. (Postage, 10 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

Mollie Moore, securely domiciled amid the hills of Ireland, is invited to her grandmother's home in Portugal. Before she arrives, her cousin, Guida, the daughter of the black sheep of the family, contrives to precede her, and, impersonating Mollie, is received with open arms. Other relatives, however, who are also her cousins and who live in Oporto, meet Mollie, and with characteristic hospitality insist upon her coming with them. In the weeks that follow she has many reasons to be glad that she has come to Oporto. Admitted at once to the most exclusive society in the city, she has a most enjoyable visit, and the appearance on the scene of "Primo Luiz" by no means detracts from its charms, as the reader will agree. With this as a beginning, the author has given us a most enjoyable novel. The interest is retained from beginning to end, and when at the last the terrible mystery, which is the key to the entire story, is revealed, the denouement is vibrant with dramatic force. The love element is prominent throughout, and is treated in a particularly charming manner, being pictured against a background of intimate Portuguese life. The remarkably graphic portrayal of the customs of Portugal is accounted for by the fact that the author has been a resident of that country for many years, and is thus well qualified for her task.

THE MASS AND VESTMENTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By *Right Rev. Monsignor John Walsh*. About 500 pages; profusely illustrated. 8vo., net, \$1.75. (Postage 15 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

Catholic literature has a plentiful harvest of pietistic works on the Mass. Both in the vernacular and translations they provide an unceasing and quickening stimulus of inspiration and suggestion for the most exacting piety. In the same field treatises exclusively educational are rare enough in our English tongue. The best of them like Cardinal Gasparri, Many and Van der Stoppen, especially the latter, are still hidden in the Latin. English authorities of note like Fr. Gasquet (not Abbot), Palmer's "*Origines Liturgicae*" and Marriott's "*Vestiarium Christianum*" are not always accessible,

whilst Cardinal Bona's great work on liturgy is yet untranslated from the Latin and French. It is the dominant feature of Monsignor Walsh's book that it embodies the essential qualities of these eminent experts. To illustrate and explain his subject, he has sought the light from every available source, not excepting even extensive travel. The volume represents a careful study of the various phases of the Mass in rite, language and usage, and all the elements involved in its celebration. It has distinctive chapters on the altar, altar stone, chalice, incense, bread and wine. The legislation relative to Mass intentions, Mass hours and number of permissible Masses, with its interesting history and evolution, are details all dealt with in their proper place. It contains a full analysis of liturgy, liturgic places and books, of sacrifice in general and particular, and exhaustive chapters on the fruit and efficacy of the Mass—a feature entirely new in English books. It presents also an explanation based upon the most recent authorities of the origin and development of all the principal vestments of Pope, Cardinal, Archbishop, Bishop, priest, deacon and sub-deacon. It is essentially a book for questioners. Its catechetical form provides a vehicle of ready information for busy people. All recent decisions of the Church are given, which will recommend it to the reverend clergy. A complete index minimizes the labor of survey and research. The bibliography at ends of chapters verifies statements and suggests authorities for reference.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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THE CHURCH AND HUMAN SLAVERY IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

LAS CASAS AND MONTESINOS.

CASTING our eyes over the history of nations, whether ancient or modern, we are confronted with the question of human bondage. Slavery has too often been the penalty paid by the weak to the strong, by the vanquished to the conqueror. Nor has this stain upon civilization always been regarded with the horror it inspires to-day—if we except the ban which Christianity has always placed upon it. The customs of bygone times seemed to warrant the traffic in slaves because, no doubt, it constituted one of the greatest sources of revenue. Thus it is that the brilliant fame of such men as Columbus and even the gentle Las Casas has been sullied by the enslavement of their fellow creatures, at one time or another, after their arrival in the New World.

The early Spanish explorers of our continent found precedent, if not warrant, for their un-Christian conduct towards the natives, in the dealings of their sovereign, King Ferdinand of Spain. In his wars with the Moors it was no unusual thing to "make inroads upon Moorish territory and carry off not merely flocks and herds, but quiet villagers and helpless women and children, who were taken to the marts of Sevilla and elsewhere and sold into slavery,"¹ and in our day Kultur revels in this abominable practice.

¹ See Irving's "Columbus."

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But slave dealing and the ownership of slaves was not confined to the Latin race, for we find at a later period (when the world had made greater progress towards civilization!) the honest and pious Sir John Hawkins kidnapping negroes on the coast of Guinea and carrying them to Hispaniola to be sold into slavery. So far from being ashamed of his trade, this same Hawkins, when knighted by Queen Elizabeth, took, as part of his coat of arms, the effigy of a captive negro bound with chains, and even his royal mistress did not disdain to share the profits of her brave knight, as commander of a regular slave trading vessel. Nor must we lose sight of the fact—borne out by New England historians—in considering the usage received by the unfortunate negroes, that the English were far more cruel slave-holders than the Spaniards or Portuguese. Nor was slavery among the early New Englanders confined to negroes, for we find that by the midsummer of 1676 the three tribes of Indians concerned in the war that ended at South Kingston, R. I., were annihilated. Nearly all the warriors, including Canonchet and King Philip, were killed, and those who survived, among whom was the son of Philip, were sold as slaves and sent to die under the burning sun of the Bermudas.²

These incidents are not cited to vindicate, but only, in a measure, to palliate the conduct of Columbus and his immediate successors, who merely acted in conformity with the orders of the Royal Council to Spain and to the customs of the times, which were, in a measure, at least, sanctioned by the example of the King under whom they served.

Writers of the present day, and not a few in the past also, all wishing to deal fairly with the Columbian period, have, nevertheless, asserted or intimated that the Church sanctioned slavery. In doing this they have fallen into the error of charging the Church with the sins of some of its unworthy agents. "It is only in the abuse of them by individuals to whom the execution of the laws are entrusted," says Washington Irving in his "Columbus," "that atrocities are committed." Back in the twelfth century (1167) Pope Alexander III. proclaimed that "nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty." In his letters to Lupus, King of Valentia, this Pope says (and Bancroft gives a full translation of his words): "But since nature has created all men free, no one was,

² "Hist. U. S.," By John Fiske. See also Hassand's "History of the United States," p. 119, as follows: "The Spanish missions in Florida and Georgia were almost entirely destroyed by the English, who attacked them with the help of their pagan Indian allies, the Alabamas, and carried off the converts to be sold as slaves. In 1705 the English and the Alabamas took St. Mark's, the chief settlement of the Appalaches mission, massacred eight hundred Indians and three friars and carried off an immense number of slaves."

by the condition of nature, subject to servitude." (*"Cum autem omnes, liberos natura creasset, nullus conditione naturae fuit subditus servitute."*)³ It is true that some Papal bulls secured to the Portuguese the exclusive traffic with Western Africa, but the slave trade between Africa and America was never expressly sanctioned by the See of Rome. Leo X. declared that "not the Christian only, but nature itself cries out against the state of slavery."

No, the Catholic Church, as we shall see further on, has ever held that

"He who permits oppression shares the crime."

With these few words of introduction, let us go back to Hispaniola in the days of Columbus and study the baneful effect of the white man's rule over the poor aborigines in that beautiful island and the adjacent territory. We have not space in which to tell how avarice, jealousies and lust accomplished the destruction of the little colony left by Columbus at La Navidad; how the Admiral founded another colony and built another fort on a different part of the island, which he called Isabella, in honor of his royal mistress, and which was the first permanent settlement made on the American continent, and finally, how hearing of the gold mines of Cibao, Columbus sent to have them explored. Here was the beginning of the end of the Indian race in Hispaniola (now Hayti). These children of nature, little dreaming of the ruin they were bringing upon themselves by the act, gave pieces of gold to the Spanish messengers, who carried them to the Admiral with such glowing accounts of what they had seen, that he at once resolved to establish a colony at Cibao, a prominent mountain in the central part of the island, and this colony marked the first important step in the history of slavery in Spanish America. Only what is required for the truth of history bearing upon it, will be related here. We shall enter into none of the shocking details.

In January, 1494, Columbus deemed it necessary to make a report of the condition of his colony to his sovereigns, through Antonio de Torres, captain of the ship *Mariagalante* and Governor of the city of Isabella, who was to proceed to Spain and inform the monarchs of "such things as were written in this report." This document dealt with a general statement of the discoveries that had been made; the reasons that prevented the Admiral from sending more gold than he did; the necessity for building a fortress in the gold region; the need of provisions for the colony; complaints about defects in certain things that had been sent, etc. The report was received by the sovereigns and notes were made in the margin ex-

³ "Hist. Anglie, Scrit.," Vol. I.

pressing their "thanks to God" for some things; their "approbation" of others; their command that "Juan de Fonseca provide for certain matters," etc.

Finally comes the question of enslaving the natives. Columbus informed "their Highnesses" that he had sent to Spain some Indians from the Caribs, "wild people, fit only for work," that they be made slaves, and taught Spanish, so that they might, later on, serve as interpreters, and thus assist the work of conversion. In support of this proceeding the Admiral argued that it was a work of charity to remove these people from cannibalism, and have them baptized and thus save their souls. Then, again, the Caribs were a terror to the other Indians, who were a peaceable people, and the latter would be grateful to the Spaniards for their removal and subjugation. These arguments, though not devoid of selfishness, were not without force, but they were full of danger to the natives of America, and the sovereigns were not slow to see the impending dangers of the introduction of a system of human bondage as abhorrent to civilization as it was to the Church. They realized that the Admiral's motives might be right from his own point of view; that his intention was to fill the coffers of Spain with wealth, and to effect the conversion to Christianity of a benighted people, but they also recognized that the proposition involved the establishment of the slave trade. Their answer was: "*As regards this matter, it is suspended for the present, until there come some other way of doing it there, and let the Admiral write what he thinks of it.*"⁴

This answer on the part of the sovereigns, while marked by consideration for the Admiral, clearly indicates that the proposition for the establishment of slavery was not to be considered by them. It is unquestionably a condemnation of Columbus' proposition. It is no less a condemnation of their own subsequent action on the premises.

It is true that the Royal Council advised the sovereigns to treat rebellious Indians as captives, and that upon this recommendation "their Highnesses" authorized the Admiral to send them to Spain as slaves. But we must remember that neither the Royal Council nor the sovereigns themselves were the Church. There may have been ecclesiastics upon that Council who acted individually, and whose greed for "graft" may have warped their conscience, but they were not the Church, nor did they voice the sentiments or teachings of the Catholic Church.

Despite opposition and condemnation, slavery continued to in-

⁴ En esto se ha suspendido por agora hasta que venga otro camino de alla, y escriba el Almirante lo que en esto le pareciere. "Navarre te Col." Vol. I., f288.

crease on the islands. The large additions made by Obando to the revenues of the crown seemed, for a time, at least, to dim the vision and close the ears of the monarchs to the unheard-of cruelties and perfidies he perpetrated upon the unfortunate aborigines; they will always be a blot upon his name and a dishonor to his country.

The province of Jaraqua was at that time governed by an Indian princess, known as Anacoana, whose kindness and hospitality to the Spaniards was equaled only by that of Guacanagari at Navidad. Obando obtained possession of this princess by treachery; the caciques who accompanied her were burned alive, and the beautiful but unfortunate Anacoana perished upon the scaffold, while her province was desolated. The only excuse offered by Obando for these outrages was that the Indians were about to rebel against the iron rule of their oppressors, or had refused to work in the mines or perform other labor far beyond the strength of a people who had been accustomed to a life of idleness. As a consequence of this continued barbarity the native population diminished, some falling victims to hard and enforced labor, others falling in unequal warfare, while others fled to adjacent islands. Obando soon realized that he would soon be left without hands to do his work, and the means he resorted to to remedy the loss was worthy of such a persecutor. He turned his eyes to the Lucayan Islands⁵ for fresh victims. Cruising among these islands he succeeded in luring the simple inhabitants upon his vessel and carrying them off to Hispaniola under the impression that they were being transferred to a delightful region, the land of their ancestors and deceased friends, and where they would enjoy the greatest happiness. The unsuspecting Lucayans believed what they were told, and, in time, 40,000 of these unfortunates went to die of hard labor and the barbarous treatment of their masters on the island of Hispaniola. The generous soul turns with horror from such perfidy and cruelty, and it is hard to understand how the Court could tolerate such inhumanity. But the Court was far away, and many of these horrors never came to their knowledge. No sooner did the noble Isabella hear of them than she, at once, decreed the liberation of the Indians, but it was not long before forced labor was again permitted at the instigation of Obando, who deceived his sovereigns with the story that the colony was going to ruin, and, making use of the cover of religion, he claimed that it was impossible to convert the Indians unless they were subjected to Christian masters who could instruct them. This

⁵ The Lucayan Islands—or Bahamas. Their names, according to Oviedo, are as follows: Guanahari, Cayos, Jumeto, Yabaque, Mayaguana, Samana, Guanina, Yuma, Curatheo, Ciguatéo, Bahama (que es la mayor de todas), el Yucayo y Negua, Habacoa, e otras muchas isletas paqueñ asque por allí hay.—“Hist. de las Indias.”

pretext was resorted to in order to secure the King's permission for the atrocious carrying off of the Lucayans.

Indeed, it would appear that the colonial leaders regarded the Indians as anything but human beings, unworthy of the sacraments and of the rights of man. Thus it came to pass that they were held in the most cruel bondage wherever the Spaniards were in power. Following the practice in Hispaniola, other conquerors in different places "allotted" the poor natives as if they were herds of cattle. According to his position, each colonist had "allotted" to him a greater or lesser number of Indians to cultivate the lands that had come into his possession or to work for him in the mines. It was this that gave rise to the terms *repartimientos* and *encomiendas* (or entrusted). The Indians were *entrusted* to him that they might be instructed in the truths of religion. It is a question how much the Indian profited by his "recommendation," but there is no question as to how much the white man became enriched by the labor of his *protégé*. Father Charlevoix, the modern historian of St. Domingo, says that "the governors of the Indians, even those who were noted as good men before, all turned out cruel tyrants."

To such excess was the ill-treatment and abuse of the poor natives carried, and so great was the mortality among them, that the missionaries (the "friars," as they were called on the island) found it necessary to interfere in their behalf.

In 1511 Fray Pedro de Cordoba was superior of a community of Dominican Fathers at Hispaniola. These devoted men had come from far-off Spain to save souls, not to hunt for gold. Their eyes had been seered too long by the horrors they had witnessed, and they determined to assert themselves. Father Antonio Montesinos and other members of the community did not hesitate to raise their voices, first at Hispaniola and, later on, in other places, against these outrages, and they went so far as to deny the sacraments to those who held *encomiendas*. The fathers resolved to speak their minds boldly whatever danger to themselves might come from it. There was to be no half-heartedness in their protest, and every father was to share in the blame, if any, that might follow their action. They determined to give vent to their feelings, and they prepared a sermon that was to be preached. Father Montesinos, who was an eloquent and popular preacher, was appointed to deliver it. Notice was sent out that an address of unusual importance to all Spaniards in the colony was to be delivered in the church on a given Sunday, and their attendance was requested. The church was thronged. Father Montesinos ascended the pulpit and announced his text from the Gospel of the day: "*Vox clamantes in deserto*" ("I am the Voice of one crying in the desert"), and he proceeded to

declare, in very "piercing and terrible words (*"palabras muy pun-
gitivas y terribles"*) that the Voice proclaimed that they were all
living in mortal sin because of their injustice and cruelty to these
innocent people, the Indians. How could the colonists insist upon
such cruel labors as they did from the natives, and at the same time
neglect all care of them, both in the things of heaven and of earth?
Such Spaniards, the preacher declared, had no more chance of sal-
vation than so many Moors or Turks.*

It would be difficult to describe the effect of this sermon upon
Don Diego Columbus, the principal officers of the colony and the
laymen who had listened to it. They left the church full of indig-
nation, and later in the day, after a heated consultation, they came
back to the bark-covered building which had been dignified by the
name of convent, and complained most bitterly to the superior,
Fray Pedro de Cordoba. They wanted to see the man who had
dared to say to their very faces *tantas locuras* (so many crazy
things), and insisted that he should retract his words on the fol-
lowing Sunday.

The good and determined superior was expecting them, and made
them understand, very plainly, too, that the sermon complained of
was not the work of any one of the fathers, but that it voiced the
sentiment of the entire community, which was ready to assume re-
sponsibility for every word that had been uttered, and that "it was
serviceable to God and to the King." The Governor and his fellow-
remonstrants still insisted that unless Father Antonio recalled his
words the "frailes" (friars) would be required to gather up their
effects and return to Spain. "*De veras, senores!*" ("Of a truth,
my Lords"), replied Father de Cordoba, "that will be easily done"—
which was true enough, for Las Casas tells us that all their be-
longings would scarcely have filled two trunks.⁷ It was finally agreed
that the matter should be "referred to" on the following Sunday.

Expecting to hear the superior make an humble apology for the
utterances of the previous Sunday, the sacred edifice was again
crowded. The Mass over, to their great surprise Father Antonio
went into the pulpit and boldly maintained his position as a sacred
duty. This time his text was from Job xxxvi., 4: "*Vere enim absque
mendatio sermones mei, et perfecta scientia probabitur tibi.*"⁸

Those of his hearers who understood Latin at once realized the
manner of apology God's minister was about to make to men who
were dishonoring religion. "For, indeed, my words are without
a lie, and perfect knowledge shall be proved to thee!" Pausing to

* "Spanish Conquest of America," Sir Arthur Helps.

⁷ Las Casas, "Hist. de las Indias." Tom. III.

⁸ It is customary in Spanish churches for the preacher to announce his
text first in Latin and then in the vernacular.

allow his words to produce their full effect upon his hearers, Father Montesinos repeated his former arguments and, emphasizing them with all the force at his command, he announced that the "friars" would refuse absolution to any one who made incursions upon the Indians or treated them inhumanly. This was their decision; this they regarded as their sacred duty, and this the colonists might publish and write to whom they pleased in Spain.

The remonstrants left the church in silence; there was nothing to be said, but it was not long before they sent the Franciscan Father, Alonzo de Espinal, to Spain, to plead their case at court, and secure the recall of men who were a menace to the peace of the colony. The Dominicans immediately sent Father Antonio de Montesinos to represent their side. In Spain the heroic Dominican found it difficult to get a hearing; all manner of excuses were made, and his antagonist was gaining upon him and seemed likely to win the case.

One day in sheer despair Father Antonio forced his way into the presence of the King, and as a priest of God demanded a hearing. He obtained it, and Ferdinand appointed a Junta to examine into the claims of the contending parties. But Father Antonio, who was a man of business, could not brook the law's delay. Then, too, it was evident to him that his adversary enjoyed advantages that were denied to him by the Junta, and indignant at the injustice he was undergoing and animated by the justice of his cause, he resolved to face his brother friar and settle the matter with him on the spot. He waited for Fray Alonzo and addressed him in these words: "Good brother, have you anything to take out of this world with you besides that greasy, ragged habit that covers your body?" The Franciscan was startled at the abrupt manner of the Dominican, who was not slow in following up his advantage with such convincing arguments that he soon succeeded in showing his Franciscan brother that men were using him as a tool; that he was doing the devil's work without being paid for it, even with the devil's wages. He next proceeded to expose to him the true manner of treatment of the Indians, and appealed to his own experience to prove the inhumanity he had witnessed. The spirit of St. Francis still burned in the heart of the Franciscan; he listened to the voice of reason and humanity and was convinced. Father Antonio returned to Hispaniola the next year, having succeeded in inducing the King to take some steps towards ameliorating the condition of the Indians.

Father Antonio de Montesinos was the first to denounce human slavery in America. "Glorious Montesinos," says John Fiske, in his "Discovery of America," "first of preachers on American soil to declare war to the knife against the gravest of American sins,"

and the effect of his work is manifest in the restrictions inserted in the second patent granted to Ponce de Leon.⁹

Fourteen years later (1526) we find this same Father Montesinos with Father Cervantes planting the Cross at San Miguel de Guandape, on the James River, in Virginia, upon the site on which eighty years later John Smith established the famous colony of Jamestown. It was at this mission of San Miguel that the explorer de Ayllon expired of a malarious sickness in the arms of these two Dominican Fathers.

We may add, in connection with Father Montesinos, that he was the "first priest known to have officiated within the present limits of the United States." He was "a son of the Convent of Salamanca," was protector and defender of the Indians, in behalf of whom he wrote a learned treatise, entitled "*Juridica in Indorum Defensionem*." He is supposed to have died somewhere in South America about the year 1545. Opposite his name on the list preserved in the convent at Salamanca are the words: "Obiit Martyr."¹⁰

Notwithstanding the efforts of King Ferdinand—never over-strong—to make the Indians a free people and entitled to all the rights of men, the *repartimientos* were not abolished. The Dominicans renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the natives with such boldness and zeal that the planters became alarmed and the colony greatly disturbed. At length Ferdinand issued a decree through his council,¹¹ declaring that after mature consideration of the Papal bull and other titles by which the crown of Castile claimed its possessions in the New World, the servitude of the Indians was warranted by the laws of both God and man—that unless they were subjected to the dominion of the Spaniards and compelled to live under their inspection, it would be *impossible to convert them*. This was a most extraordinary construction to put upon a Papal bull and a still more original way of gaining souls to the God of the Christians. It is true that the King, while conferring new grants on his favorites, realized that he should, at least, preserve the semblance of providing for the humane treatment of the Indians, and therefore commanded that houses should be built for them. He also regulated the nature of the work to be required of them, and prescribed the mode in which they should be clothed and fed, and even went so far as to give directions for their instruction in Christian morality.¹²

But it was in vain that the King declared new laws for the lighten-

⁹ "Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos," XXII., pp. 23-38.

¹⁰ Quetif and Echard, "Scriptores Ordinis Prædicacatorum," II., p. 123. See also Las Casas, "Historia Apologica," c. 247.

¹¹ Herrera, Dec. I., lib. VIII., c. 11., Oviedo, lib. III., p. 97.

¹² Herrera, Dec. I., lib. IX., c. 14.

ing of the deadly burdens that weighed upon the unfortunate natives. They were laughed at by the heartless and avaricious colonists, and they likewise failed to silence the voices of the Christian defenders of the oppressed. The Dominicans made renewed and more vigorous protests. With few exceptions from this time forth we find Bishops, priests and missionaries in different parts of America defending the natives against the tyrannical pretensions of their conquerors. True, the voice of the priest was often drowned by the din of war, but it did succeed in improving the condition of the Indians to a certain extent and in obtaining for them some valuable concessions. The Roman Pontiffs protested more than once against the un-Christian conduct of Europeans in America, and Pope Paul III. issued a bull declaring the capacity of the Indians to receive the sacraments.

As a consequence of the preaching of Father Antonio Montesinos and the other Dominican Fathers and the manner in which he justified his conduct before the King, the latter sent Don Rodrigo de Albuquerque to put into strict execution certain laws intended to mitigate if not entirely remove abuses. Unfortunately, the Commission turned out worse than the *encomendadores*, venal and without conscience.

It was at this time (1515) that God raised up one whose name was to be forever identified with the Indians in Spanish America and was thenceforth to be known as the "Apostle of the Indians."

Bartolome de Las Casas was the son of Don Antonio de Las Casas, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. He was born at Sevilla in 1474. His parents were in easy circumstances and were able to send him to the University of Salamanca, where he won a licentiate's degree. His father had acquired an estate in Hispaniola, and when twenty-eight years of age (1502) Bartolome came to America with Obando, and, so far as we know, devoted his attention, for a time at least, to the improvement of his earthly possessions. But the things of earth did not engross all his attention, for eight years after his arrival in America (1510) we find him at the altar receiving the holy order of priesthood. From this we are justified in stating that he was the first priest ordained on the American continent and the first to celebrate his "first Mass" in the New World. I have been for years endeavoring to ascertain *where* and by *whom* Las Casas was ordained. None of the biographies or lives of Las Casas ever ventured to give more than the date, 1510. On a recent visit to Havana I called at the Dominican convents and the good fathers tried to help me as best they could, but many valuable documents had been destroyed by fire. They gave me what they could find, but the

date I wanted was missing. Through the kindness of some of my clerical friends in the Cuban capital, I was accorded an audience by Monseñor Pedro Gonzales y Estrada, Bishop of Havana, who very kindly had the archives searched, and in a few weeks sent me the following information:

"The Bishop who ordained Las Casas was the Licenciado Don Alonzo Manso. He was not Bishop of La Vega, but of San Juan de la Maguana, Haiti. There was something remarkable about this 'first Mass' The clergy present gave no blessing, and except at Mass, not a drop of *wine* was consumed, as there was none on the whole island and no ships had arrived from Spain for some time."

This first ordination in the New World and the fact of a priest singing his first Mass on this occasion was a matter of universal rejoicing,¹³ and the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus, and his staff, together with the distinguished men of the colony, witnessed the ceremony.

Las Casas was "a very notable person," says Sir Arthur Helps; "of that force of character and general ability that he would have excelled in any career. Indeed, he did fulfill three or four vocations, being an eager man of business, a considerable annalist, a great reformer, a great philanthropist and a vigorous ecclesiastic. The utmost that his friends or enemies could, with the slightest truth, allege against him was an over-fervent temperament. . . . If it can be proved that he was on any occasion too impetuous in word or deed, it was in a cause that might have driven any man charged with it beyond all bounds of prudence in the expression of his indignation. . . . He was eloquent, acute, truthful, bold, self-sacrificing, pious."

Charlevoix describes Las Casas as "a man of reliable erudition, ardent nature, of a courage that difficulties only strengthened; of a heroic virtue that nothing could change when he felt the glory of God was involved, and as he had rendered great service in the island of Cuba, his reputation was great throughout the islands. His only fault was a too lively imagination, which he permitted to control him to too great an extent. Such a man as this could readily enter into the sentiments of the Dominican Fathers, and no one was better fitted to enforce those sentiments than he was, and he did it so untiringly to the end of his life."¹⁴

John Fiske says: "He was a person of such immense ability and

¹³ En este mismo año avia cantado Missa el licenciado Bartolomé de Las Casas, que fue la primera Missa nueva que se canto 'en las Indias, y fue celebrada del Almirante y de todas que se hallavan en la ciudad de la Vega. * * * Tuvo una calidad notable esta Missa nueva, que las clérigos que en ella se hallaron no bendezian. Herrera, Dec. I., lib. VII.

¹⁴ "Histoire de Saint Dominique," 1730.

strength of character that in whatever age of the world he had lived he would undoubtedly have been one of the foremost men.

. . . He was very apt to call a spade a spade and to proclaim unpleasant truths with repugnant emphasis, but his justice is conspicuously displayed in all his writings."¹⁵ Here is the estimate of the man by two historians not of his faith.

It was at this time that good Father Montesinos and his brother Dominicans were waging their relentless war upon the *repartimientos* and the *encomiendas* that Las Casas comes into history. At first he, too, was a slaveholder like his fellow-countrymen, and he had seen as little harm in it as they had. His kind and sympathetic nature manifested itself in his treatment of the Indians, and they recognized in him a good man and a friend. But the crusade preached by the Dominican Montesinos made a deep impression upon him, notwithstanding the fact that he might have considered him a little intemperate in his views of the case. Still his sympathies went out to the work of the missionary and he reflected upon the situation. Then, too, the words of the departed Isabella, when Columbus took his first load of Indians to Spain, began to ring in his ears. "Who has empowered the Admiral to dispose of my subjects?" asked the indignant Queen.

Las Casas began by giving up his own slaves, and then, from the pulpit, called upon others to go and do likewise. Not satisfied with this, he sold all his worldly goods and repaired to Spain to plead the cause of the poor slaves before the King, and the cold-hearted Ferdinand consented to do something which death prevented him from carrying out (1516).

The Cardinal Regent, Don Ximenes de Cisneros, so celebrated in Spanish history, lent a benignant ear to the plea of Las Casas and named him "Protector of the Indians," and gave him authority to deal with the judges or public officers who failed to be guided by his regulations. He furthermore sent three Jeronymite Fathers to Hispaniola with Las Casas, who were to act as commissioners and assist in regulating the *repartimientos* and put a stop to the cruelties which were practiced against the Indians. This body performed its duty with impartiality and did much to alleviate the condition of the natives. To some they gave freedom, and they insisted upon the carrying out of the royal edicts favoring those they were unable to liberate. The great moderation of the commissioners gave general satisfaction; all joined in praising the courage of Cardinal Ximenes in forming his plan and in the selection of the men to carry it out.¹⁶

¹⁵ "The Discovery of America," by John Fiske, Vol. II., p. 440.

¹⁶ Herrera, Dec. 2, lib. II., ch. 15.

But the zeal of the charitable Las Casas was not yet satisfied. The enslavement of the Indians was avowedly unrighteous; it was a violation of the soundest and clearest principles of natural justice and of Christianity, and entailed an amount of human misery which nothing but the grossest avarice would dare to put in the balance against the gold, the sugar and the cotton of the colonists. Perceiving that his efforts in America on behalf of his beloved Indians promised little, in May, 1517, he set out for Spain to obtain, if possible, the absolute and entire abolition of slavery in the colony.

King Ferdinand had gone before a higher King to give an account of the "deeds done in the flesh," and of his dealings in human flesh, and young King Charles of Austria had succeeded to the Spanish throne. Las Casas made a touching appeal to the new Court, and, despite the opposition of the representatives the colonists had sent to the mother country to counteract his efforts, he succeeded in obtaining a reconsideration of the laws relating to the Indians. But even with this the heroic friar was far from the realization of his hopes. The alleged impossibility of carrying on the work of mining, etc., in America unless the natives were compelled to work was an insuperable obstacle to their recognition as freemen.

This brings us to the oft-repeated statement that Las Casas, hoping thereby to release the Indians from the bondage in which they were held, proposed to replace them with Negroes purchased from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa. In other words, the man who denounced human slavery and visited those who engaged in it with all the anathemas that Holy Church could hurl upon them is charged with sacrificing one race of God's creatures for another. He was pleading for an innocent and happy race of Indians whom his countrymen had found free and infantile in their garden of delight and had repaid their more than generous hospitality by outrage and slavery, and he would replace them by another to be torn from their distant homes and subjected to unheard-of barbarities on this journey to the New World, and after they had reached it! And Catholic historians blindly follow the lead of men who have a loose and careless way of making so-called historical research. "Paw first and then Raynal and Robertson have brought the charge against Las Casas of having first introduced African slavery into the New World," when "they know the charge is false."¹⁷ "The statement, says John Fiske, in his "Discovery of America," "is a good specimen of the headlong, helter-skelter way in which things get said and believed in this superficial world."

¹⁷ "Las Casas and the Relations of the Spaniards to the Indians." By George Edward Ellis, in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History."

"In the instructions sent by the Catholic Sovereigns, in 1500, to Nicolas Obando, this Governor was commanded to *permit the importation of Negro slaves* born under Christian rule! Such a large number arrived in the colony that Obando found it necessary to write to the Spanish Sovereigns that it was time to stop the trade, because the Negroes abandoned the habitations of the Spaniards and buried themselves in the mountains. This statement of the Governor is sufficient to prove the error and injustice of some writers who have accused Las Casas of having introduced the slave trade into the colonies in 1517, as it is certain that it was in full operation in 1502, the year in which Las Casas first came to America."¹⁸

From the reliable authorities just quoted it is evident that the blame for the introduction of slavery in America is *not* to be laid at the door of Las Casas, although he did, at one time, entertain the suggestion that the African, because of his superior strength and powers of endurance, would be more available in the mines of Hispaniola, and as African slavery already existed on the island, he regarded it as the lesser of two evils. His regret at having conceded even this much, when he realized the full extent of the effect of his concession, was beyond expression and followed him to the day of his death.

But the introduction of African slavery did not accomplish the desired effect, because of the unbounded avarice of those engaged in the slave trade.

Las Casas next conceived the project of colonizing the Indians and bringing them under the beneficent influences of religion instead of exterminating them, as was being done, by brute force. His idea was to try the plan in places where the Spaniards were **already established**, but the crimes of the whites rendered his efforts impracticable. He next thought of trying those regions where no European colonies had yet been founded, and, at last, in 1520, after untold difficulties, he succeeded in obtaining permission to found a colony after his own heart, at Cumana, on the Pearl Coast. But the Indians on this coast knew the Spaniards and entertained a most intense hatred, for them because of their having repeatedly pounced upon them and carried off their people into bondage. This unfortunate occurrence sadly interfered with the plans of the good missionary. In vain did he dress his followers in white garments with a red cross upon their breasts; the hostility of the Indians was such that several of his Dominican missionaries were killed, and the renewed cruelties of the Spaniards to these poor Indians

¹⁸ Vie de Bartholomé Las Casas, Evêque de Chiapas, en Amérique—J. A. Llorente.

under pretext of avenging the death of the missionaries rendered the work of the heroic Las Casas well nigh hopeless. Wearied by repeated disappointments he returned to Hispaniola and sought rest and consolation among his old friends, the sons of St. Dominic, who received him with open arms, and who, in 1522, had the happiness of welcoming him into the Order of St. Dominic.

For eight years after receiving the "habit," Las Casas remained at the convent engaged in study and meditation and in writing his famous "*Historias de las Indias*." Very little is known of the life of this holy man during his novitiate and the four years immediately following it. We may well imagine that he was making a regular course of dogmatic and moral theology, which he had been unable to do during his preparation for the priesthood. Even though in Holy Orders he was obliged to comply with the rule of the Order of Friar Preachers, and to apply himself during the first years of his life as a religious to a systematic and serious study of the ecclesiastical sciences. When he returned to the active ministry, he is said to have been profoundly versed in civil and canon law, in moral and dogmatic theology, intimately acquainted with the civil, moral and religious conditions of both Europe and America. His short conventual seclusion had increased and intensified his zeal, his faith and his enthusiasm.

No wonder, then, that the peace and quiet of the convent had no charms for him while the yearnings of his generous soul remained unsatisfied. From the seclusion of his peaceful abode he heard the groans of the victims of civilized cruelty, and he seemed to see the torments which his beloved Indians suffered in so many parts of the New World.

In 1534 he emerged from his retirement and, with a band of devoted missionaries, he visited the coasts of Honduras. So infuriated did he find the natives of this province against the Spaniards, that even they despaired of ever being able to subjugate them, and they gave the country the significant name of the "Land of War."

Las Casas succeeded by pious hymns and tender exhortations in gaining the confidence of this people, and, in time, so modified their disposition that the name of the province was soon changed to *Vera Paz*. Alas! at the very moment when the plans of the indefatigable defender of the Indians was about to bear fruit, the war declared by Pedro de Alvarada for a season dampened his hopes, but in 1537 Pope Paul III. issued a Brief forbidding the further enslavement of the Indians under penalty of excommunication, and any governor who should give or any colonist who should accept a new *encomienda* of Indians was to be denied the

sacraments. This famous Bull of Paul III., *Sublimis Deus Sic Dilexit*, clearly sets forth that "whoever has the nature of man is capable of receiving the faith of Christ. . . . The Indians, who are true men, not only are capable of the faith, but . . . earnestly desire to embrace it. . . . We define and proclaim that said Indians, or any other people, who may be hereafter discovered by Catholics, although they be not Christians, *must in no way be deprived of their liberty or their possessions*, and that on the contrary they may and must be *allowed to enjoy freely and lawfully of said liberty and possessions*; that they must *not be in any manner enslaved*, and that if they be so enslaved, *their slavery must be considered null and void*."

The spread of slavery was stopped forever. Las Casas went to Spain, where he remained for five years. In 1542 he realized the triumph of his life in the promulgation of the "New Laws" by the Emperor Charles V. The decisive clause was as follows:

"We order and command that henceforth for no cause whatever, whether of war, rebellion, ransom or any other manner, can any Indian be made a slave."

This was the deathblow of slavery. The services of Las Casas in behalf of a downtrodden and cruelly abused race was not forgotten. The See of Cuzco was offered to him, but his humility would not permit him to accept it. Then, too, he remembered that some twenty-two years before, in the presence of the highest court officials, before whom he was pleading the cause of his beloved Indians, he had solemnly and impassionately said to the Emperor:

"That my meaning may not be misunderstood, I hereby renounce and decline any favor or temporal reward that your Majesty may hereafter offer me. And, should it come to pass that I, either personally or through a third person, directly or indirectly, should solicit any favor or reward for my services, I am willing to be branded as a liar and a traitor to my King."

Later on Las Casas was forced to accept the See of Chiapas. After repeated refusals the "Mandamus" came, and he yielded in holy obedience. He realized, too, that as a Bishop he could exert a power and influence in behalf of his persecuted Indians which he could never hope for as a simple Dominican Friar.

The strength of his sympathetic and Christian feeling was his surest inspiration through life. His mission was simply the bursting into action of heroic faith. He lived in it and was lighted to heaven by the flame of his enthusiasm. To ask whether such a man may be ranked among the benefactors of his race is to ask whether charity sheds light or darkness over the world. Suffice it to say that Las Casas, in his eighty-seventh year, in the peaceful cloisters

of his convent, at Valladolid, finished his "*Historia de las Indias.*" This work remained unedited until some forty years ago, when it was published in Spain, and republished in Mexico in 1877. In bequeathing this work to the College of St. Gregory of Valladolid, he requested his Dominican brethren "not to give it to any layman to read, inside or outside of the college for the space of forty years, beginning with January 1, 1560. . . . After this, should it appear to them expedient for the good of the Indians and of Spain to do so, they may have it printed for the glory of God, and mainly in order than the truth may be known."

The "*Historia General de las Indias*" closes with the year 1521, and its author was an eye-witness of many of the most important events recorded therein, and he may be justly regarded as the Father of American History. He wrote a separate volume called "*Historia Apologica de Las Indias,*" and the two volumes together make about two thousand five hundred octavo pages of ordinary print. No one can read them without becoming convinced that their author was a man of prayer, that he possessed to an eminent degree an abiding faith in God and His providence and that he was constant in the practice of the virtue of mortification.

On July 31, 1566, in his cell in the Convent Nuestra Señora de Atocha, Las Casas, surrounded by his Dominican brothers, gave his soul to God and slept in peace.

John Fiske, a non-Catholic, in his "*Discovery of America,*" sums up the life of Las Casas in this beautiful tribute:

"In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is, in some respects, the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity, since the apostolic age. When, now and then, in the course of centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age."

It was the nature of Las Casas to love; it was his glory to be loved by those in whose service he spent himself. His religion breathed the gentleness of the lamb, the emblem of the Saviour. His whole life was the history of a good man struggling with the impossibilities of his times. He thirsted for Christian equality. He established liberty, justice, morality and charity in the dealings of the Government with the oppressed. He was the tribune of virtue, the prophet of social improvement. A soldier of Christ, he

went forth to battle armed with the rosary instead of the sword, and he fought the good fight, like the Christian he was, to the end, and he could say with truth: "I trust in God and know in whom I trust."

"How beautiful it is for man to die
Upon the walls of Zion! To be call'd
Like a watch-worn and weary sentinel,
To put his armor off, and rest—in heaven.
His heart was with Jerusalem, and strong
As was a mother's love, and the sweet ties
Religion makes so beautiful at home,
He flung them from him in his eager race,
And sought the broken people of his God
To preach to them of Jesus."

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MEDIÆVAL COMMENT ON JOB IV., 12.

WHEN Thomas à Kempis wrote: "Blessed are the ears that receive the veins of the divine whisper" in the golden book of the Imitation, he was using a phrase in the Vulgate Latin of Job ("venas susurri.")¹ Most of his translators into English and other languages appear to have been quite unaware of the Scriptural source of the puzzling expression, and rendered it in many variant and often mutually exclusive ways. They gave us such words and phrases as "sound," "breathings," "whisperings," "soft echoes," "murmur," "soft murmur," for "venas." The comparatively few translators who gave plain indication that they were aware of the source of the phrase rendered "venas" by "instillings," "pulses," "runlets," "at least a faint sound," "murmur," "soft murmur" and other variants.²

An investigation made with the help of modern commentators on Job gave us little or no help in attaching a reasonable interpretation to the phrase as it occurs in the Imitation.³ This investigation was not wholly inadvisable, however, since it eliminated one large and possibly inviting field for speculation, and meanwhile served to illustrate better (as we shall now see) the great distinction that must be made between modern and mediæval exegesis. For the real question to be discussed when we endeavor to interpret the mind of Thomas à Kempis is not what was the thought of St. Jerome in rendering the Hebrew word "shemets" by the Latin phrase "venas susurri," but rather what was the interpretation given to that phrase of the Vulgate by the author of the Imitation when he used it in the form "venas divini susurri." And the question is to be answered, not by an appeal to the meaning (whatever it was) of the Hebrew original, of which the author of the Imitation doubtless never thought for a moment, but by a consideration of the meaning, whether literal or mystical, attached to the Latin phrase by Christian commentators and ascetical writers from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

A translator of the Imitation should reflect that he is not called upon to reproduce or represent faithfully the language of the Hebrew

¹ In Job iv., 12, the phrase is: "venas susurri ejus." "Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum, et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus." In the Imitation, JIL, I., 1, "divini" replaces "ejus," and we thus have the expression which has puzzled all the translators: "venas divini susurri." "Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrantibus nihil advertunt."

² For many illustrations see the REVIEW for October, 1916, pp. 673-696, and January, 1917, pp. 17-47.

³ Cf. "The Veins of Its Whisper" in the REVIEW, April, 1917.

Bible or the Latin Vulgate. He is rather properly expected to interpret the thought of a fifteenth century mystic who used the phrase of the Vulgate in a sense given to it, not even by mediæval commentators merely, but specifically by the ascetical writers, and especially the mystical writers, favored (and therefore clearly understood) by the religious community for the spiritual edification of whose members the *Imitation* was composed.

The distinction just made will appear valid when we shall have considered the tradition of the middle ages and its occasional variants in the exegesis of the phrase. But also, by way of anticipation, attention should be directed to another interesting fact. In discussing the mediæval commentators on Job, we should constantly bear in mind that it was not so much the Book of Job upon which they exercised their genius at interpretation and their deeply pious instincts, as St. Jerome's Latin translation of that Book from the Hebrew. It was not the writer of the Book of Job who used the expression, "the veins of its whisper," but St. Jerome. The Hebrew writer expressed his thought in the single word "shemets." But St. Jerome poetized thereon, and rendered it by what was perhaps an indivisible phrase, "venas susurri." Unaware of this fact, the mediæval writers commented separately on "venas" and on "susurri." *Susurrus* meant for them one thing, and *venae* meant a different thing. And whether it was St. Gregory the Great interpreting Job "morally," or St. Thomas Aquinas expounding Job "literally," the phrase was split up into its two components, which were severally endowed with peculiar moral or literal intimations. Still another interesting fact to which the reader's attention may now be called is that the mediæval commentators, by way of a natural corollary from their custom of splitting the phrase into its component parts, were inclined formally to ascribe to Eliphaz all the subtle meanings which they themselves had elaborated from long meditations made separately on "venas" and on "susurri."

PHILIP THE PRIEST.

If St. Jerome ever wrote a commentary on the Book of Job, it has been lost in "the wreck of time." We can only conjecture what he meant by that curious phrasal coinage of his, "the veins of its whisper." The *Patrologia Latina* of Migne places, as an appendix to the seventh volume of his works, a commentary on Job which is attributed to a certain Philippus Presbyter, a disciple of St. Jerome, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century. Now if this commentary were not so highly allegorical and mystical in its exposition, a reader would naturally hope to glean from the work of the disciple some knowledge of the intentions of the master. It

is strangely comforting and, in view of the characteristic exposition just alluded to, perhaps significant, to find that Philip avoids a mystical or moral interpretation of our verse, and appears to attempt an exposition of its literal meaning. Unlike his general style, moreover, his comment here is exceedingly brief and straightforward. Having placed the Vulgate text of Job iv., 12-17, he follows it with the single comment:⁴ "That is, secretly to the ear of my heart did the force of its meaning penetrate as by a kind of breathing."

Philip apparently represents the "whisper" by "quodam spiramine," and the "veins" by "virtus sententie." The revelation made to Eliphaz was conveyed in a whisper, and its full import was brought to his mental ear as blood is brought to the remotest portions of the body by "veins" (arteries). It is needless to point out that this interpretation is a direct contradiction (by anticipation) of the "little portion" favored by the modern commentators,⁵ or "the soft murmur" which Pineda⁶ commended as probably in the mind of St. Gregory the Great, or the "parts" or fragments that Delitzsch⁷ declared to be implied by the "veins" in St. Jerome's phrase. The "vein" would be fairly rendered in the sense of Philip by our idiom of the "marrow" or inmost meaning.

The same interpretation, set in an enlarged context, is given in the commentary on Job attributed⁸ to Philip the Priest. The comment is interlinear with the Vulgate text: "A divine secret was made known to me by revelation, that is, the cause of your sufferings; in a hidden manner the force of its meaning came to the ears of my heart." Here, again, the "veins" of the whisper are interpreted to mean the very intimate force, the excellent purport, of the message or "word" spoken in a whisper to Eliphaz.

Whether this commentary, ascribed to Philip, be genuine or not, matters little. It is not necessary to contend that he properly understood St. Jerome's meaning. If the work be spurious, it at least represents the view which its mediæval author considered the most probable one or the one perhaps entertained in the middle of the fifth century. And so we get a first intimation that Thomas à Kempis may have meant something very different from the interpretations of his use of the phrase into English and other languages. It follows

⁴ Id est, latenter ad aurem cordis mei virtus sententie velut quodam spiramine penetravit. This is the only comment given to verses 12-17 in a fairly extensive commentary, and seems to apply only to the second half of the 12th verse.

⁵ Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 208-213.

⁶ Ibid., p. 211.

⁷ Ibid., p. 212.

⁸ In the Patrol. Lat. of Migne, LIII., 1011: "Anno Domini 455. Philippus Presbyter." The commentary itself is found in P. L., XXIII., 1401.

that the translation of the Imitation by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., which rendered "*venas divini susurri*" by "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper," and in support of this interpretation appealed to the commentary of Carrières upon the original verse in Job, loses some of the force that a reader would naturally and properly accord it.⁹ The interpretation went counter to those that had, in very varied fashion, preceded it. And it seemed to have on its side the authority of learned commentators upon Job.

Once more, then, the lesson is borne in upon us that an appeal to whatever meaning St. Jerome really intended by his "*venas susurri ejus*" cannot settle for us the meaning which Thomas à Kempis gave to his own use of the phrase. Besides, he enlarged the expression by adding "*divini*" to the "*susurri*," or say, rather, he perhaps interpreted the "*ejus*" to refer to God and not, as modern commentators do, to the "*verbum absconditum*."¹⁰ Bearing these two facts in mind, we go on to St. Gregory.

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT.

Leaving thus the fifth century and coming to the sixth, we find St. Gregory the Great (d. 604) commenting largely on our verse in the fifth book of his *Moralia*. It was not his purpose in this extended commentary on the Book of Job to attempt a literal exegesis. The title of his work is based on his frequent digressions from exposition to moral application. And his exposition itself is not literal in the modern sense, but allegorical, or mystical. The immense influence the *Moralia* exercised on the pious learning of the middle ages, and accordingly on the interpretations given to "*venas susurri ejus*" by mediæval commentators, will justify large quotation here.

The hidden word which Eliphaz heard suggests first of all to the Saint the claims of heretics to divine and secretly given revelations. "Heretics pretend that they hear a hidden word," he says, "in order that they may obtain a certain kind of reverence for their preaching in the minds of their hearers. They therefore preach ob-

⁹ Carrières simply followed the general view that "*venas susurri*" meant "a little" of the whisper. Cf. the REVIEW, October, 1916, p. 696.

¹⁰ Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum, et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea *venas susurri ejus*. St. Gregory and other mediæval commentators appear to consider the revelation made to Eliphaz as coming from God, and understand "*ejus*" to refer to God rather than to the "*verbum absconditum*." When translating their commentaries into English, I think it well to render "*venas susurri ejus*" by "the veins of His whisper" and not, as Challoner (following the Doway translators) does, by "the veins of its whisper." We shall find St. Gregory replacing "*ejus*" by "*divini*," and thus giving us the exact phrase afterwards used by Thomas à Kempis in the Imitation.

scurely,¹¹ so that their preaching may be esteemed holy in proportion to its obscurity. They will not share in the common knowledge of men, lest they be thought merely like other people; and they are always seeking out some novelties, that they may find glory in the minds of the unskilled for knowing that of which others are ignorant. And, as we have said, they declare that this knowledge is occult, affirming that they have obtained it in a secret fashion, in order to show that it is something wonderful. And therefore the woman in Solomon,¹² taking the character of heretics, saith: 'Stolen waters are sweeter, and hidden bread is more pleasant.'

The quotation of this verse from Proverbs offers to St. Gregory a pleasant bridge for passing over from the "*verbum absconditum*" ("*panis absconditus*") to the "*quasi furtive*" ("*aquae furtivae*") of the second hemistich of verse 12. And accordingly the Saint forthwith continues: "And so this follows: 'Et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus' ['And as it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of His whisper'].¹³ They receive by stealth the veins of the whisper, because leaving the grace of a knowledge that binds a community together, they do not at all enter into it by the door, as the Lord witnesseth in His declaration: 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.'¹⁴ He, then, receives by stealth the veins of the divine whisper, who, seeking a knowledge of its power,¹⁵ departs from the door of public preaching and seeks the chinks of a perverted interpretation."

In this extract we come upon our phrase of the Imitation, "*venas divini susurri*," "the veins of the divine whisper." Clearly, however, the interpretation which St. Gregory here gives to the phrase is not that of Thomas à Kempis, who declares the ears "blessed" that receive the veins of the divine whisper. But we have come upon one interesting view of the relation between a whisper and its veins. The "whisper" symbolizes an open door; the "veins," slender chinks or cracks. We hear only faintly or partially through chinks; and the interpretation of St. Gregory comes pretty close here to that of the modern commentators who represented the veins by the Latin words *parum*, *pauillum*, *pauillulum* and the rest of the extensive synonymy employed by them.¹⁶

¹¹ Latenter—with a hidden meaning?

¹² Proverbs ix., 17: "*Aquae furtivae dulciores sunt, et panis absconditus suavior.*"

¹³ Properly, "the veins of its whisper." Cf. footnote 10.

¹⁴ John x., 1.

¹⁵ Virtutis.

¹⁶ Some illustrations of this extensive synonymy are: *parum*, *pauillum*, *pauillulum*, *pusillum*, *aliquid*, *aliquantulum*, *tantulum*, *auditulum*, *pars*, *particula*, *modicum quid*, *tenulus auditus*.

A second meaning is given by St. Gregory to the *verbum absconditum*, namely, the Word of God, Christ; and this *verbum absconditum* is declared to the hearts of men when the power of the Unbegotten Son is made manifest to them. We need not linger over this second attribution, since it has no corresponding elaboration in the second hemistich; for the Saint immediately gives a third meaning to the *verbum absconditum*, as follows: "The hidden word can also be understood as the utterance of an inward breathing,"¹⁷ of which John says: 'His unction will teach you concerning all things.'¹⁸ This inspiration given to the mind of man lifts it up, and placing beneath it the thought of temporal things, inflames it with desire of eternal things, so that now it wishes for naught save that which is above, and despises all the lower noises of human interests. To hear the hidden word is, then, to receive in the heart the speaking of the Holy Spirit. And this speaking cannot be known save by him who can have it. Whence it is that the voice of Truth saith concerning this hidden speaking: 'I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Paraclete, that He may remain with you forever, the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive.'¹⁹ For as this Paraclete after the ascension of the Mediator, this other Comforter of the human race, is invisible in Himself, so doth He inflame with a desire after invisible things every heart that He filleth. And since worldly hearts love only that which can be seen, the world does not receive Him, for that it rises not up to a love of the unseen. For in the proportion that earthly minds spread themselves out in earthly interests, they narrow the core of the heart unto His inspiration. And since there are few indeed who, purged of earthly interests, open their hearts by this purgation for the reception of the Holy Spirit, this word is called hidden, inasmuch as, although undoubtedly received by some in their heart, it is unknown to the greater part of mankind. Or at least this inspiration of the Holy Spirit is a hidden word, because it can be felt, although it cannot be expressed by the noise of speech. Since therefore the divine inspiration²⁰ lifts up the mind without noise, the hidden word is heard, because the speaking of the Spirit soundeth silently in the ear of the heart."

Here we find the germ of the verse of the Imitation. We must be deaf to the whispering of earthly interests if we may hope to hear the veins of God's whisper. "Blessed are the ears that re-

¹⁷ *Allocutio intimae aspirationis*—the speaking to us of an inward aspiration.

¹⁸ I. John II., 27.

¹⁹ John XIV., 16.

²⁰ *Aspiratio*.

ceive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no heed of the whisperings of this world" (Imit., III., i., 1).

St. Gregory has just spoken of the hidden word as sounding silently in the ear of the heart. He forthwith adds: "Therefore we immediately read: 'And as it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of its whisper.' The ear of the heart receives by stealth the veins of the supernal whisper, because the mind which is breathed upon²¹ quickly and secretly knows the subtle character of the inspiration.²² For unless it withdraws itself from external desires, it does not penetrate into those that are internal. It is both hidden that it may hear, and it hears that it may be hidden; for when it withdraws itself from the visible world, it beholds the invisible; and once it is filled with that which is unseen, it despises wholly that which is seen. It is to be noted, however, that he [Eliphaz] does not say: 'As it were by stealth mine ear heard its whisper,' but 'the veins of its whisper.' Assuredly the whisper of the hidden word is this very utterance of the inward speaking.²³ But the veins of the whisper are said to be the instrumentalities²⁴ by which this very aspiration is brought to the mind. God opens the veins of His whisper, as it were, when He insinuates to us the means by which He comes to the ear of our intelligence. For sometimes He pierces us by love, and sometimes by terror. Sometimes He shows us the nothingness of the present world and directs our desires towards that which is eternal, and sometimes He first makes us think of what is eternal so that what is temporal may grow vile in our sight. Sometimes He makes us aware of our own evil deeds in such fashion that we weep also over the evil deeds of others. And again He exhibits the sins of others to us until, filled with compunction, we turn from our own evil ways. To hear by stealth the veins of the divine whisper is, then, to know in a slight and hidden manner²⁵ the occult methods of the divine inspiration."

We have a new metaphor, apparently—that of the hidden and slender pathways of the arteries in the human body, through which the blood comes to our members from the central reservoir of the heart. But St. Gregory perceives yet another symbolism in the phrase. God is said to whisper to us, inasmuch as He does not fully reveal Himself to our minds. And all the works of creation are so many veins through which a partial revelation is made to us—of His power, splendor, love and the rest. The Saint therefore continues:

²¹ *Afflata mens.*

²² *Subtilitatem locutionis intimæ.*

²³ *Est hæc ipsa locutio aspirationis intimæ.*

²⁴ *Causarum origines*—the sources or occasions.

²⁵ *Tenuiter et latenter.*

"We are permitted to attach still another meaning to the whisper or to the veins of the whisper. He who whispers speaks in a secret manner, and does not so much utter as imitate a sound. So long as we are burdened with the corruption of the flesh, we do not at all see the brightness of the divine power such as it remains unchangeable in itself; for the eyes of our weakness cannot endure that the ray of His eternity should shine upon us with its unbearable splendor. When therefore the omnipotent God shows Himself to us through the chinks of contemplation, He nowise speaks to us, but rather whispers, inasmuch as, although He does not fully manifest Himself to us, He nevertheless does exhibit something of Himself to the human mind. On the other hand, He does not whisper, but rather speaks, when He manifests Himself certainly by revelation. And hence it is that Truth declares in the Gospel: 'I will show you plainly of the Father.'²⁶ Hence John says: 'We shall see Him as He is.'²⁷ Hence Paul says: 'Then I shall know even as I am known.'²⁸ But in this life the divine whisper has as many veins for us as are the created works over which the Divinity presides. For whilst we behold all the things that are created, we are lifted up with admiration of the Creator. For as we seek to increase a slender flow of water by boring through veins for it, and as the flow is more abundant in proportion as the veins are more open, so also, when we studiously gather a knowledge of the Divinity by considering His creature, we open up to ourselves, as it were, the veins of His whisper. For inasmuch as we discern the thing that is done, we admire the power of the doer; and through what we see in the open, that which is hidden comes forth to us. God breaks forth for us into sound, as it were, when He exhibits Himself in the works which we are to investigate, wherein He indicates Himself in some fashion, while at the same time He shows us how incomprehensible He is. Since, however, we are not able worthily to contemplate Him, we hear, not His voice, but scarce even a whisper. Since, then, we are not competent for the full understanding even of created things, it is rightly said: 'As it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of its whisper.' Exiled as we are from the joys of Paradise, and afflicted with the punishment of blindness, we scarce apprehend the veins of His whisper, because only in a slight and fragmentary way do we estimate even His wonderful works."

We have, then, various implications of the veins of a whisper. First of all, the veins are to a whisper as chinks to an open door. Again, the whisper is the internal speaking of God to our hearts, and

²⁶ John xvi., 25.

²⁷ I. John iii., 2.

²⁸ I. Cor. xiii., 12.

the veins are the methods or ways by which the divine message reaches our understanding; for as a "vein" (artery) brings from the reservoir of the heart only a portion of the blood, so does any one of God's methods of obscurely revealing Himself to us constitute, as it were, only a partial means of revelation. But while God thus manifests Himself to us by secret motions of love or terror, of longings for heaven or contempt of earth, of sorrow for sins that we commit or horror of those done by others, He also makes a more general revelation of Himself through the works of His creation—and in this sense the veins are the various works of His creative power.

It would seem proper to infer from all this at least two general ideas suggested by veins. First, they are thin, slender, irregular, like the chinks or cracks in door or fence, and what we see or hear by such means is but partial and uncertain. This, as I have pointed out, conforms well to the ideas of the older amongst modern commentators. Secondly, the veins are channels bringing truth to us, as the arteries of the body bring blood to its members. We shall see this latter idea repeated by subsequent commentators of the middle ages.

WALAFRID STRABO AND ST. ODO OF CLUNY.

In the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo borrows from St. Gregory's *Moralia* the reference to heretical preaching, but does not deal with the other symbolism which St. Gregory treats more largely. Walafrid merely says, apropos of our verse: "Now a word was said to me in secret.' Heretics pretend to hear hidden things, and therefore preach obscurely in order that their preaching may be esteemed as more sacred and not like that of others. 'By stealth mine ear received the veins of its (his) whisper.' For they do not enter by the door with others, but seek the chinks of a perverted interpretation."

In the tenth century, St. Odo of Cluny borrows more liberally, and withal professedly, in his "Epitome *Moralium S. Gregorii in Job.*" Like Walafrid, he applies the *verbum absconditum* to the pretended revelations made to heretical preachers. Next, the *verbum absconditum* is, as St. Gregory suggested, the Word of God, the Second Person of the Trinity. But St. Odo devotes most of his brief space to the interpretation of the *verbum absconditum* as the inspiration or aspiration of the Holy Spirit made to the internal ear of the soul. It may prove interesting to observe his method of condensation: "The hidden word may also be understood as the utterance of inward inspiration.²⁹ . . . Which interior aspiration

²⁹ *Allocutio intimæ aspirationis.*

lifts up the mind of man which feels it, and inflames it with internal desires. To hear the hidden word is, then, to receive in the heart the speaking of the Holy Spirit. And this cannot be known save by him who is capable of possessing it. This word is styled hidden, because it is known by some, although unknown to the greater part of mankind. Or at least the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is a hidden word, inasmuch as, while it can be heard, it cannot be expressed by the sound of speech. Therefore he has heard by stealth the veins of the divine whisper, who leaves the door of public preaching and seeks the chinks of a wrong understanding; of whom the Lord saith: 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, the same is a thief and a robber.'⁸⁰ Typically: The ear of the heart receives by stealth the veins of the supernal whisper, because the mind which is breathed upon knows in a moment and in secret the subtle quality of the inward speaking, inasmuch as, withdrawn from the visible world, it gazes upon the invisible, and thus filled with the unseen, it wholly contemns that which is visible. This utterance of the inward aspiration is the whisper of the occult word. By the veins of the whisper are meant the instrumentalities⁸¹ by which this aspiration is conveyed to the mind. He [God—understood, but not expressed in the context] opens, as it were, a vein [venam—singular number!] of His whisper, when He secretly communicates to us the means by which He comes to the ear of our understanding. (Aliter). He that whispers speaks obscurely, and does not utter, but imitates a sound. When, therefore, the Almighty exhibits Himself to us through the chinks of contemplation, He does not speak to us, but whispers, because He does not fully manifest Himself, although He does communicate some knowledge of Himself to the human mind. On the other hand, He does not whisper, but speaks, when a certain knowledge of Him is given through revelation. Hence the Lord saith: 'I will show you openly of the Father';⁸² and John saith: 'We shall see Him as He is.'⁸³ St. Odo then turns his attention to the following verse.

We shall find Albertus Magnus, in the thirteenth century, restating this view of St. Gregory's and St. Odo's, that the veins of the whisper indicate the instrumentalities (*causarum origines*) by which God's inspiration reaches the ear of the heart. Not only St. Odo, but Peter of Blois (twelfth century) as well, professes to restate St. Gregory's views. But Peter has nothing to say of our verse. In the twelfth century, St. Bruno, abbot of Monte Cassino,

⁸⁰ John x., 1.

⁸¹ *Causarum origines*.

⁸² John xvi., 25.

⁸³ John iii., 2.

and Rupert of Deutz follow in general the lead of St. Gregory, but explicate our verse briefly and somewhat differently.

ST. BRUNO AND RUPERT OF DEUTZ.

In his "Expositio in Job," St. Bruno of Monte Cassino understands the "vein" to symbolize the beginning and perfection of the hidden word. This view perhaps accounts for the curiously exceptional interpretation of the "veins" of the verse in the Imitation found in the two translations already noticed in a previous article—the "il principio del parlare spirituali" of one Italian version, the "l'abord de l'inspiration divine" of one French version.³⁴

St. Bruno says: "For heretics always promise great things, and in order to give greater authority to their words, extol their own knowledge, as he [Eliphaz] seems to do. For he declares that a hidden and secret word, unknown to other men, had been revealed to him, and that he had received the vein of that word, that is the beginning and perfection of it, as it were by stealth, in an occult and clever manner."³⁵ And, in order to commend still more his own adeptness, he professes that he received the revelation not in an open manner, but by a whisper." This is the whole comment upon the twelfth verse.

Rupert, abbot of Deutz, says: "'Porro,' that is, in a different manner, 'ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,' that is, holy, profound and not part of the common knowledge of others. 'Et quasi furtive,' that is, not through the door of a common knowledge, 'suscepit auris mea,' that is, my intelligence, 'venas,' that is, the inmost meaning,³⁶ 'susurri,' that is, of the hidden speaking 'ejus.'" Here we find the veins indicating the inmost meaning, the intimate communication of the message.

Thus are two new meanings, or additional interpretations of the "veins," given by these twelfth century commentators. They have their counterparts in some of the translations of the verse of the Imitation. But now we come to Richard of St. Victor, who furnishes us with an undoubtedly close approximation to the very thought of the Imitation.

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR.

Much importance should be attached to the interpretation of the "venas susurri ejus" (in the Book of Job) given by Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), a Canon Regular, in his "Explicatio in Cantica

³⁴ Cf. the REVIEW, January, 1917, p. 39 (VII).

³⁵ Dicit enim verbum absconditum. . . . sibi esse revelatum, ejus verbi venam, id est principium et perfectionem, quasi furtive, latenter et ingeniose ipse suscepit.

³⁶ Intimum sensum.

Canticorum." He introduces his interpretation curiously enough, for of course he is not commenting upon the Book of Job. Still more curious, however, in view of this casual quotation of our puzzling verse, is the length and minuteness of Richard's exegesis of the passage. To understand easily his point of view, and the close relation it bears to the content and structure of the Third Book of the Imitation, it will be desirable (and not, I trust, fatiguing to the reader) to translate here his whole treatment involving our verse of Job. The more significant portions will be given in Latin in order to call attention to his use of the Vulgate words.

He is commenting on the words of the Canticle of Canticles: "I held him: and I will not let him go, till I bring him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that bore me" (in verse 4 of chapter 3). "Our mother," he says, "is the grace of the Spirit, which regenerates us in a spiritual manner. Her house is the human mind, in which the same grace is received. She desires to bring the Beloved into this house, in order that, having found Him, she may remain and dwell with Him. For she wishes to retain the grace which she has received, to transfuse it into her habits, to transform it in her manner of life." Thus Richard, in the sixth chapter of the "Explicatio," discourses on the text. He returns to the subject in the following chapter, which is headed: "In what manner the mind secretly enjoys God and by Him is taught concerning secret things." We shall recall that the first chapter of the Third Book of the Imitation is headed: "Of the inward speaking of Christ to the faithful soul." Richard forthwith begins:

"It is not enough that the spouse should have brought the Beloved into the house of the mind, unless she bring Him also into the chamber, where she may delight in Him more familiarly and secretly, and may be alone with Him, and converse with Him, and having banished all else may share His counsels, may understand hidden things, may learn of hidden causes, and where God may manifest to her the uncertain and hidden things of His wisdom.

"*Tibi audire cupit verbum absconditum, id est internam et occultam aspirationem, quae in Job verbum absconditum vocatur (Job iv.), quia paucis conceditur, vel quia silenter aure cordis praecipitur.*

There she desires to hear the hidden word, that is the internal and hidden aspiration, which in Job is styled a hidden word (Job iv.), because it is granted to few, or because the ear of the heart receives it silently.

"But this word is said to be heard by night, when deep sleep is wont to hold men,³⁷ that is when, the desires of the flesh having been trodden under foot, the mind holds itself in quietude. In the silence therefore of the night, when God is secretly with her in the room, when everything is quiet, when peace is felt within from all stirrings

³⁷ Job iv., 13.

of the vices, and when peace is felt without by the cessation of all occupation and inquietude, when the vices are silent, when the memory of sins disturbs not, when the external senses are shut, and there is no recollection of worldly interests—when, therefore, there is such a great quietude and all is in silence—

tunc jam audiri poterit vox Dei quæ non tantum loquitur, sed susurrat, id est tenuiter et occulte aliquid humanæ menti manifestat. Nec solum susurrum Dei, sed et venas susurri ejus furtive tunc suscipit anima, quia subtilitatem divinæ aspirationis, et causarum origines quibus ad mentem gratia veniat intelligit.

then can be heard the voice of God, which does not speak so much as whisper, that is, shows something to the human mind slightly and hiddenly. The soul receives not alone the whisper of God, but also the veins of the whisper as it were by stealth, because it understands the subtlety of the divine aspiration, and the sources whence grace comes to the mind.

“For God visits us in various ways, now piercing the mind with the desire of divine love, again with the hope and joy of future reward, now with the pleasure of virtue, again with a realization of our own imperfection, now with a recollection of sinfulness and a fear of punishment, or with a manifestation of neglect and danger, again with the memory of something good or the example of some perfect man. By these and other means grace comes to the mind, not always in the same manner, but now in this, and again in that fashion. Just as the gifts and disbursements of the Spirit are different in different men, in such wise that one receives this grace, and another that, so in one and the same man the visitations of the Spirit are diverse. The soul, therefore, with which God silently whispers,³⁸ knows and discerns these things, conforms itself to the manner in which it is visited, and so directs itself. It knows the discernment and use of grace, its presence and its absence, its coming and going, the reasons why it came, the movements and thoughts, the heralds and forerunners of grace.”

Richard then goes on to show the necessity of humility in thought and deed, for that God gives His grace to the humble and resists the proud. “But who,” he then continues, “may recognize an old and inveterate pride, its hidden roots, and the subtle cogitations through which it mostly insinuates itself and creeps upon the soul unawares, unless God whispers (that is, reveals it in a hidden manner)?”³⁹ The proud are like the mountains and hills which God will make arid (Ps. xlii.) :

“Istos montes, visitantisque gratiæ origines et causas merendi vel demerendi latenter intelligere, est venas divini susurri furtive suscipere. Venæ istæ silenter et cum levi murmure serpunt, nec audiuntur a mente inquieta, et in

To understand in a hidden manner those mountains and the sources of grace and the causes of meriting or demeriting it, is to receive by stealth the veins of the divine whisper. Those veins creep onward silently, with a gentle murmur, and

³⁸ Susurrat.

³⁹ Nisi Deo susurrante (id est occulte revelante) cognoscat?

qua perstrepunt et clamant vitia, vel perturbationes aliquae. Horum itaque intelligentia percipitur, et discitur, in cubiculo (id est mentis secreto) ubi exclusa sunt omnia praeter Deum, ubi sola cum solo anima susurrat, haec est solitudo in quam ducit animam Deus, ut loquatur ad cor ejus. Ibi audire potest quid loquatur in ea Dominus Deus."

are not heard by a disturbed mind, in which the vices, or any perturbations, cry out noisily. This knowledge is received and learned in the chamber (that is, in the secret place of the mind), where all save God is banished, where alone with Him the soul whispers—this is the solitude into which God leads the soul that He may speak to her heart. There can she hear what God the Lord shall speak in her.

Thomas à Kempis opens the Third Book of the Imitation with this verse of the Psalmist: "Audiam quid in me loquatur Dominus Deus" (Ps. lxxxiv., 9): "I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me." And he forthwith continues: "Blessed is the soul that hears the Lord speaking within her, and from His mouth receives the word of comfort. Blessed are the ears that receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no heed of the whisperings of this world." The connection between the commentary of Richard of St. Victor and the Imitation of Thomas à Kempis would appear to be quite close. Nor will the impression of similarity of thought and even of phrase be the only one which a reader of the seventh chapter of the *Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum* will take away with him. I think that the little which now remains to quote from that chapter will appear to be a condensed summary of the teaching given by Thomas in the Third Book of the Imitation. Richard continues:

"There it is that He opens for her the inward ears alone, for the ears of the heart lie open. He closes the tumult of worldly affairs and the quiet of secret consideration begins. Then it is that the mind more vigorously penetrates the words of God, when it refuses admission to the bustle of worldly cares. This chamber is a school where she learns in silence, where the arcana of the commandments are taught, where she is instructed in the knowledge of the divine will, in morality, in the distinction of the virtues, in the contemplation of spiritual things. To this chamber should the soul retreat as did Moses to the tabernacle of the covenant, to consult the Lord concerning her doubts, the ordering of the house of her mind, the things she should do there, her own state, the spiritual and corporal needs of others, the love of God, the love and defense of justice, the discretion to be used in the exercise of zeal, the occasions when faults should be overlooked, the gentleness or the rigor that should be shown to delinquents. Daily she here discusses and examines her external duties as well as her own interior state and the character of her meditation—what it chiefly thinks upon and what it should principally concern itself with; what is the character of her speech—well-ordered or unrestrained, humble or proud; also,

whether her activity is strenuous or remiss; and, finally, how she manages her whole house and what things therein should be corrected or permitted. In so far as she attains to purity of conscience and by mortifying her will joins it to that of God, she makes herself one with God, pierces into spiritual things, and understands the will of God. In order, therefore, that she may receive this grace, she rightly desires to bring the Beloved into her chamber, that is, into the secret place of quietude, of meditation, of prayer, where she may be undisturbed by exterior affairs, and by meditation may discern, and by prayer obtain, the things that are of internal value."

Richard of St. Victor was a disciple of the renowned Hugh of St. Victor, the mystic who attained still greater fame and whose views Richard elaborated. I have not been able to discover in the works of Hugh, however, anything touching upon an interpretation of the veins of a whisper. Neither do the sermons of St. Bernard on the Cantic of Canticles appear to contain any reference to it. Richard follows in part the mystical exegesis of St. Gregory's *Moralia*, but this work was composed professedly upon Job as a text, whereas Richard commented, not on Job, but on the Cantic.

THE BLESSED ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

In the thirteenth century we find the two wonders of the age, the Blessed Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas, commenting on the Book of Job. And it is interesting to notice the large liberty with which the disciple differs from his former master in elucidating our verse. But the recent (1904) publication* of Albert's Commentary on Job for the first time in print may lend additional interest to his interpretation of our verse. Besides his work on Job, this "Universal Doctor"—appropriately thus styled because of his encyclopædic learning and his prodigious literary activity—composed commentaries on the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels, the Apocalypse. And all this formed but a small portion of his immensely laborious output. His full treatment of our verse cannot well be given here, but there are some points of possible import in our inquiry.

We shall recall that Thomas à Kempis heads the first chapter of the famous Third Book with a quotation from Psalm lxxxiv., verse the ninth: "Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus" ("I will hear what the Lord God shall speak in me"), and forthwith continues: "Happy is the soul that heareth the Lord speaking within

* B. Alberti Magni, O. Praed., Ratisbonensi Episcopi, Commentarii in Job. Additamentum ad opera omnia B. Alberti primum ex V codicibus manuscriptis edidit Melchior Weiss . . . Friburgi Brisgoviae (Herder) MCMIV.

her, and from His mouth receiveth the word of comfort. Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper." The Blessed Albert had also recalled the verse of the Psalm when treating of the "*verbum absconditum*," the veins of whose whisper Eliphaz heard. Albert interprets thus (I condense his words): "But [porro] to my intellect and heart there was revealed by word of mouth [per oraculum, 'for a revelation thus made is more certain than one given in a dream'] *verbum absconditum*." When he comes to the *verbum absconditum*, he immediately quotes the Psalm: "*Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus*." Perhaps this direct association of the psalm-verse with the verse in Job which gave to Thomas à Kempis the puzzling phrase concerning the veins of the divine whisper was a suggestion to the fifteenth century mystic?

Albert further explains that the revealed word was a hidden one, inasmuch as it is not perceived by the common run of men, who rather follow the leading of their senses and their fancies. The "furtive" of the second hemistich is interpreted benignly, inasmuch, argues Albert, as the withdrawal of the pure and simple intellect from the tumults of the senses and the play of the fancy is a good species of theft. Finally, by "*auris mea*" he understands the interior apprehension of the intellect, or the "interior ear" ("*auris interior*"). And now we come to the veins of the whisper.

The Universal Doctor considers the "*venae susurri*" as performing for the intellect a function similar to that which veins perform for the human body. As the latter, he argues, convey nourishment to the fleshly tissues, so the former bring nutriment to the intellect: "He [Eliphaz] calls 'veins' the ways and methods of the revelations, which bring truth for the nourishment of the mind, just as veins bring blood for the nourishment of our bodily members." There is here no implication of the faintness or fragmentariness which modern commentators have interpreted the "*venas susurri*" to imply. Nor is there any harking back to the idea with which Pineda dubiously credited St. Gregory, of the soft murmur of water flowing through hidden pipes. The *Moralia* of St. Gregory was nevertheless clearly in the mind of Albert, for in one place he directly quotes therefrom, illustrating the "*absconditum*" by saying: "*Gregorius: 'Locutio intimae aspirationis per speciem latentem in corde sciri non potest, nisi a quo haberi potest.'*" We have therefore something quite new in the metaphorical significance of the veins. They are channels which literally carry blood, but figuratively carry truth.

Coming next to St. Thomas, we find that he differs wholly from Albert in his treatment of our verse. Albert appears to think that the revelation was made to Eliphaz (or was so claimed by him)

internally, while Thomas argues that it was made to Eliphaz when fully awake, so that he could hear with the external or physical ear just as he saw the vision with his external or physical eye.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

We come next to the *Expositio in Librum Job* of the Angelic Doctor. It is needless to say that here, as elsewhere, his reasoning, by way of analysis and development, is so closely interwoven with other Scriptural⁴¹ facts and texts and is withal so gradual in its attainment of conclusions, that a very brief extract would not satisfactorily exhibit his exegesis of this verse of ours.

The Angelic Doctor considers under one heading (Cap. IV., Lect. iii.) the verses from the twelfth (which contains our veins of the whisper) to the twenty-first (the closing verse of the fourth chapter of Job). He points out that Eliphaz, fearing lest the authority and repute enjoyed by Job might rob his own views of their argumentative weight, has recourse to a higher authority, and appeals to a revelation which he has received. In order to illustrate the sublime character of this revelation, Eliphaz calls attention to its obscurity. "For the higher anything is, the less perceptible it is to human sight. And so the Apostle says (II. Cor. xii.) that he was rapt up unto the Paradise of God, 'and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter.' After this fashion Eliphaz, whether truly or falsely, says: 'Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum' ('Now a word was said to me in secret')." At this point we may quote St. Thomas consecutively:⁴²

"We must remember that any truth, however much it is hidden from men by its sublimity, is nevertheless revealed to some persons clearly and to others obscurely. In order to escape the reproach of boastfulness, Eliphaz declares that the truth was revealed to him in an obscure manner, and therefore adds: 'Et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus' ('And my ear by stealth as it were received the veins of its whisper').

⁴¹ "Perhaps the most striking of all the *Expositions* of the Angelical is that on the Book of Job. Here the illustrations and quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers are met less often than in the other Commentaries. True, St. Paul and Ecclesiasticus now and then shed a gleam across the pages." . . . Thus Archbishop Vaughan, in his "Life and Labors of S. Thomas of Aquin." It is appropriate, therefore, to ask the reader to note, in the following extracts from the *Expositio*, the quotations from Numbers (chap. xii.), Isaiah (chap. vii. and chap. xi.) and Exodus (chap. xxxiii).

⁴² The temptation was strong to quote in full even the preliminary treatment, not because the *Expositio* would to-day meet the needs of a Biblical student, but because the succinct and clear statement of the Saint is a model for literary imitation. With characteristic gentleness and modesty, he refuses to adjudge the dispute as to the character of the "revelation" given to Eliphaz.

"Here we find a threefold method of concealment employed in revelations. The first is, when an intelligible truth is revealed to some person by means of a vision,⁴³ as we see exemplified in Numbers xii.: 'If there be among you a prophet of the Lord, I will appear to him in a vision, or I will speak to him in a dream. But it is not so with My servant, Moses, who is most faithful in all My house. For I will speak to him mouth to mouth; and plainly, and not by riddles and figures, doth he see God.' Moses, therefore, heard this secret word through the means of a clear voice; but others hear by means of a whisper.

"There is a second method of concealment; for in the vision itself⁴⁴ there are sometimes words which expressly contain truth, as in Isaias vii.: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive'; and sometimes under certain figurative expressions, as in Isaias xi.: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower,' etc. When Isaias heard: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive,' he received the whisper itself [*ipsum susurrum*]; and when he heard: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse,' etc., he received the veins of the whisper [*percepit venas susurri*]. For figurative expressions are as it were certain veins derived by similitude from the truth itself.

"A third method of concealment is that sometimes a person has a frequent and lengthy revelation from God, as is said of Moses in Exodus xxxiii.: 'And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend.' Sometimes, however, a person has a sudden and fleeting revelation. It is this sudden kind of revelation which he [Eliphaz] signifies by saying, 'quasi furtive' ('as it were by stealth'); for we hear as it were by stealth those things which come to us hurriedly and as it were fleetingly."

From the Angelic Doctor's argument on the second method of concealment, it would seem that by whisper (*susurrus*) he understood an obscure revelation which nevertheless contained a literally expressed truth; and that by the veins of its whisper (*venas susurri ejus*) he understood an obscure revelation which contained a truth figuratively represented. Thus the declaration, "A virgin shall conceive," was literally true, however obscurely appreciable by the Hebrews. The other prophecy: "There shall come forth a rod out of Jesse," was only figuratively true. Does St. Thomas imply here that this prophecy was therefore still less appreciable by the Hebrews? We may perhaps conclude that he considered a *vena susurri* as something fainter, as it were, than a *susurrus*, or at least less full and complete in intelligibility. The vein would then be not

⁴³ Per imaginariam visionem.

⁴⁴ In ipsa imaginaria visione.

merely a part or fragment of a whisper, caught by an ear that is unable to hear all of it. Rather would it be a continuously heard sound which is so faint as scarcely to be even a whisper.

Shall we then say that the interpretation thus given by Saint Thomas is rather metaphorical than literal—just as the expositions given in the *Moralia* of St. Gregory the Great are mystical or moral and not literal? In his Prologue to the *Expositio* in Job, the Angelic Doctor declares that he purposes to expound the Book of Job according to the literal sense (*secundum literalem sensum exponere*), and notes that the mysteries of the Book of Job had already been explained with such subtlety and discretion by St. Gregory as to leave nothing to be said further in this direction. That St. Thomas carried out his purpose, in the opinion of his immediate successors, is evidenced by their direct testimony, when they repeat so often the expression “*ad litteram*.” Thus Guillelmus de Tocco, O. P., a Sicilian who was still living in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and whose life of the Saint is incorporated in the work of the Bollandist Continuator under date of 7 March, remarks (chapter 4 of the Life): “He wrote on Job literally [*ad litteram*]. This task had not been attempted by any previous Doctor because of the profundity of the literal sense—a depth to which none could attain.” This view was also entertained by the English Dominican, Nicholas Trivet, and by the French Dominican, Bernard Guido, both of whom lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. The Benedictine, Peter Roger, who is better known to us as Pope Clement the Sixth, shared this common view. John of Colonna, who belonged to the same age, declared in his eulogy of the Saint that he had written on Job “*ad litteram, opus quidem mirabile*.” Finally St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, declares: “He wrote on Job literally [*ad litteram*], a thing which no Doctor had previously attempted to do. For St. Gregory the Great wrote, indeed, a most beautiful exposition, but it was moral rather than literal. Nicolas de Lyre, after St. Thomas, wrote an exposition of Job, but he pilfered much from St. Thomas, whilst also contradicting him at times without reason.”⁴⁵

⁴⁵ All of these testimonies to the “literal” character of the *Expositio* I have extracted from the *Dissertationes* (Diss. I., cap. II.) of the famous Dominican, Bernardus de Rubels (d. 1775), on the life and writings of St. Thomas. De Rubels was highly esteemed for his erudition and his critical powers, and is also praised for his elegant Latinity. He does not, however, comment either upon the “literal” character of the *Expositio* of St. Thomas or on the omission by the Saint of an explanation why St. Jerome should have chosen to express, by the phrase “*venas susurri*,” the thought which Aquinas interprets and elaborates so minutely. The general character of the *Dissertationes* does not, it is true, call for such comment; but it would have proved helpful to readers of the *Expositio*.

NICOLAS DE LYRE.

A distinct and separate treatment, how briefly soever it be made, should be accorded to this Nicolas de Lyre,⁴⁶ whom St. Antoninus of Florence esteemed but lightly, as the quotation from De Rubeis illustrates. Born about the year 1270, he was almost a contemporary of St. Thomas in exegetical work. He died in 1349,⁴⁷ leaving behind him a reputation, which has endured to the present day, as the foremost exegete of the fourteenth century and the father of modern exegesis; and (as one recent writer perhaps too enthusiastically declares) he ranks "among the foremost exegetes of all times". His "*Postillae perpetuae in universam Sacram Scripturam*", a monumental work, soon became the favorite manual for Biblical students and was the first Biblical commentary to appear in print (Rome, 1472).

He "was well acquainted with Hebrew and Rabbinic traditions; he admitted the fourfold sense of Holy Scripture, viz.: the literal or historical, the mystical or spiritual, the allegorical and the moral or tropological, but clearly gave the preference to the literal sense."⁴⁸ "The literal sense"—that is, "the sense which the writer of a sacred book intended proximately and directly to convey through the words he used."⁴⁹ Did St. Jerome intend proximately and directly to convey the various senses which thus far we have found given to the phrase "*venas susurri ejus*?" However much the mediæval exegetes insisted on their intention to give the literal sense, did they really succeed in so doing?

Nicolas de Lyre was a Hebrew scholar. Doubtless, however, he found the word "*shemets*" a puzzle, just as his predecessors

⁴⁶ Sometimes styled Lyranus, from his birthplace of Lyra, now Neuve-Lyre, in Normandy.

⁴⁷ Thus, (against the date of 1340 commonly assigned) the "*Études Franciscaines*" for May, 1907, p. 490. The same writer maintains that the *Postilla Literalis* was undertaken in 1322 (not 1293, as had been previously claimed); and (p. 504) that "the Jewish origin of Nicolas de Lyre should be considered as a pure legend constructed in the fifteenth century to explain the Hebrew learning of this celebrated commentator."

⁴⁸ Gigot, General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, p. 444. He quotes the words of Lyranus (as given by Davidson): "All of them (i. e., the Scriptural senses) presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building declining from the foundation is likely to fall, so the mystic interpretation which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned as unbecoming and unsuitable." . . . This was also insisted upon by St. Francis de Sales: "He would not allow an orator to launch at once into the mystical sense of the Word, without a previous exposition of the literal one; also, he would say, we might as well roof a house before we build the foundation. The Word of God should be treated with more reverence and steadiness." Thus the Bishop of Belley, in his "*Spirit of St. Francis de Sales*" (Eng. tr., New York, 1867, p. 62), with more to the same effect.

⁴⁹ Gigot, loc. cit., p. 385.

appear to have found the phrase "*venas susurri*" obscure. In his customary brief manner, however, he did anticipate the "*parum*" of the modern commentators. He dismisses the second hemistich of Job iv., 12, as follows: "And as it were by stealth, that is, hiddenly, my ear received the veins of its whisper, because such things are revealed secretly and are not perfectly understood." This is virtually the "*little thereof*" favored by the Authorized Version of 1611; for the intelligence receives only a little of that which is not perfectly understood.

WALTER HILTON.

Walter Hilton, the fourteenth century mystic, died nearly half a century later than Nicolas de Lyre. Like Richard of St. Victor and Thomas à Kempis, he was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine. While it is not improbable that the "*Postillae*" of Nicolas was familiar to him, it is clear that the brief exegesis of our verse just given here could not have moulded his thought in respect of the veins of a whisper. In his *Scale or Ladder of Perfection* he introduces the verse with great casualness, and gives it a highly mystical interpretation.

In the second section of the third book of the *Scale*, Hilton treats of the light of grace by which the nature of the angels may be spiritually seen, "and how Jesus is God and Man above all creatures, according to that which the soul may see of Him here". The clean soul not only understands the nature of the angels, but acquires "great acquaintance and great fellowship with the blessed spirits.

. . . They enlighten the soul graciously; they comfort the soul with sweet words suddenly sounded in a clean heart . . . when the light of grace abundantly shineth in a clean soul. . . . But then with the help of angels the soul yet seeth more; for knowing in a clean soul riseth higher above all this, and that is to behold the blessed nature of Jesus . . . for by knowing of creatures is known the Creator." This is partly the thought of St. Gregory as already indicated here. And the unity in substance and the distinction of Persons in the Blessed Trinity—even these "a clean soul may see in knowing through the same light of grace." Hilton declares that "love and light go both together in a clean soul. There is no love that riseth out of knowing and from special beholding that can sooner touch our Lord than this can. For why? This knowing of Jesus, God and Man, is alone in itself the worthiest and the highest, if it be specially known by the light of grace. And therefore is the fire of flaming love hereof more burning than it is of any creature, corporal or incorporeal. And all these gracious knowings of the university of all creatures felt in a soul in a manner

aforesaid, and of our Lord Jesus, the maker and keeper of all this fair university, I call fair words, and sweet speakings of our Lord Jesus to a soul, which He means to make His true Spouse. He showeth His mysteries, proffereth rich gifts out of His treasury, and arrayeth the soul with them full beautifully. She need not thenceforth be ashamed of her fellows, to appear before the face of Jesus, her Spouse."

I think we have approached very near to the thought in the mind of Thomas à Kempis: "Of the inward speaking of Christ to the faithful soul". Such is the legend that heads the first chapter of his Third Book of the Imitation. But at this point in my quotation from Hilton, he forthwith introduces the verse from the Book of Job. "All this lovely dalliance", continues Hilton, "of private conference betwixt Jesus and a soul may be called a hidden word; of the which Scripture saith thus: 'Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,' etc. 'Moreover, to me there was spoken a secret word, and the veins of His whispering mine ear hath perceived.' The inspiration of Jesus is a hidden word, for it is privily hid from all lovers of the world, and shown to His lovers; through which a clean soul perceiveth readily the veins of His whispering, *that* is, the special showings of His truth; for every gracious knowing of truth felt with inward savour and spiritual delight is a privy whispering of Jesus in the ear of a clean soul. He must have much cleanness and humility and all other virtues, and must be half deaf to the noise of worldly janglings, that will wisely perceive those sweet spiritual whisperings, that is the voice of Jesus."

In the mind of Walter Hilton, the *susurrus*—the divine whispering—is any "gracious knowing of truth felt with inward savour and spiritual delight"; and the vein of the whisper is a "special" showing of God's truth to a soul. Is not the whole of the Third Book of the Imitation simply a series of such "special" showings of divine truth to the "faithful soul"? .

DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN.

Although the commentary of Nicolas de Lyre attained the distinction of soon becoming a handbook for Biblical students of the later middle ages, his exegesis of our verse had no apparent effect on the interpretations of Walter Hilton and Thomas à Kempis. But neither does Denys the Carthusian refer to Nicolas when he treats of the verse in Job.

Denys (born in 1402, died in 1471) was a contemporary of Thomas à Kempis. Although, by a striking coincidence, both died in the same year, Denys, styled "Doctor Ecstaticus", compiled his voluminous commentaries on the Scriptures after the Imitation had

appeared, and accordingly his views on our verse from Job are not referred to here as even a possible source for those of Thomas. But the fact that his exegesis of our verse is practically only a condensed summary of the expositions of St. Gregory, the Blessed Albert, and St. Thomas, makes his work of interest in this connection. For he thus exhibits to us of a later century the mines of Patristic and scholastic lore to which, as we might reasonably suppose, the mystics of the fifteenth century would naturally have recourse. From his "Enarratio in Job" the following may be taken as illustrative of his view: "By 'venas susurri' he [Eliphaz] refers to the ways and means of the revelations, according to Gregory and Albert. . . . And so, in saying 'suscepit auris mae venas susurri ejus', he insinuates that he has received and understood the manner, way or means of this secret speaking and revelation to him, as well as the secret speaking itself, which he calls a whisper; and the very opening of the mouth, the conveying of the uttered word to the ears, the manner of speaking, are a kind of veins of the revelation, instruction or address."

And so Denys leads us, through the Blessed Albert, back to St. Gregory. It is clear that the *Moralia* powerfully influenced the mind of mediæval commentators. But it seems equally clear that the mystics who were Canons Regular sought at times a still subtler and more mystical sense for our verse of the fourth chapter of Job.

A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

When translators of the *Imitation of Christ* place a footnote to their highly varied renderings of "venas divini susurri" and merely refer their readers to "Job iv., 12", they give no real help. Protestants will find in Job iv., 12, no reference whatever to veins. English Protestants will have in their Authorized Version merely "a little thereof", and in their Revised Version (1885) merely "a whisper thereof." The careful Dr. Bigg, although a Protestant, seems to have at length realized this fact, and accordingly made his reference more exact by adding the word "Vulgate".

The Vulgate does indeed give the exact words, "venas susurri ejus", but not "venas divini susurri." But the ultimate source of the puzzling expression used by Thomas à Kempis is thus finally traced back to St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew into Latin. A consultation of the modern commentators on Job will soon convince the faithful seeker after light that Thomas à Kempis did not use the phrase in the same sense as did St. Jerome. But the editors and translators of the *Imitation* have given the reader no further light than the simple reference to Job. Let the reader make the most of it.

Catholics will find in their Doway Bible and in its revision by Bishop Challoner the exact translation, "the veins of its whisper", but no clear intimation of the meaning of this curious phrase. Moreover, the only English translation of the Imitation which uses the rendition, "the veins of the divine whisper", is that by Challoner; and I have yet to find any edition of Challoner's translation that even refers the readers to "Job iv., 12."

I have thus led my readers through a long and weary journey in search of light on our puzzling phrase. But I think the light has been found at length in the mediæval commentaries upon Job iv., 12. The devout writers were not thinking of the meaning of "shemets" in the Hebrew original, but merely of the "*venas susurri*" in St. Jerome's rendering thereof. From St. Gregory in the sixth century down to St. John of the Cross⁵⁰ in the sixteenth century, we find only mystical, allegorical and moral interpretations of the meaning of Job. St. Thomas of Aquin did indeed profess to make a literal interpretation; but the literalness was directed to each separate word of "*venas susurri*", and not to its meaning as an indivisible phrase representing the one Hebrew word "shemets." Lyranus was a true literalist; but despite his popularity as an exegete, his commentary on our phrase was so brief that, although it did indeed herald the "*parum, pauxillum*," etc., of later Hebraists, it appears not to have influenced in any way those mystical writers to whom Thomas à Kempis naturally turned for his Scriptural wisdom.

I think it fair to assume that Thomas à Kempis, an Augustinian Canon of the fifteenth century, was familiar with the writings of Walter Hilton, an Augustinian Canon of the fourteenth century, and with those of Hugh of St. Victor, an Augustinian Canon of the twelfth century. All three were mystics and were celebrated for their spiritual writings. We have seen the strong resemblance between the commentary of Hugh on the Cantic of Canticles and the Third Book of the Imitation by Thomas. But Hugh was diffuse in style, while Thomas was elegantly restrained and concise. The bridge leading over from Hugh to Thomas may well have been the Scale of Walter Hilton, which is more concise in method than that of Hugh, but less so than that of Thomas. In addition to this, however, we have found Walter giving us the antithesis between the sweet voice or whispering of Jesus and the "janglings" of the world—an antithesis so epigrammatically expressed by Thomas in his contrast between the divine susurrus and the profane susurratio.

Long and fatiguing as our journey has been, it will not be deemed other than desirable and profitable by any reader who is familiar

⁵⁰ Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 203-204.

with the immense (and sometimes rather fruitless) labors of commentators on the Imitation in their search after sources for the thought or expression of Thomas à Kempis in his "truly golden book" of the Imitation.⁵¹ For, like Shakespeare in respect of human letters, Thomas à Kempis is, in respect of ascetical literature, "not for an age, but for all time." No labor should be deemed too great, if it may hope to shed upon the Imitation one added ray even of literary illumination.

In the view of Walter Hilton—and doubtless also of Thomas à Kempis—the whisperings of God to the soul are general manifestations of Himself. This thought is, indeed, as old as the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, as we have already seen. But the "veins" of His whispering are "the special" revelations which He makes of His divine will and purpose to each individual soul. These special and most intimate revealings of God to the faithful soul will not be heard amidst the crowd of worldly "janglings" or babblings.⁵² The soul must be like an Alp, "retired, apart", whose peak is raised above the clouds into the clear light of heaven.

What, then, is the proper way of translating the phrase of Thomas into English? I have declared my conviction⁵³ that the only proper rendering is a literal one, and that Bishop Challoner was better advised than all his predecessors and amending followers. The phrase, "*venas susurri*", is consecrated by a millennium of mystical interpretation that found inspiration in each of its component words. Also, its coinage by St. Jerome has made it forever classical in our official Vulgate and in the translation thereof in the Doway Bible and in Challoner's revision. How could we think for a moment of replacing "*venas*" by "*accents*", or "*instillings*", or any other interpretative word, however enlightening it may be deemed?⁵⁴

Assuming that Challoner's rendering of the "*venas divini susurri*" should therefore be retained, how best may the reader find enlightenment as to its true meaning? There should, of course, be a note of some kind—whether at the foot of the page or in an appendix of Notes—that would refer both to the verse of the Vulgate and to the Doway translation. This would give the reader the ultimate source of the phrase. Information should then be added concerning the probable meaning of the Hebrew original. Finally, the non-

⁵¹ For illustration, let the reader consult Cruise, "*Thomas à Kempis: Notes of a Visit to the Scenes in Which His Life was Spent . . .*" (London, 1887). Note C, pp. 312-320. The researches of Dr. Cruise were undoubtedly long and laborious—but are the results very encouraging?

⁵² Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 198-201.

⁵³ Cf. the REVIEW, January, 1917, p. 80.

⁵⁴ The interpretations, as we have seen, are fanciful, as a matter of fact.

literal interpretations of the middle ages should be referred to, and the mystical interpretations of Hugh of St. Victor and Walter Hilton should be summarized, since these lead us directly, and doubtless accurately, towards the meaning which Thomas à Kempis intended to convey.

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A SIXTEENTH CENTURY THEOLOGIAN AND THE PRESENT WAR.

IT is no unusual thing now, since the attention of the whole world has been engaged so long by the war in Europe, to hear propounded on all sides such questions as "May Christians make war?" "Have the people any voice in declaring war?" "When are wars just?" "What may be done in a just war and how far may one proceed against enemies?" And while, at first sight, we may think that these questions, which are suggested by the present war, are new, the fact remains that each and every one of them was discussed and answered by a Spanish moral theologian, Franciscus de Victoria, of the Order of Preachers, in his "*De Iure Belli*," published over three hundred and fifty years ago as the fifth of his "*Relectiones Theologicae XII.*" For, to use the words of Thomas Alfred Walker, "In Victoria's treatment of these problems the reader who is unprepared for the surprises of the literature of the Reformation age will be astonished to discover the setting forth of principles which the historian of international practice is wont to represent as entirely modern."

Franciscus de Victoria, born in Spain in 1480, entered the Dominican Order in his early youth, and, after obtaining the highest honors in theology which his order could bestow, finally, in 1526, became the holder of the "primary chair of theology" at the University of Salamanca. Here he lectured for twenty years and obtained universal fame and glory as "the restorer of scholastic theology," because he inaugurated a movement to give to theological science a purer diction and improved literary form and to treat scholastic theology, not in a jejune and uncultivated manner, but in a scholarly and ornate manner, enriching it with every kind of learning, sacred and profane.

The Spanish conquests subsequent to the discovery of the New World by Columbus forced upon the Spanish sovereigns a very momentous question. On the one side, the conquerors wished to justify their seizure of lands and their right to use armed force against the natives, who refused to accept their domination; on the other side, the missionaries accompanying the conquerors wished to secure fair treatment for the Indians. It is at this time (1532) that Victoria delivered his lecture "*De Indis*," in which he reviews in succession the false and true titles alleged by the conquerors. The frankness with which he rendered judgments without fear or favor of the Catholic sovereigns, who had a very keen interest in

the subject, is well worth noting. He stands out among the Spaniards and Portuguese as the defender of the proposition that infidels cannot be despoiled of civil power or sovereignty simply because they are infidels. He makes his position strikingly clear by declaring that the Spaniards have no more right over the Indians than the latter would have had over the Spaniards if they had come to Spain.

The "*De Indis*" was followed by a second lecture, "*De Iure Belli*," which was intended to supplement the discussion of the just and unjust titles to the lands of the barbarians by a short discussion on the law of war. And although the author, as he himself states, merely noted the main propositions of this topic together with very brief proofs, an answer may be found here for most questions now disturbing the world.

With regard to the question, "May Christians make war?" Victoria submits all of the reasons now submitted by extreme pacifists or by those who claim that Christianity has failed in its mission, for instance, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath" (Romans xii., 19), and "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" and "I say unto you not to resist evil" (St. Matthew v., 39), and "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword" (St. Matthew xxvi., 52). Moreover, Luther's argument that "Christians may not take up arms against the Turks, for if the Turks attack Christendom, it is the will of God which may not be resisted," is stated, but, as Victoria notes, "herein, however, he had not as much success as in his other dogmas in imposing on the Germans, who are born soldiers." Tertullian, according to Victoria, inclines to the same opinion, for in his "*De Corona Militis*" (ch. 11) he holds that military service is forbidden to a Christian, for "he may not even go to law."

Having stated the arguments of the negative side in true scholastic style, Victoria solves the question affirmatively, relying in part upon numerous passages of St. Augustine, especially his commentary upon the words of St. John the Baptist to the soldiers (St. Luke iii., 14): "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely." "But," says St. Augustine, "if Christian doctrine condemned war altogether, those looking for counsels of salvation in the Gospel would be told to throw away their arms and give up soldiering altogether; but what is said to them is, 'Do violence to no man and be content with your wages.'"

Seven other proofs of the lawfulness of war for Christians are given, five of which refer more particularly to offensive war. In

view of the recent charge that Christianity has failed, because Christian nations are engaged in the present war, it may be of interest here to give in full two or three of these proofs. One proof is that, as St. Augustine says, the end (*finis ad quem*) of war is the peace and security of the State. But there can be no security in the State unless enemies are made to desist from wrong by the fear of war. For the situation with regard to war would be glaringly unfair if all that a State could do when enemies attack it unjustly was to ward off the attack and if they could not follow this up by further steps. Another proof comes from the end and good of the whole world. For there would be no condition of happiness for the world, nay, its condition would be one of utter misery, if oppressors and robbers and plunderers could with impunity commit their crimes and oppress the good and innocent, and these latter could not in turn retaliate on them. The last proof offered is one which in morals carries the utmost weight, namely, the authority and example of good and holy men, such as were Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Elder.

In answer to the inquiry, "In whose hands lies the authority to declare and make war?" Victoria lays down the proposition that any one, even a private person, may accept and wage a defensive war, i. e., a war in defense not only of his person, but also of his property and goods. In this connection a doubt arises as to whether one may strike an assailant if escape by flight be possible. After stating the opinions of St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, to the negative of Panormitanus, who makes a distinction, and of Bartolus to the affirmative, the author declares that the last named opinion is safe and demonstrable.

The foregoing proposition is not true, however, with regard to offensive war, and herein Victoria notes the difference between a private person and a State. Every State has authority to declare and to make war, whether this be defensive or offensive. The reason is because, as Aristotle says in his "Politics" (bk. iii., ch. 1), "a State ought to be sufficient unto itself," which would not be the case if this authority were not allowed to States. In this respect a sovereign prince has the same authority as the State has. St. Augustine was of this opinion, which is strongly supported by reason.

But the difficulty arises as to just precisely what is a State and who can properly be called a sovereign prince. Victoria therefore defines a State as a perfect community, i. e., one which is complete in itself, one which is not a part of another community, but has its own laws and its own council and its own magistrates. Such a

State, then, or the prince thereof, has authority to declare war, and no one else. Hence it follows that other petty rulers and princes, who are not at the head of a perfect State, but are parts of another State, cannot begin to carry on a war. As, however, these matters are for a great part governed by the law of nations or by human law, custom can give power and authority to make war. Therefore, if any State or prince has obtained by ancient custom the right to make war of itself or himself, this authority cannot be gainsaid, even if in other respects the State be not a perfect one. So, also, necessity can confer this license and authority.

A third question is: "What may be a reason and just cause of war?" Victoria answers this by stating and proving what may not be just causes of war. First of all, difference of religion is not a just cause of war; secondly, extension of empire is not a just cause of war; and, thirdly, neither the personal glory of the prince nor any other advantage to him is a just cause of war. There is a single and only just cause for commencing a war, namely, a wrong received. Nevertheless, not every kind and degree of wrong can suffice for commencing war, seeing that the degree of punishment ought to be commensurate with the offense (Deut. xxv., 2). Hence it is clear that we may not turn our sword against those who do us no harm, the killing of the innocent being forbidden by natural law. It is interesting to note Victoria's statement that he omits here "any injunctions inconsistent herewith which God has given in special cases, for He is the Lord of life and death and it is within His competence to vary His dispositions."

Many doubts arise from what has just been said. In the first place, is it enough for a just war that the prince believes himself to have a just cause? Victoria answers this by saying that "this belief is not enough." It is essential for a just war that an exceedingly careful examination be made of the justice and causes of the war and that the reasons of those who on grounds of equity oppose it be listened to.

Secondly, are subjects bound to examine the cause of a war or may they serve in the war without any careful scrutiny thereof? Concerning this doubt, Victoria first lays down the general proposition that, if a subject is convinced of the injustice of a war, he ought not to serve in it, even on the command of his prince. Hence flows the corollary that subjects whose conscience is against the justice of a war may not engage in it whether they be right or wrong. Senators and petty rulers and in general all who are admitted to the public council or the prince's council ought and are bound to examine into the cause of an unjust war, but other lesser

folk who have no place or audience in the prince's council or in the public council are under no obligation to examine the causes of a war, but may serve in it in reliance on their betters. Nevertheless, the proofs and tokens of the injustice of the war may be such that ignorance would be no excuse even to subjects of this sort who serve in it.

Thirdly, what should be done when the justice of the war is doubtful, i. e., when there are apparent and probable reasons on both sides? As regards the princes themselves, it seems that, if one be in lawful possession, the other may not try to turn him out by war and armed force so long as the doubt remains. If the city or province concerning which the doubt arises has no lawful possessor, as, for instance, if it were open by reason of the death of the lawful lord and there is doubt whether the King of Spain or the King of France be the heir and no certainty in point of law can be attained, it seems that, if one party wants to settle and make a division or compromise as to part of the claim, the other is bound to accept his proposal, even if that other be the stronger and able to seize the whole by armed force; nor would he have a just cause for war. He who is in doubt about his own title is bound, even though he be in peaceable possession, to examine carefully into the cause and give a quiet hearing to the arguments of the other side if thereby he may attain certitude either in favor of himself or the other. After examination of the case, the lawful possessor is not bound to quit possession so long as the doubt reasonably persists, but may lawfully retain it. Therefore, he is not bound to give it up, either the whole or part.

But concerning subjects who are in doubt with regard to the justice of a war, Pope Adrian VI., indeed, says that a subject in such a case may not serve in such a war even at the command of his prince. Victoria, however, in refuting Pope Adrian's opinion says, "There is no doubt that in a defensive war subjects may, even though the matter be doubtful, follow their prince to the war. Nay, they are bound to follow him, and also in an offensive war." It may be of interest to quote Victoria's line of reasoning in his explanation of Pope Adrian's opinion.

"Now Adrian's mistake seems to be in thinking that, if I am in doubt whether this war is just for my prince or whether there be a just cause for this war, it immediately follows that I am in doubt whether or no I ought to go to this war. I admit that I am no wise justified in doing what my conscience doubts about and that, if I am doubtful about the lawfulness of doing any given thing, I sin if I do it. But any doubt of mine about the justice of

this war does not necessarily involve a doubt whether I ought to fight or serve in this war. Nay, it is quite the other way about. For, although I may doubt whether the war is just, yet the next point is that I may lawfully serve in the field at my prince's command. It is precisely the same as with a lictor who has his doubts whether the judge's decree is just. It does not follow therefrom that he doubts whether or no he ought to carry it into execution. He knows that he is bound to carry it into execution."

The fourth doubt is: Can a war be just on both sides? Victoria solves the doubt in the following manner. Apart from ignorance, the case clearly cannot occur. For, if the right and justice of each side be certain, it is unlawful to fight against it, either in offense or defense. But, assuming a demonstrable ignorance either of fact or of law, it may be that on the side where true justice is the war is just of itself, while on the other side the war is just in the sense of being excused from sin by reason of good faith, because invincible ignorance is a complete excuse. At any rate, on the side of the subjects, this may often occur. For, even if we assume that a prince who is carrying on an unjust war knows about its injustice, still subjects may in good faith follow their prince, and in this way the subjects on both sides may be doing what is lawful when they fight.

Hence arises the fifth doubt: Whether one who has in ignorance gone in an unjust war and subsequently is convinced of its injustice is bound to make amends therefor. This may be asked about a prince and about a subject. If the injustice of the war had been within reach of proof by him, he is bound when he learns of its injustice to give back what he has taken away and not yet consumed—that is, to the extent to which he has been enriched. He need not, however, make amends as regards what he has consumed, because the rule of law is that a person who is not in fault ought not to be damnified, just as one who in good faith attended a sumptuous banquet given by a thief, where stolen things were consumed, would be under no obligation to give redress therefor, save perhaps up to the amount that his meal would have cost him at home. In conformity with this, our man is not bound to make good what has been consumed, any more than the other side would be, because his fighting was lawful and in good faith.

On the fourth and last question proposed by Victoria, namely, what kind and degree of stress is lawful in a just war, he lays down and proves several general propositions. First, everything is lawful which the defense of the common weal requires. Secondly, it is permissible to recapt everything that has been lost and any part

of the same. Thirdly, it is lawful to make good out of enemy property the expenses of the war and all damages wrongfully caused by the enemy. Fourthly, not only are the things just named allowable, but a prince may go even further in a just war and do whatever is necessary in order to obtain peace and security from the enemy—for example, destroy an enemy's fortress and even build one on enemy soil, if this be necessary in order to avert a dangerous attack of the enemy. Even when victory has been won and redress obtained, the enemy may be made to give hostages, ships, arms and other things when this is genuinely necessary for keeping the enemy in his duty and preventing him from becoming dangerous again. Fifthly, not only is all this permissible, but even after victory has been won and redress obtained and peace and safety been secured, it is lawful to avenge the wrong received from the enemy and to take measures against him and exact punishment from him for the wrongs he has done, and this not only by the law of nations and the authority of the whole world, but by the natural law also.

On this question also there are many doubts. The first is: Whether it is lawful in war to kill the innocent. It would seem that it is, because we know from the Old Testament that God ordered innocent persons to be slain. (Joshua vi., 21, and I. Kings xv., 8). On the other hand, the deliberate slaughter of the innocent is never lawful in itself. Hence it follows that, even in war with the Turks, it is not allowable to kill children. Nor women of unbelievers also, because, so far as the war is concerned, they are presumed to be innocent. This does not hold, however, in the case of any individual woman who is certainly guilty. Nor is it lawful to kill farmers, nor the rest of the peaceable civilian population, nor foreigners sojourning among the enemy, nor clerics and religious, for all of these in war are presumed to be innocent unless the contrary be shown, as when they engage in actual fighting.

Sometimes, however, it is right, in virtue of collateral circumstances, to slay the innocent even knowingly, as when a fortress or city is stormed in a just war, although it is known that there are a number of innocent people in it and although cannon and other engines of war cannot be discharged or fire applied to buildings without destroying innocent together with guilty. Great attention must be paid to the point already taken, namely, the obligation to see that greater evils do not arise out of the war than the war would avert. For, if little effect upon the ultimate issue of the war is to be expected from the storming of a fortress or fortified town wherein are many innocent folk, it would not be right, for the purpose of assailing a few guilty, to slay the many innocent by

use of fire or engines of war or other means likely to overwhelm indifferently both innocent and guilty. In sum, it is never right to slay the guiltless, even as an indirect and unintended result, except when there is no other means of carrying on the operations of a just war.

A second doubtful point is: Whether in a just war it is lawful to despoil innocent enemy-subjects. Now it is certainly lawful to despoil the innocent of goods and things which the enemy would use against us, such as arms, ships and engines of war. It is also lawful to take the money of the innocent and to burn and destroy their grain and kill their horses, if this is requisite in order to sap the enemy's strength. Hence follows the corollary that, if the war goes on for an indefinitely long time, it is lawful utterly to despoil all enemy-subjects, guilty and guiltless alike, for it is from their resources that the enemy is feeding an unjust war, and, on the other hand, his strength is sapped by this spoliation of his citizens. However, if a war can be carried on effectively enough without the spoliation of the agricultural population and other innocent folk, they ought not to be despoiled. But the spoliation of foreigners and travelers on enemy soil, unless they are obviously at fault, is in no wise lawful, they not being enemies. If the enemy refuse to restore things wrongfully seized by them and the injured party cannot otherwise properly recoup himself, he may do so wherever satisfaction is obtainable, whether from guilty or from innocent. There is accordingly no inherent injustice in the letters of marque and reprisals which princes often issue in such cases. These letters, however, are hazardous and open the way to plunder.

The next doubtful point proposed by Victoria is: Assuming the unlawfulness of the slaughter of children and other innocent parties, is it permissible, at any rate, to carry them off into captivity and slavery? This can be cleared up by saying that it is just as permissible to carry the innocent off into captivity as to despoil them, liberty and slavery being included among the good things of fortune. Consequently, when a war is at that pass that the indiscriminate spoliation of all enemy-subjects alike and the seizure of all their goods are justifiable, then it is also justifiable to carry all enemy-subjects off into captivity, whether they be guilty or guiltless. But inasmuch as, by the law of nations, it is a received rule of Christendom that Christians do not become slaves in right of war, this enslaving is not lawful in a war between Christians. Nevertheless, if it is necessary for attaining the end of war, it would be lawful to carry away even innocent captives, such as children and women, not indeed into slavery, but so that we may receive a

money-ransom for them. This, however, must not be pushed beyond what the necessity of the war may demand and what the custom of lawful belligerents has allowed.

The question may also arise as to whether it is lawful at any rate to kill hostages, who have been taken from the enemy either in time of truce or on the conclusion of a war, if the enemy break faith and do not abide by their undertakings. The solution of this doubt is as follows: If the hostages are in other respects among the guilty, as, for instance, because they have borne arms, they may rightfully be killed in that case; if, however, they are innocent, as, for instance, if they be children or women or other innocent folk, it is obvious from what has been said above that they cannot be killed.

Before solving the next question, namely, whether in a just war it is lawful to kill, at any rate, all the guilty, it should be noted that, as is shown by what has been said above, war is waged, firstly, in defense of ourselves and what belongs to us; secondly, to recover things taken from us; thirdly, to avenge a wrong suffered by us, and, fourthly, to obtain peace and security. With these premises, it may be asserted that in the actual heat of battle, either in the storming or in the defense of a city, all who resist may be killed indiscriminately, and, briefly, this is so, as long as affairs are in peril. Even when victory has been won and no danger remains, it is lawful to kill the guilty. However, merely by way of avenging a wrong it is not *always* lawful to kill all the guilty, but sometimes it is lawful and expedient to kill all the guilty. The measure of the punishment must be proportionate to the offense and vengeance ought to go no further.

Herein account must be taken of the consideration that subjects are not bound, and ought not to scrutinize the causes of a war, but can follow their prince to it in reliance on his authority and on public counsels. Hence in the majority of cases, although the war be unjust on the other side, yet the troops engaged in it and who defend or attack cities are innocent on both sides. Therefore, after their defeat, when no further danger is present, they may not be killed, not only not all of them, but not even one of them, if the presumption is that they entered on the strife in good faith. Many of the rules of war have, however, been fashioned by the law of nations, and it seems to be received in the use and custom of war that captives, after victory has been won (unless perchance they have been routed) and all danger is over, are not to be killed, and the law of nations must be respected, as is the wont among good people. With regard to those who have surrendered there is

no such custom; on the contrary, on the capitulation of a fortress or city it is usual for those who surrender to try and provide for themselves in the conditions of the capitulation, as that their heads shall be safe and that they shall be let go in safety; that is, they fear that an unconditional surrender would mean their deaths. So much with regard to persons.

Every *thing* captured in a just war vests in the seizer up to the amount which provides satisfaction for the things that have been wrongfully seized and which covers expenses also. But apart from all consideration both of restitution and satisfaction and looking at the matter from the standpoint of the law of war, we must distinguish according as the things captured in war are movables (like money, garments, silver and gold) or immovables (like lands, cities and fortresses). All movables vest in the seizer by the law of nations, even if in amount they exceed what will compensate for damages sustained.

In this connection there may arise a doubt as to whether it is right to give a city up to the soldiery to sack. This is not unlawful in itself if necessary for the conduct of the war or as a deterrent to the enemy or as a spur to the courage of the troops. Nevertheless, inasmuch as such authorization to sack results in many horrors and cruelties, enacted beyond all humane limits by a barbarous soldiery, such as slaughter and torture of the innocent, rape of virgins, dishonor of matrons and looting of temples, it is undoubtedly unjust in the extreme to deliver up a city, especially a Christian city, to be sacked without the greatest necessity and weightiest reason. If, however, the necessities of war require it, it is not unlawful, even if it be likely that the troops will perpetrate foul misdeeds of this kind, which their generals are none the less bound to forbid and, as far as they can, to prevent. Despite all this, soldiers may not, without the authority of their prince or general, go looting or burning, because they are themselves not judges, but executive officers, and those who do otherwise are bound to make restitution.

Now, with regard to immovable property and things, the difficulty is greater. There is no doubt about the lawfulness of seizing and holding the land and fortresses and towns of the enemy, so far as is necessary to obtain compensation for the damages he has caused. Moreover, in order to obtain security and avoid danger from our enemy, it is lawful to seize and hold a fortress or city belonging to him which is necessary for our defense or for taking away from him an opportunity of hurting us. It is also lawful, in return for a wrong received and by way of punishment, that is, in

revenge, to mulct the enemy of a part of his territory in proportion to the character of the wrong, or even on this ground to seize a fortress or town. This, however, must be done within due limits and not as utterly far as our strength and armed force enable us to go in seizing and storming. And, if necessity and the management of war require the seizure of the larger part of the enemy's land and the capture of numerous cities, they ought to be restored when the strife is adjusted and the war is over, only so much being retained as is just, in way of compensation for damages caused and expenses incurred and of vengeance for wrongs done and with due regard for equity and humanity, seeing that punishment ought to be commensurate with the offense. Now, the lawfulness of seizing on this score either a part of the enemy territory or an enemy city is proved by natural reason and is supported by the authority of the Old and New Testaments and by the authority of learned and holy men, such as St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Thomas. Also, it is undoubtedly lawful to impose a tribute on conquered enemies, not only to recoup damages, but also as a punishment and by way of revenge.

The last question proposed by Victoria is: Whether it is lawful to depose the princes of the enemy and appoint new ones or keep the principedom for oneself? He replies that this is not unqualifiedly permissible, nor for any and every cause of just war. For punishment should not exceed the degree and nature of the offense. Nay, punishments should be awarded restrictively and rewards extensively. This is not a rule of human law only, but also of natural and divine law. But it is undeniable that there may sometimes arise sufficient and lawful causes for effecting a change of princes or for seizing a sovereignty. This may be either because of the number and aggravated nature of the damages and wrongs which have been wrought or, especially, because security and peace cannot otherwise be had of the enemy and grave danger from them would threaten the State if this were not done. The same holds good of a province and the prince of a province if proportionately graver cause arise.

It must be noted, however, that sometimes, nay, frequently, not only subjects, but princes, too, who in reality have no just cause of war may nevertheless be waging war in good faith, with such good faith indeed as to free them from blame—as, for instance, if the war is made after a careful examination and in accordance with the opinion of learned and upright men. And since no one who has not committed a fault should be punished, in that case, although the victor may recoup himself for things that have been taken from him and for any expenses of the war, yet, just as it is unlawful to

go on killing after victory in the war has been won, so the victor ought not to make seizures or exactions in temporal matters beyond the limits of just satisfaction, seeing that anything beyond these limits could only be justified as a punishment, such as could not be visited on the innocent.

All that Victoria has said about the law of war can be summarized in the three canons or rules of warfare with which he brings his "*De Iure Belli*" to a close. They have reference to the conduct of nations and their princes before war, during war and after war. The first of these canons is: Assuming that a prince has authority to make war, he should fire of all not go seeking occasions and causes of war, but should, if possible, live in peace with all men, as St. Paul enjoins on us (Romans xii., 18). Moreover, he should reflect that others are his neighbors, whom we are bound to love as ourselves, and that we all have one common Lord, before whose tribunal we shall have to render our account. For it is the extreme of savagery to seek for and rejoice in grounds for killing and destroying men whom God has created and for whom Christ died. But only under compulsion and reluctantly should he come to the necessity of war.

The second canon is: When war for a just cause has broken out, it must not be waged so as to ruin the people against whom it is directed, but only so as to obtain one's rights and the defense of one's country and in order that from that war peace and security may in time result.

The third canon is: When victory has been won and the war is over, the victory should be utilized with moderation and Christian humility, and the victor ought to deem that he is sitting as judge between two States, the one which has been wronged and the one which has done the wrong, so that it will be as judge and not as accuser that he will deliver the judgment whereby the injured State can obtain satisfaction, and this, so far as possible, should involve the offending State in the least degree of calamity and misfortune, the offending individuals being chastised within lawful limits. An especial reason for this is that in general among Christians all the fault is to be laid at the door of their princes, for subjects when fighting for their princes act in good faith and it is thoroughly unjust, in the words of the poet Horace, that

"Quidquid delirant reges, plectantur Achivi."

It is difficult to imagine how more prudent or more equitable rules could be formulated than the noble Christian principles which summarize Victoria's doctrine on the law of war. So well adapted

for application to modern condition are they that one can scarcely believe that they are over three and a half centuries old. If the rulers of the European countries now at war and in fact all other rulers would thoroughly learn and practice these true principles, it would be difficult indeed for wars to come and they certainly could not long endure. That our own beloved country did not become embroiled in the present strife until now is due to the fact our President followed Victoria's precepts of "not seeking occasions and causes of war, but trying, if possible, to live in peace with all men." And now that we have entered into the war, we may be sure that it was "only under compulsion and reluctantly" that our President has "come to the necessity of war."

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MANITOBA.

IN the summer of 1914 the writer of this paper visited for the first time the historic city of St. Boniface, Manitoba, the mother see of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest. The late Archbishop Langevin was then living, and he extended a welcome with that warmth of heart so characteristic of this great, zealous and militant prelate. This visit to the third Bishop and second Archbishop of St. Boniface in the summer of 1914 suggested the writing of this paper—nay, inspired the writer with the idea of some day preparing an article on the beginnings and development of the Catholic Church in Manitoba.

It is indeed both a happy and fruitful theme. What could be more glorious than the drama enacted in those twilight days of Canadian civilization upon the banks of the Red River and Saskatchewan by these pioneer priests of the Cross? Their footprints remain still to tell where faith triumphed over every obstacle. It was truly the heroism of the Cross, such as informs the story of our holy faith from the very days of the Apostles, when, with gift of tongues, they set out to fulfill the mission entrusted to them by our Divine Lord.

What, then, were the beginnings of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest? As the learned Oblate Father, Rev. A. G. Morice, author of "A History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada," tells us in his chapter contributed to "Canada and Its Provinces,"¹ "The Catholic Church as the pioneer in missionary work between Lake Superior and the Pacific coast of Canada had as a matter of course to give the first fruits of her zeal to the aboriginal inhabitants throughout this vast region." And, of course, it was from Quebec that the first missionaries in the Canadian Northwest came. Let us not forget to-day, then, we Canadian Catholics who are sitting under our own vine and fig tree in spiritual and temporal comfort, what the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest—nay, more, what Western Canadian civilization owes to the French Catholic missionary. As D'Arcy McGee once said: "Before the axe of the pioneer had caught a ray of western sunshine the French Catholic missionary, armed with the breviary and the Cross, had found his way into the camp of the Indian on our Western plains and had poured upon his head the waters of regeneration."

From Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior, first known as Kaministiquia, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, there roamed the various tribes of Indians whose descendants to-day are found

¹ Rev. A. G. Morice, "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 115.

in the Indian reserves. set aside for these aborigines by the Canadian Government.

We are told that the first representative of the white race to come in contact with these Indian tribes in the Canadian Northwest were two Frenchmen, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers, who visited the Cree Indians in 1659. It was not, however, till 1731, when Lavérendyre left Montreal at the head of fifty men for the unknown West, that Father Charles Mesaiger, a Jesuit priest, having joined the expedition, spent two years as a missionary among the Indians of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. Father Mesaiger, returning East in 1733 because of ill health, was succeeded by Father Aulneau, also a Jesuit. Father Aulneau's successor in the West was Rev. Claude G. Cocquart, S. J., who was the first minister of religion to reach the site of the present city of Winnipeg.

For a number of years following the cession of Canada to Great Britain there was a complete lull in the work of the Catholic missionary in the Canadian Northwest. Yet the seeds of faith sown by the French missionary among the various tribes of Indians did not lie dormant in the soil. During the interval from the fall of Quebec in 1759 to the beginning of the nineteenth century the French fur traders in the Canadian Northwest threw in their lot in many instances with the aborigines and founded that wonderful race of French half-breeds who were destined to play so important a part in the history of the Canadian Northwest. This very inter-marriage of the French with the Indian helped to preserve the traditions of religion and civilization which had been implanted by the first missionaries and explorers and prepared the soil for the more permanent work which was later on to follow.

It may be well to note here that at this time there were two rival corporations in the Canadian Northwest: the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. The latter was almost entirely made up of French, and therefore Catholics. Between these two rival companies there were strained relations which led to serious quarrels and finally to the tragic affair of Seven Oaks.

It was then that Captain Miles Macdonnell, a Catholic and a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, sent, on April 4, 1816, the following letter to Bishop Plessis, of Quebec:

"You know, Monseigneur, that there can be no stability in the government of States or kingdoms unless religion is made the cornerstone. The leading motive of my first undertaking the management of that arduous though laudable enterprise, was to have made the Catholic religion the prevailing faith of the establishment, should Divine Providence think me a worthy instrument to forward the

design. The Earl of Selkirk's liberal mind readily acquiesced in bringing out along with me the first year a priest from Ireland. Your Lordship already knows the unfortunate result of that first attempt."

Acting upon this representation of the needs of a Catholic priest to bring peace and concord to the disturbed land as well as to look after the faith of the Catholic people in the Canadian Northwest, the Bishop of Quebec resolved to establish a permanent post as a spiritual centre in the Canadian Northwest, and appointed for the delicate task of its foundation Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher. The appointment of Father Provencher marks a new epoch in the Catholic Church on the banks of the Red River and Saskatchewan. Father Morice, the historian of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest, thus describes Father Provencher's reception at Fort Douglas, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, on July 16, 1818: "Father Provencher was accompanied by a younger priest, Father Dumoulin, and an ecclesiastical student.² The missionaries were enthusiastically welcomed. Immediately on their arrival they began their appointed work. If ever a field was barren and crying for the labors of the husbandman it was that of the Red River settlement."

Father Provencher immediately set to work to erect his humble dwelling opposite Fort Douglas, not far from a small stream which was beginning to be known as German Creek, from the nationality of the soldier colonists whom Lord Selkirk had left there a year before. Father Provencher called the spot where he located St. Boniface, after the patron saint of their fatherland. When Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin arrived in the Canadian Northwest they found conditions, religious and moral, far from favorable. Men left to themselves without the aid of religion will fall—nay, fall, and, as the poet Tennyson says, "blind their souls with clay."

Writing from Fort Douglas, a few months after his arrival, Father Provencher strikes off the moral condition that obtained among the aborigines and white settlers in these words:

"It can be said without hesitation that the commerce of the Indians with the whites, instead of advancing them towards civilization, has served only to drive them away therefrom, because the whites have spoiled their morals by the strong drink of which the natives are extraordinarily fond, and they have taught them debauchery by their bad example. Most of the employes have children by women whom they afterwards send away to the first newcomer. All the clerks and *bourgeois* likewise have squaws,

² Father Morice's "The Roman Catholic Church West of the Great Lakes," page 122.

and what is worse, no more care is taken of the children born of these so-called marriages than if they had no souls."

But if Father Provencher was zealous for the advancement of religion, he was no less zealous on behalf of education. He established at St. Boniface a school wherein boys could obtain a good classical education. This was virtually the beginning of the present flourishing College of St. Boniface.

Meantime Father Provencher, in the spring of 1822, went to Quebec to report on the state of things in his distant mission. Bishop Plessis saw the need of having a Bishop in this distant mission field, and Father Provencher was consecrated with the title of Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus infidelium* and coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec for the Northwest.

On Bishop Provencher's return to St. Boniface a task of considerable magnitude confronted him—the building of a new Cathedral, which was to replace the oak building now too small for the needs of his growing congregation. It was not, however, till June, 1833, more than ten years after his consecration, that he was able to lay the foundation of the new edifice. The Cathedral was built of stone gathered along the banks of the Red River. The new temple became the pride of the settlement. The poet Whittier has immortalized it in his poem, "The Red River Voyageur," where, referring to the bells of St. Boniface, he writes:

"The voyageur smiles as he listens
To the sound that grows apace;
Well he knows the vesper ringing
Of the bells of St. Boniface.

"The bells of the Roman mission
That call from their turrets twain
To the boatman on the river,
To the hunter on the plain."

It may be well to remark here that the work of Christianizing the Indians in the Red River country was somewhat spasmodic. The missionaries were too few, and sometimes after three or four years, disheartened, they would return to Quebec. Two of the most successful missionaries were Father Belcourt and Father Darveau. In truth, Father Belcourt was the first priest to give himself up entirely to the evangelization of the Indian.

A double event of deep significance to the welfare and advancement of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest was the advent in the mission field of the Oblate Fathers of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of Charity, known as the Grey Nuns. The

Oblates of Mary Immaculate was a congregation founded by Monsignor Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, in 1816, at Aix, in Southern France, and the Grey Nuns owed their foundation to Madame D'Youville, who was a sister of Lavérendrye's nephew and lieutenant in his Western explorations.

The little band of Sisters who arrived at St. Boniface in the spring of 1844 consisted of four, with Mother Valade as their superior. As the advance guard of the Oblate Fathers who were destined to turn in after years a wilderness of savagery and paganism into a spiritual garden, Father Pierre Aubert, O. M. I., accompanied by a youthful-looking novice, Brother Alexandre A. Taché, was the first Oblate to reach St. Boniface, in August, 1854. The youthful-looking novice was elevated to the priesthood by Bishop Provencher on October 22, 1845.

The population of the Red River settlement at this time was 5,143. Of these, 2,798 were Catholics and 2,345 Protestants. There were 870 families, of whom 571 were half-breeds or Indians, 152 French-Canadians, 61 Orkneymen, 49 Scotchmen and 22 Englishmen.

Referring to the work of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at this time in the Red River country, Father Morice writes in his "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada:"^a "The Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate had loyally accepted the laborious Indian missions of Provencher. In spite of her own limited personnel she sent him three more subjects in 1846. The first was a man of great experience and administrative ability, Rev. Father Francois Xavier Bermond, who reached St. Boniface on September 5. Two months later, Brother Henri Faraud, a scholastic who had so far received only ecclesiastical tonsure, but was to serve a glorious career in the far North, arrived (November 9) with a lay Brother, Louis Dubé, the first of that legion of humble co-workers, invaluable aids of the missionaries who have done so much to make their labors possible. By the end of 1846, hardly fifteen months after the arrival of the first Oblates, Provencher had therefore the consolation of counting in his territory no less than seven priests, one scholastic who was shortly to be ordained and one lay Brother. Times were evidently changing for the better."

It will be remembered that Bishop Provencher, who had been consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus infidelium* in the spring of 1822, became Vicar-Apostolic of the Northwest in 1844, and three years later was made a titular Bishop. With the advance of years—the Bishop was now sixty—he thought of getting a coadjutor.

^a Father Morice in "Catholic Church in Western Canada," p. 203.

Bishop Provencher saw the wisdom of selecting as his coadjutor the young Oblate, Father Taché, knowing well that his order would not leave his young coadjutor unaided.

On June 7, 1853, the first Catholic Bishop of the Red River country passed to his reward in the forty-second year of his priesthood and the thirty-first of his episcopal reign. Referring to the death of this great and zealous missionary Bishop, the historian of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest, Rev. A. G. Morice, writes:⁴ "Bishop Provencher died within sight of his Cathedral on June 7, 1853, carrying to the grave the esteem and regrets of both sections of the population. He had been a true father and a faithful pastor to the Catholics and a public spirited man and prudent legislator." When Bishop Provencher died his successor, Bishop Taché, was barely thirty years of age, and his see, St. Boniface, was but a small village, though as a parish it numbered some 1,100 souls. His little army of priests consisted of four seculars and seven Oblates. In August, 1854, Bishop Taché added another Oblate to the seven already in the mission field in the person of Rev. Vital J. Grandin, O. M. I., who later on was to become a greater figure in the annals of the Canadian Northwest. It was about this time also that Father Lacombe, the great Indian missionary, who died but a few months ago, became an Oblate.

Bishop Taché, feeling that his diocese was becoming much too large for any one man to administer, obtained from Rome a coadjutor in the person of Rev. V. J. Grandin, O. M. I., who was appointed Bishop of Satala *in partibus infidelium*, and was consecrated at Marseilles, in November, 1859.

It was about this time that Bishop Taché was tried by one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall the Catholic missions in Western Canada—the destruction by fire of his residence and all he possessed, as well as his magnificent Cathedral, with its famous bells, of which, as we have said, the poet Whittier sang.

We now approach a trying period in the history of the Canadian Northwest. We will let Father Morice explain the veritable condition of things in the Canadian Northwest at the time the "Red River Troubles" arose in 1869. Father Morice writes: "In 1869 the Red River population was 11,500, sharply divided into two sections—French or Catholic and English, generally Protestant, the former slightly preponderating in numbers. The people were most half-breeds, and owing to their close relationship through their mothers lived in the greatest harmony under the patriarchal rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, now divested of all monopolistic

⁴ Rev. A. G. Morice, O. M. I., in "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 137.

pretensions. But the newly created Dominion of Canada coveted their country, and it will ever be a matter of regret that it did not take the proper means to acquire it. Politically speaking, Canada and Assiniboia were then on exactly the same footing. Both were colonies of the British Empire. Desirous of extending its frontier westward, the former colony sent men into the latter to prepare the way to make a trunk road through Assiniboia and to survey the whole country in anticipation of a large influx of settlers from the East. Meanwhile negotiations were being actively carried on, and ultimately an agreement was made whereby the Hudson's Bay authorities in London were to relinquish their chartered rights to the Western plains to the new Dominion for a consideration of £300,000, whether the people of Assiniboia were willing or not and without any guarantee of their fair treatment by the Dominion authorities. These proceedings were naturally resented. William McTavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, protested against the construction of the road as an intrusion by a sister colony which had as yet no right to his territory, and the people made ready to protect themselves against the encroachment of the surveyors from the East, whose actions were calculated to wound the susceptibilities even of the most patient community. Disregarding the long acquired rights of the French Metis or half-breeds, the surveyors set out 'to divide and subdivide the land into sections as they saw fit.' Then they staked out for themselves and their friends in Ontario what they pleased of the best lands, and their leader, Colonel John S. Dennis, appropriated enough 'to make him one of the largest land proprietors in the Dominion,' had he been allowed to take possession. Finally, it began to look as if no man's property were safe, and as the Secretary of the Council of Assiniboia remarked on oath, 'it was generally believed . . . that the whole country would be appropriated by the newcomers.'"⁵

Mention is made in this paper of these political troubles because of the part which Bishop Taché took in endeavoring to allay them. Bishop Taché hurried to Ottawa about the middle of July, 1869, to advise the Canadian Government as to the real condition of affairs in the Northwest. But the authorities at Ottawa, as Dom Benoit tells us in his "Life of Monsignor Taché,"⁶ took no account of either Bishop Taché's fears or counsels, even failing to extend to the Bishop the most elementary courtesy, Sir George E. Cartier going so far as to say to him: "I am much better informed on this subject than you can be, and I have no need of further information."

⁵ Rev. A. G. Morice, O. M. I., in "Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 150.

⁶ "La Vie de Mgr. Taché," p. 12.

The crux of the trouble in this uprising of the people in Assiniboia against the course pursued by the Canadian Government was that these first sons of the soil were given no guarantee that their rights as colonists would be respected. The "Canadian Party," largely from Ontario, seemed bent on enriching themselves at the expense of the half-breeds.

Furthermore, the organization of a Provisional Government, at the head of which was Louis Riel, had met with the approval of both the English and French settlers. In truth, the Provisional Government was necessary for the maintenance of law and order until such time as the transference of the country to Canada had been fully effected. It seemed to every settler that he was going to be dispossessed of his land, and the Canadian Government did little to allay this fear. When the threatened uprising in the Canadian Northwest had reached its acute stage, Monsignor Taché was at Rome attending the Vatican Council. The Canadian Government knew full well how valuable would be the presence of this wise and zealous prelate in the disturbed country, and immediately begged of Monsignor Taché that he would return home from Rome. Monsignor Taché replied by telegraph to the Government at Ottawa "that at their request he would start immediately for home."

When Bishop Taché reached the Canadian capital he had a private audience with the Governor General and interviews with the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir George E. Cartier. They assured the Bishop that all the Metis of Red River had to do was to make known their desires by delegates and everything would be done by the Government to satisfy them.

Soon Monsignor Taché reached his diocese, and his presence did much to restore peace among the people of the disturbed Northwest. On February 12, 1870, the President of the Provisional Government, Louis Riel, chose the three delegates who were to go to Ottawa to present the bill of rights drawn up and negotiate for the entrance of the country into confederation. These delegates were Father Ritchot, Alfred Scott, an English-American, and John Black, an Englishman.

As a proof that the inhabitants of the Canadian Northwest had a grievance which fully justified the uprising, we have but to quote here a paragraph from a document sent by the Secretary of State for Canada, Hon. Joseph Howe, to be communicated to the people of the Northwest through the medium of Monsignor Taché. This paragraph reads as follows:⁷ "It is important that you should know that the proceedings by which the lives and properties of the

⁷ Father Morice's "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada." Vol. II., p. 55.

people of Rupert's Land were jeopardized for a time were at once disavowed and condemned by the Government of the Dominion, as you will readily discover in the dispatch addressed by me to Mr. McDougall on December 24."

On September 22, 1871, St. Boniface became a metropolitan see, with three suffragans, namely, the newly created See of St. Albert (Monsignor Grandin), the Vicars Apostolic of Athabaska-Mackenzie (Monsignor Faraud) and of British Columbia (Monsignor Herbomez). All the dignitaries of these ecclesiastical divisions were Oblates.

On June 24, 1872, Archbishop Taché was invested with the pallium by Vicar General Thibault, specially delegated for the circumstance. In 1875 was celebrated the silver jubilee of Monsignor Taché's consecration as a Bishop. Archbishop Taché, like his predecessor, Bishop Provencher, was a most zealous promoter of education. In 1877, with Monsignor Taché's approval, St. Boniface College became, through affiliation, a component part of the University of Manitoba, together with the colleges of St. John and Manitoba, representing respectively the Anglican and Presbyterian interests.

Soon the Canadian Northwest was to find itself in the throes of another rebellion—this time on the banks of the Saskatchewan. This paragraph from Father Morice's contribution to "Canada and Its Provinces" will throw light on the cause and conditions which led to the Canadian rebellion of 1885. Father Morice writes:⁸ "The immigration which we have repeatedly mentioned was to have far-reaching effects on the population already settled on the Western plains. In order to get rid of the intolerable oppression they suffered at the hands of the newcomers from the East, oppression to which we have seen no less a personage than Governor Archibald testifying, quite a number of the French half-breeds had left Manitoba for the valley of the Saskatchewan, where they had taken up land on both sides of the two branches of that river—narrow but very long strips like those they had left along the Red River and the Assiniboine. In that secluded region the Metis had formed peaceful communities and lived a life which all the old missionaries agree in describing as truly patriarchal in manners and customs. They were hospitable, generous and kind among themselves, respectful and obedient to the priests who visited them. In short, they had a sort of Utopia realized. But this beautiful dream was to end in a terrible nightmare."

The wave of hated white immigration had now reached the banks

⁸ Father Morice's "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 166.

of the Saskatchewan. Were these half-breeds to be again disturbed as in 1870? Were they to be looked upon as no better than squatters? Petition after petition in their behalf went to Ottawa, and promises were made by the Government to grant them their request, but nothing was done.

The half-breeds sent for Louis Riel, who was then living in Montana, to plead and defend their cause. This time, unfortunately, Riel, broke from the restraint of the clergy. He unfurled the standard of revolt, at the same time organizing a Provisional Government with himself as President and Gabriel Dumont as military leader.

Needless to say that the rebellion was crushed by the Canadian military forces and Riel captured and executed. The leading Indian tribes, with Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker at their head, had joined Riel at his invitation. This was an ill-advised step, and on Holy Thursday, April 2, 1885, pagan Cree Indians slew the missionaries Fathers Fafard and Marchand. This is known as the Frog Lake massacre. And now a question was looming above the horizon in Manitoba which, because of its nature, was to stir the whole Dominion. This was the school question. We will here let Father Morice, the historian of "*The Roman Catholic Church in the West*," set forth how the school question arose. Father Morice writes:⁹ "Early in the year 1890 an event pregnant with far-reaching consequences had caused a great commotion. The shock of it continued to be felt throughout Manitoba and the whole Northwest of Canada. The cause of education had ever been paramount in the councils of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle West of Canada. For over fifty years the schools of the colony, which ultimately developed into the Province of Manitoba, had been denominational, the Roman Catholic Church devoting the moneys she received from the Council of Assiniboia as much to the upkeep of her schools as to the maintenance of her purely ecclesiastical institutions. Moreover, when in 1869 the Canadian Government wished to reassure the Catholics of Assiniboia, its Secretary of State, Hon. Joseph Howe, expressly wrote to them through Bishop Taché that the Federal authorities 'would deeply regret if the civil and religious liberty of the whole population were not adequately protected.'

"Now, it is well known that the Roman Catholic Church has always insisted that one of the first requisites to 'religious liberty' is the right to educate the young upon religious lines. Hence, one of the clauses of the bill of rights presented for the acceptance of

⁹ Father Morice's "*Roman Catholic Church in the West*"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol II., p. 174.

the Ottawa Government in 1870 demanded separate schools for the Catholics of the future Province of Manitoba. Their request had been granted by means of a provision in the act that created the province. By this provision the new province was forbidden to legislate against 'any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the province at the union.' That Catholics then had this right or privilege 'by practice,' no sane man can deny. Hence, when this act became the Constitution of Manitoba they felt secure in the possession of their schools forever."

Although Hon. Thomas Greenway, Premier of a Liberal Government recently elected, had promised Archbishop Taché that it would be the policy of his Government to maintain inviolate the Catholic schools, and to show his good faith he took into his Cabinet a French Canadian Catholic, Mr. Prendergast, yet early the next year, that is on March 19, 1890, legislation was introduced abolishing the Catholic schools.

The question was carried to the Supreme Court of Canada and finally to the Imperial Privy Council. The latter decided that the Catholics of Manitoba had a real grievance and that they were entitled to redress by the Parliament of Canada. This led to the drawing up of the now historic Remedial Bill, upon which the late Sir Charles Tupper, as Premier, went to the country in 1896, but was defeated. And thus the Catholics of Manitoba were robbed of their Catholic schools.

In all this fight for Catholic rights it is needless to say that Archbishop Taché bore not only a conspicuous part, but the brunt of the battle. The great missionary prelate and statesman was soon to pass from his earthly scene of labors. Suffering from a grave malady, the nature of which he realized too late, the Archbishop of St. Boniface passed to his reward on June 22, 1894, admired and regretted by friends and foes alike.

Father Morice, the historian, tells us that when Archbishop Taché was ordained priest in 1845 he was the sixth Catholic clergyman to begin work in the British possessions between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, and the Catholic Church of British Columbia was then very far from being organized. At the time of his death there were in the same territory no fewer than five Bishops and nearly 175 priests. In the ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface alone, where four nuns had settled the year before his own arrival there, there were now at least 150.

When Rev. Adelard L. P. Langevin, O. M. I., superior of the Oblate Fathers in the Canadian Northwest, was chosen successor to Archbishop Taché in the Archiepiscopal See of St. Boniface he

inherited the unsettled school question, with all the political and sectarian bitterness involved in it.

We have seen that the Tupper Government at Ottawa went down on the Remedial Bill and Sir Wilfrid Laurier with the Liberals came into power. Sir Wilfrid promised to settle the question satisfactorily, but his settlement at best was only a compromise, which meted out to the Catholics but small justice.

In the great struggle that ensued for the rights of the Catholics the figure of the new Archbishop, resolute and uncompromising, stood out militant. He rallied his forces on every side, and the better to carry on his campaign the Archbishop founded a fortnightly publication, "*Les Cloches de St. Boniface*," while the "*Northwest Review*," ably edited by Father Cherrier and Dr. J. K. Barrett, was doing splendid service for the Catholics in the cause of educational liberty.

In the last analysis it was a question for Rome to decide, and early in the year 1897 the then reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII., of blessed memory, sent to Canada a special delegate, Monsignor Merry del Val, to study the question on the spot. In December of the same year Rome spoke upon the question, and the following paragraph from the famous Encyclical "*Affari vos*" shows how far the Father of Christendom supported and justified the battle which Monsignor Langevin had waged in behalf of the Catholic education of his people:¹⁰ "We are aware," said the Encyclical, "that something has been done to amend the law. The men at the head of the Federal Government and the Provincial Government have already taken steps with a view of lessening the grievances so legitimate of the Catholics of Manitoba. We have no reason to doubt but that they have been inspired by a love of equity and a praiseworthy intention. We cannot, however, conceal the truth: the law that has been passed with a view of reparation is defective, imperfect and insufficient. It is much more that the Catholics ask and which nobody will question they have a right to ask."

It may be said here that Monsignor Langevin's episcopal reign as Archbishop of St. Boniface extended through years that marked the very greatest activity in the Canadian Northwest. They were years of expansion in both Church and State. A great tide of immigration had set in from well nigh every country in Europe, and in this tide there was a goodly percentage of Catholics, needing the most careful shepherding. Otherwise the wolves of proselytizing would pounce upon them.

The tireless and incessant labors of the great and zealous chief pastor of St. Boniface, now arranging for the creation of a new

¹⁰ Father Morice's "*Life of Mgr. Langevin*," p. 147.

diocese, now laying and blessing the corner-stone of a new temple to God, now planning a new convent or college, or far out on the prairies, or in an Indian camp administering the sacrament of confirmation—all this began to tell upon his health, and more than once Archbishop Langevin had to seek rest of mind and body away from the field of his sacred labors.

Among the foreign elements that came to the Canadian Northwest to build a home were the Galicians. Monsignor Langevin had been zealous beyond measure to secure as far as possible for the different Catholic peoples, who were grouped together in parishes in his vast archdiocese, priests of their own race and language. But the Ruthenians, who hailed from Galicia in Austria, were Catholics who used the Ruthenian rite, so there was a double difficulty—that of supplying them with priests of their language and rite.

Soon proselytizers were at work, endeavoring to allure them from their faith, and the effort for the time was not without some success. However, the arrival of Ruthenian priests and a Ruthenian Bishop soon put a stop to the active propaganda for the perversion of the Ruthenians.

And now there was fast reaching completion a great work dear to the heart of Monsignor Langevin. We have seen that historic St. Boniface on the banks of the Red River had a succession of Cathedrals, but owing to the growth of the Catholic population of St. Boniface, the last one built by Monsignor Taché was entirely inadequate for the needs of the rapidly growing congregation. Together with the sacristy, the new Cathedral of St. Boniface is 312 feet long, 80 feet wide and cost \$325,000. It is constructed of stone, and its dedication took place on October 4, 1908, in which thirteen Archbishops and Bishops took part, among whom were the Archbishops of Ottawa, Quebec, Kingston and St. Paul, Minn. Archbishop Ireland preached in English.

It had long been the desire of Monsignor Langevin to search for the remains of the Jesuit Father Aulneau, who, together with the son of the great discoverer of the Northwest, Lavérendrye, and nineteen companions, had been massacred at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, in the year 1736. As first president of the Historical Society of St. Boniface, Archbishop Langevin led the search expeditions of 1902, 1905 and 1907 in person, and it was really due to his efforts that Fort St. Charles and the remains of Father Aulneau were found in August, 1908.

The intense labors and increasing duties of the tireless prelate of St. Boniface were beginning to tell on his physical strength. Such a round of episcopal labor could not fail to reduce a constitution already impaired by an insidious malady. A stay of some months

in the mild atmosphere of Texas gave the Archbishop, for the moment, renewed strength. It was, however, but temporary. While visiting the scenes of his boyhood days in his beloved Quebec his fatal illness struck him. He had been busy attending religious functions, now at Quebec, now at St. Anne de Beaupre, now at Montreal, when finally he went to spend a few days with his brother, Hermas. Here it was found necessary to take Monsignor Langevin to the Hotel Dieu in Montreal, where, having received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction from Monsignor Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal, the great and zealous Archbishop of St. Boniface passed to his reward on the morning of June 15, 1915. No eulogy is needed here to witness to the great virtues of piety, devotion and courage which marked the life of this noble prelate of God's Church. At his grave Catholic and non-Catholic in the highest walks of life stood bowed, and paid to his life and memory the just tribute of praise.

May the writer of this paper, the personal friend of the late Monsignor Langevin for years, be permitted to pay tribute to his memory in the following lines, penned the day of the Archbishop's death:

A WARRIOR OF THE CROSS.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
A prelate of God has gone to his rest;
Darkness has compassed the course of the voyageur,
For a light has gone out from the skies of the West.
Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
The Red River swells with a requiem plaint;
The children kneel in deep invocation
As they pray for the soul of the warrior and saint.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Deep is the mystery that shadows the grave;
Deep is the sorrow that sweeps o'er the prairie,
But deepest of all is God's mercy to save.
Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
His was a sword of righteous truth—
Courage and faith and pity commingled,
Like to His Master in mercy and ruth.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Here was a leader we ne'er more shall meet;
A knight on the parapet fearless of danger;
Here was a captain who ne'er would retreat.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Deep in our hearts stirs their sorrowing care;
Past are the battles, the strife and the clamor,
Now our souls seek but the victory of prayer.

To-day it may be said that the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest is in a flourishing condition. On the succession of Monsignor Langevin to the See of St. Boniface in 1895, the mother see of the Canadian Northwest was the only Archdiocese from the great lakes to the Pacific Ocean. Now, two years after his demise, there are five Archbishops, three Bishops, three Vicars Apostolic and one Prefecture Apostolic, extending from the head of Lake Superior to where the Yukon territory touches Alaska. The present Archbishop of St. Boniface is Monsignor Beliveau, whom the late Archbishop Langevin had named as his Auxiliary Bishop in 1913.

To one great religious community of men, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Church in the Canadian Northwest owes much. Since the first arrival of these zealous and self-sacrificing missionaries in the Northwest seventy-two years ago the faith once delivered to the saints has been preached on the prairies within the ice-bound regions of the far North, in the Indian tepee and among the miners of the Yukon and British Columbia. The glory of God and the conquest of souls has been their motto from the days when the great Indian missionary, Father Lacombe, began his work among the Indian tribes on the plains, and a Monsignor Taché and a Monsignor Langevin battled for the rights of their people against worldly forces arrayed against them. Truly did we say at the opening of this paper that the Catholic Church in Manitoba is a happy and fruitful theme.

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HERACLIUS AND THE EARLIEST OF THE CRUSADES.

THE first crusade was not the First Crusade. It was not conducted against the Saracens or the Osmanli (Ottoman) Turks nor against the hordes of advancing Islam. Nor was it instigated by Pope Urban or Peter the Hermit nor prosecuted by mediæval knights and barons. It was, in fact, a war carried on against the fire-worshippers of Persia by the Byzantine Greeks under Heraclius, Emperor of the East.

Under the reign of Phocas (603-610) the Levantine remnants of the old Roman Empire had been very badly governed. There was dissatisfaction at home, corruption and economic decay everywhere. There were disheartening encounters with European enemies; the Avars were in Thrace itself. But most important of all for our purposes, there had been a bitter and unsuccessful struggle with Chosroës, King of Persia. While Phocas was indulging in tyrannies at home, his enemy was ruthlessly sweeping over the Mesopotamian provinces, besetting, conquering and leveling Merdin, Dara, Amida and Edessa. Matters became so bad and one serious crisis followed another with such unsatisfactory results that finally the famous General Priscus¹ began to look for aid far from the great city by the Bosphorus. The elderly Heraclius, exarch of Alexandria, responded in proper wise by despatching his son Heraclius and his nephew Nicetas to Constantinople by water and by land.

Heraclius received a hearty welcome; Phocas was overthrown by powers within the city and brought before the newcomer, who it was believed would save the empire.² According to the legend handed down by John of Antioch, before having his predecessor in the imperial chair killed, Heraclius remarked scornfully:

"Is it thus that you have governed the empire?"

"Will you," replied Phocas, "govern it better?"

Nor did the first ten years of the new reign promise much improvement, in either external or internal affairs, save for the single circumstance that the Church and the State seemed in closer sympathy and alliance than they had been for many decades past. The new ruler was superstitious and depended upon astrological and other symbols and signs; he persecuted the Jews with relentless

¹ The name is given so in Bury; Crispus by Gibbon.

² The unsatisfactory character of the reign of Phocas is told in the "Chronicon Paschale" (pp. 695-701, ed. Bonn, 1829; of the "Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae," used throughout this paper), a contemporary source probably composed at Alexandria during the reign of Heraclius. (See Milman's "Gibbon," IV., 466, and Bury, "Later Roman Empire," II., 197).

vigor; when his wife, Eudocia, died in 612, he scandalized the orthodox churchmen by marrying his niece Martina; he anticipated the custom of coming Sultans by condemning to a monastery his son-in-law, the same General Priscus who had corresponded invitingly with Heraclius' own father, since, he said, he who had been treacherous toward his own father could not be expected to keep faith with a friend.³ In short, in domestic politics Heraclius gave ample evidence that he would probably end by being as unsatisfactory as previous Emperors.

In foreign affairs also the reign continued for almost a decade as inauspiciously as it had begun. The Avars remained knocking at the gates of Thrace. And across the water, on that peninsula known as Asia Minor, which stretches out toward the Balkan peninsula so as almost to form a tempting bridge to Asiatics who might wish to proceed against Europe, the great King of the Persians, Chosroës II. continued his seemingly predestined advances. Hierapolis, Chalcis and Aleppo fell in 611. Cæsarea and Jerusalem were conquered in 614-615. The fugitives from Palestine who had crossed over into North Africa were absolutely dismayed when Alexandria had to succumb in 616 and Egypt became a Persian province. It was only a question of time when Tripoli, Ancyra and the Isle of Rhodes would be taken in their turn. The armies of the East advanced toward the Golden Horn, took and held Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople. The Empire from the Nile to the Hellespont was in the hands of the pagans of Persia.

These were dark days for the house of Heraclius. By the conquest of Jerusalem the invaders had carried into captivity not only Zacharias, the patriarch, but the Holy Sponge, the Lance that had shed blood from the side of Christ, and even that part of the True Cross which Helena, wife of Constantinople the Great, had discovered and identified some centuries earlier, as Eusebius has so quaintly told in his "Vita Constantini."⁴ In addition Avars was pressing down into Thrace, and the loss of Egypt and the corn trade threatened the empire with an awful famine. In 618 Heraclius was so disgusted with the turn of affairs that he prepared to leave permanently for Carthage and to transfer the seat of government to that place. He even went so far as to transport all the royal

³ "Nichephorus Constantinopolitanus" (p. 7) states it thus (in the translation of Petavius): "Qui socero fidem non praestitit, qui tandem amico praestabit."

⁴ I quote from the "Chronographia Brevia" of Nichephorus for convenience in the Latin: "Eius imperii anno tertio Chosroës Persa Romano ditionis partem subegit. Hierosolyman vastavit; sancta loca combussit et populi multitudinem immensam cum Zacharia Patriarcha et pretioso crucis ligno egit captivam et in Persidem abduxit."

treasure out of the palace and to send it on ahead in ships in anticipation of his own removal.

But it so happened that the long arm of chance stepped in and altered the whole course of his life, and perhaps of the empire. The boats which carried his household treasure were wrecked in a storm, the treasure was lost and the plan was made public. Then, instead of turning against their ruler and accusing him of treacherous intent to desert them, the inhabitants of Constantinople, and particularly the ecclesiastics, urged him to remain. They led him to the high altar of Sancta Sophia and there heard him take a solemn oath not to avoid his obvious obligation and to instigate a strenuous campaign against the enemies who were tracking over the provinces which had once acknowledged allegiance to Rome and—what is much more impelling—who were desecrators of the most holy places of Christendom and taunting possessors of the Holy Wood itself.

This most remarkable scene enacted in the great church by the Bosphorus was the beginning of a long series of stupendous events. It was the consecration of what we must regard as the real first crusade. Nor can the religious light in which we view this movement be over-emphasized. Emperor and Church and people were united in the common cause. The seizure of the piece of the True Cross did what no merely military inroads had ever done before. All the traditions of Christianity were recalled. All the religious passions were aroused. The men who went to war were impelled by no such variety of mingled selfish and ideal motives as actuated the mediæval crusaders who were to come after them. There were few if any adventurers; there were few with such commercial interests as later sent the Genoese and the Venetians to the Holy Land; there were practically no seekers of glory. The heritage of the old nationality and a deep reverence for the things which were held sacred called the idlers from their couches, the peasants from their fields and the merchants from their marts.

Something of the religious character of this upheaval may be pictured by imagining the furious indignation called forth in the streets of Constantinople, in the heart of the Emperor and in the spirits of the Christian people by the following letter sent by Chosroës to Heraclius:

"The noblest of the gods, the king and master of the whole earth, the son of the great Oromazes, Chosroës, to Heraclius his vile and insensate slave. Refusing to submit to our reign, you call yourself a lord and sovereign. You detain and disperse our treasures and deceive our servants. Having gathered together a troop of brigands, you ceaselessly annoy us; have I not then destroyed the Greeks? You say you have trust in God; why has He not delivered

out of my hand Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria? Are you then ignorant that I have subdued land and sea to my laws? And could I not also destroy Constantinople? But not so. I will pardon all your faults if you will come hither with your wife and children. I will give you lands, vines and olive groves, which will supply you with the necessaries of life; I will look upon you with a kindly glance. Do not deceive yourself with a vain hope in that Christ who was not able to save Himself from the Jews that killed Him by nailing Him to a Cross. If you descend to the depths of the sea, I will stretch out my hand and will seize you, and you shall then see me unwillingly."⁸

This insult brought forth a reply probably as unexpected as it was unpremeditated. Instead of humility and subjection. Heraclius answered with defiance and the drawn sword, while the churchmen and the citizens of Constantinople rallied behind him in the cause of the first crusade. The free distribution of corn, which had been one of the privileges of the citizens since the founding of the city and which was becoming increasingly difficult since the loss of Egypt and the interruption of the supply, for the first time since the year 300 was stopped. The people who had always been studious of ease and engaged in little other occupations save those of loitering and attending games and festivities, the effete people of the Byzantine city joined the army to offer war instead of submission to the arrogance of a Persian King and the folly of fire-worship. Gold and silver treasures of the churches themselves were loaned to the Government under a vague promise of future repayment with a slight interest. Money and men were forthcoming. A huge army and navy were prepared to advance against the presumption of Chosroës.

There were some preliminaries to be settled first. There was the problem of organizing for the prosecution of the war, organizing for victory, and there were the Avars in the rear—in Thrace—who had to be rendered harmless before Heraclius could turn his face to the rising sun and fight and conquer the Persians. In 619 he nearly fell a victim to the seemingly friendly, but treacherous advance of the chagan of the Avars. A parley had been arraigned, but bad faith on the part of the Avars attempted to turn it into a capture of Heraclius, of the new and dangerous Heraclius, recently aroused from his lethargy. From the appointed place of meeting Heraclius fled after casting aside his royal robes and hiding his crown under the rude mantle of a common man in which he deigned to disguise his person. The attempt to pacify the Avars had failed, and strong defenses were erected so as to

⁸ Quoted by Bury, II., 220.

protect Constantinople from the Balkan foes while the armies and the Emperor were far away in Asia Minor.

The administration of home affairs was provided for; the patriarch was placed in supreme command of the local forces. The Emperor studied strategy and tactics, studied them to such good effect as we shall afterwards see demonstrated. A Persian fleet which attempted to assail Constantinople from the side of the sea, directing its attacks from Chalcedon, was put to rout. All was now ready for the great endeavor. Says Bury:

"By the end of 621 all the preliminaries were over. Friendly relations had been established with the Avars; the imperial city on the Bosphorus had a fleet to protect it against the Persians of Chalcedon; the military chest was well provided, owing to the co-operation of the Church, and an army had been formed which was to be further increased on its arrival in Asia. There was a deliberation and a want of haste in these preparations which lent them a certain solemnity, and all minds must have been wrought up to form high expectations for the success of this enterprise, which was marked by two novelties. It was a distinctly religious war, in which the worshippers of Christ and the worshippers of fire were fighting to the death, and it was to be conducted by the Emperor in person, an arrangement which to the inhabitants of Byzantium was a new and strange thing, for since Theodosius the Great no Emperor who reigned at New Rome had led an army to victory or defeat. Zeno the Isaurian had indeed proclaimed that he would conduct a campaign against Theodosius, and, more recently Maurice had marched as far as Anchialus to take the field against the Avars; yet at the last moment both Maurice and Zeno had abandoned their valorous purposes. But Heraclius was not as Zeno or as Maurice, and the recent naval success in the Bosphorus was an inspiring omen of victory."⁸

And so it came to pass that on Easter Monday, 622, Heraclius doffed the imperial robes of purple, as the poet Georgius of Pisidia has told us, speaking of "*nostris pietas religiosi Heraclii*," and put on the garb of a common soldier, with the black footgear of the fighter, so soon to be dyed ruby red in Persian blood. Thus, carrying an image of the Virgin, which is supposed to have fallen from heaven ("not made by hands"), the great ruler of Constantinople went forth to do mighty battle with that pagan who had declared that

⁸ Quoted from Bury, "The Later Roman Empire," II., 224. It may be said that Bury and not Gibbon has been the chief basis of this paper and the chief guide to sources. His book is practically the final one on this period, that is, unless further discoveries are made of contemporary documents and chronicles which may add new facts or cause a reinterpretation of the field which he has covered. Gibbon is interesting, but untrustworthy.

he would not give peace to the Emperor of Rome until the crucified God had been abjured and the worship of the sun embraced. Yet there was no tendency to accede to the insolent demands of the Asiatic monarch.

The war soon developed into a series of splendid campaigns between the military genius and resourcefulness of Heraclius on the one hand, and Chosroës, or his commanding general, Shahr Barz, on the other. Where one camp was the scene of Oriental luxury and voluptuousness, the other was rigorous and plain in its simplicity and in the fervor of its religious piety. As Georgius of Pisidia, the poet, has said, cymbals and all kinds of music gratified the ears of Shahr Bazar, and naked women danced before him, while the Christian Emperor sought delight in psalms sung to mystical instruments, which awoke a divine echo in his soul.⁷ And amid all the obvious contrasts between the West and the East there flashed the play of mighty minds in military strategy. For from the first day that Heraclius landed his soldiers on the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor and recruited and drilled new levies, there stood out above all things a cleverness in handling armies which was to win the long and bitter struggle. Manœuvring in the region of Cappadocia and Pontus, the Greeks always skilfully avoided battle until the positions were favorable to them, and then they pressed home the advantage in revenge of the holy altars desecrated and the relics of Christ profaned. After a few shifty moves, Heraclius turned an ambush of the Persians to his own advantage and inflicted a severe defeat in 622-623. During the year 623 he pushed the conflict into Cizerbiyan, the veritable country of the fire-worshippers themselves, took and ransacked the capital, Ganzaca, destroyed its fire temple, and only the severity of an approaching winter prevented his men from marching almost unmolested into the city of Ctesiphon itself, capital of the Parthians and of the Sassanids. Well might he exaggerate a trifle in saying to his men: "Do not be afraid of the enemy, for with God's grace one Roman will turn to flight a thousand Persians. For the safety of our brethren let us sacrifice our own lives unto God, winning thereby the martyr's crown and the praises of future generations." Well might he exaggerate even more than this, for during the year 624 Heraclius dodged hither and yon through Armenia and Albania, about Ezeroum and the lower plains and mountains of the Caucasus, avoiding and outgeneraling three hostile armies, which he destroyed in turn.

So complete was his success that he had defended Constantinople from a distance of many hundreds of miles and had

⁷ Bury, *op. cit.*, II., 229.

forced the Persians to recall a large number of troops from Alexandria and Chalcedon.

The story of the year 626 as it has been related to us reads like a typical mediæval chronicle of impossibilities. Heraclius headed again for Asia Minor and performed almost incredible personal feats. Slipping in and out among the mountain passes, keeping out of touch when he did not wish to fight, fighting hard when opportunity offered him an advantage, he led his troops twice across the range of the Taurus and drew his foes once more toward Cilicia and into a decisive conflict by the river Sarus. There, like some warrior of old, he stood forth at the head of the army and overthrew on a bridge which guarded the passage a single mighty Persian warrior who seemed to bar all advance. Small wonder that his recording poet, Georgius of Pisidia, grew enthusiastic and wrote of these events and of the Emperor's prowess in a tone of almost lyric enthusiasm.

The year 626 was given up to a second succession of victories near the very centre of the Persian kingdom—in Azerbiyan. And then in the two following years, 627-628, there came the conclusive clash of all the long decades of bitter and persistent warfare between the Persians and the Romans of the East. Chosroës was summoning the last of his forces for the final decision, and Heraclius knew that the end was in sight. He divided his army into three parts—one he put under his brother Theodorus to guard Mesopotami; another he despatched as reserves to assist the Constantinopolitans in a crucial defense of the imperial city, and with the third he pursued his own campaign against Chosroës himself in Assyria.

Shahr Barz had been sent far out to Chalcedon to conduct operations against the capital by the Golden Horn, in conjunction with the re-aroused Avars, in the hope that a powerful blow aimed at the seat of the Greek Government would lessen the pressure in the provinces and force Heraclius to hasten back to the Bosphorus. The Avars pushed down from the north and infested the city. The Persians were appearing in increasing numbers on the Asiatic shore. The chagan of the Avars, confident in the aid of the illustrious Shahr Barz, addressed the following appeal to the leader of the forces for home defense which had been assembled in Constantinople:

"Your absent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and the Persians, unless you soar into the air like birds, unless like fishes you dive under the waves."

But events proved otherwise, and after fierce engagements and long battering at the walls it was demonstrated that the invaders

could not soar like birds over the fortifications of Constantinople nor like fishes could they elude the destructive power of the Greek fleet set to guard the Bosphorus.⁸

The task of Heraclius was not so critical. His worries were chiefly over what was happening at home, and over the way in which his rather explicit instructions were being carried out on the battlefields by the Hellespont. In 627 he had allied himself with strong forces of Khazar Turks, had even offered to marry his daughter, Eudocia, to a prince or chagan of that tribe.⁹ The outcome of this projected alliance may be said to have been satisfactory in both a matrimonial and a military way. The particular chagan to whom the promise was made fortunately died before there was any opportunity of turning the Grecian princess over to the irreligious Turk, and so Heraclius was saved the embarrassment of explaining the harm to his daughter in the light of the greater good to the State. The military alliance, however, materialized with decisive results. With a strategic skill which we can gather from reading the accounts of his movements as the chroniclers have related them, with a personal bravery which, in true mediæval fashion, the chroniclers have been prone to emphasize, Heraclius and his Turk allies forced their way into Assyria against the Persian General Razates, whom Chosroës had sent forth with the injunction to conquer or die ringing in his ears. Again killing his enemy in the face of the army, Heraclius proved once more his personal valor and his personal interest in this first crusade, Razates died, and by the hand of Heraclius. Near the great city of Nineveh the Persians went down to decisive defeat; effective spying, interception and falsification of messages not only enabled Shahr Barz to be kept off the scene, but even led him to revolt against his King. The armies of Greece swept into the Persian kingdom and up to the very gates of Ctesiphon. Internal disaffection shook Chosroës II. from his throne. Persia made peace. The True Cross was restored. The Eastern Empire had conquered the fire-worshippers and conquered them completely. The first crusade was over.

The denouement of the drama is divided into two scenes according to nationality. In 628, when the victorius Heraclius returned to Constantinople after his long absence on successful campaigns, there was seen such a triumphal entry as the Roman Empire had not known for centuries. He marched in through the Golden Gate amid the plaudits of the entire populace; four huge elephants were brought along out of the East to amuse the inhabi-

⁸ See "Nichephorus Constantinopolitanus," p. 18.

⁹ See the "Bellum Avaricum" of Georgius of Pliadia.

tants and to serve as symbols of the territories acquired and restored. With elaborate solemnity, the True Cross was solemnly "uplifted" in the old Church of Sancta Sophia; new passages in praise of the restoration were inserted in the ritual, and all Christians felt their hearts thrilled with religious and national fervor. In the following year, 629, he bore the Holy Wood back to its proper resting place in Jerusalem, where even Benjamin, the famous Jew of Tiberias, honored him with splendid ceremonies.

In the East Shahr Barz was made head of the monarchy of Persia; but his domineering cruelties made necessary definite interference on the part of Heraclius before his son Yezdejird was able to succeed him. And Yezdejird was the last of the Sassanids. For even while Chosroës and Heraclius were engaging in exhausting and lengthy combats which destroyed one kingdom and weakened another, the Saracens of Arabia were being converted to a belief that there is but one God and Mohammed is His prophet. With the fierce fanaticism of a new faith the hordes of Islam were preparing to extend their rule around both shores of the Mediterranean and to carry the banner of the Moslem in holy war across the straits of Gibraltar and the Dardanelles and as far as Tours and Vienna. A legend has come down to us that in the midst of the deadly struggles of the nations Chosroës II. was invited to acknowledge Mohammed as the apostle of God—that he tore the letter into bits, that the river by which he stood at the time is said to have receded in horror at his profane refusal, that the potentates of Islam remarked in accidental prophecy: "It is thus that God will tear the kingdom and reject the supplications of Chosroës"—these details, interesting in themselves, are insignificant beside the main fact that the portents had come of a new prophet whose proselyting armies should conquer and die in the accomplishment of a stupendous conversion of peoples. The "*Chronographia Brevia*" of Nicephorus of Constantinople, which records the death of Chosroës and the recall of the captives and the True Cross,¹⁰ sets down almost on the same page: "*Eius tempore Romanæ ditonis pars maxima a Saracenis Ctesiphon was abandoned by Yezdejird in 637 and Bagdad, the home of the Caliphs, was built of its stones, vastata fuit.*"

The first Mohammedan danger was becoming dangerous indeed, and after the first onslaught of the Sarcaens had been with difficulty repulsed, the Osmanli Turks were to carry the standards of Islam so far as nearly to enclose the waters of the tideless sea, and the call of the Muezzin from the tower was to resound from Spain

¹⁰ "*Anno eius duodeclimo Chosroës Persa interfectus est et revocata captivitas et vivifica crux propriis sibi reparatis, reposita fuit.*"

to the Ægean. Against them were to be raised by mediæval knights and barons, by Pope Urban or by Peter the Hermit warriors of Western Europe to carry on the First, the Second, the Third and the Fourth Crusades. But the real first crusade had been fought and won by Heraclius, Emperor of Constantinople.

The rulers of the city by the Bosphorus have had interesting and curious biographies. One was crowned before his predecessor was completely dead; another was elevated to the throne with prison irons still on his feet; Basil Bulgaroktonos lives, notorious in history for slaughtering several thousand prisoners and sending back to their Bulgar King a remnant of a hundred with their eyes put out; Romanus Diogenes and many another had their own eyes put out by usurpers and were immured unwillingly into monasteries; one of the Angeli delighted in collecting *eikons* to the glory of God; Heraclius, as we have seen, melted down church plate to fill the treasury; the Empress Theodora had many imagined lovers and married nearly as frequently as Henry of England; dozens of deposed Emperors had their noses slit, of whom only one, Justinian II., managed to return from his enforced rustication on the Euxine to rule again on his old throne. But of them all, not even Constantine XI. the valiant, who fell like a common soldier to prevent the star and crescent of Byzantium from decking the banner of the Turk; Leo the Isaurian, who downed the Saracens and encouraged the Iconoclasts, nor Justinian, the money spender, so skillfully aided by the military genius of Belisarius—none deserves such recognition at our hands as Heraclius, who came out of Egypt to save the empire, shattered the Persian power within its own domains and replaced the True Cross in its proper sanctuary at Jerusalem. He was the first of the Crusaders and probably the greatest.

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UTOPIA: WHERE MEN WERE HAPPY.

AT a number of times since Plato tried his hand at it, nearly twenty-five hundred years ago in his republic, men of literary and philosophic turns of mind have sat down to work out for themselves just how mankind could make itself ever so much happier than they found that it was at the current moment. There is, of course, a great fascination about the problem thus presented and yet the solution of it evades men. For while there is no doubt that all men desire happiness and at all times have striven after it, there is no doubt also that they have never attained it, and we are perhaps farther away from it at the present time than ever.

Indeed, it has become perfectly clear that the means which a great many men have taken in the past and are still taking to secure happiness for themselves, while they fail egregiously to secure the desired end, succeed only too well in another lamentable way in making others around them extremely unhappy. Indeed, it would seem to be true, as has been often said, that this world apparently was rather particularly planned by some far-seeing intelligence to make enduring happiness here on earth almost inevitably impossible while encouraging striving after it constantly, yet providing all sorts of opportunities for the practice of unselfishness, if people would but take them. Even a superficial review of man and his ways and of the history of our social order makes it very clear that there are almost numberless possibilities of unhappiness here below compared to the possibilities of happiness. They seem to be most happy who strive least consciously for happiness and, forgetting about themselves, devote themselves to duty as it appeals to them and above all to such duties as redound to the increase of happiness for others.

One thing is perfectly sure, that, in spite of all our talk of progress, the men of our time have succeeded in making themselves extremely unhappy. I sometimes lecture on the subject "The Happiest of Centuries," naming the thirteenth as the precious time in modern history, when more men in proportion to all those alive were happy than at any other time. This is true because men had more opportunities for satisfaction in life, because more of them had work to do that they cared to do, and, after all, the great underlying principle of happiness for humanity is "blessed is the man that has found his work." Great art, great architecture, great literature, philosophy and education, fine social service, all these,

so characteristic of that time, provide magnificent opportunities for happiness as far as men are capable of taking active part in them, and then, besides, nearly every one else, while men are doing such great work, shares in the atmosphere of satisfaction thus created.

Whenever I have lectured on "The Thirteenth as the Happiest of Centuries," however, I have usually ventured to suggest that probably the very unhappiest time of human existence is our own. For some reason apparently in the designs of an inscrutable Providence we were born into the period when more human beings in proportion to the whole number of those alive are unhappy than was probably true ever before. Since the outbreak of the war I do not find many people who disagree with me seriously, but even before the war I felt that this expression as to the superlative unhappiness of the men of our time was true. Our insanity rate was higher than ever before and has doubled in the last generation. Our suicide rate is ever so much higher than at any time before, and that, too, has more than doubled within a generation. Besides, the age at which people go insane and commit suicide is getting to be ever younger and younger, for the strain, the struggle for existence and the stress of the lack of sympathy around them produces a profound feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction with life.

We may very well discuss, then, quite as seriously as ever before what are the possible means by which man might be happier than he is. It so happens that this year 1917 we are celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of Blessed Thomas Moore's "Utopia," in which, deeply influenced by Plato's Republic, he set forth just how he thought men might be much happier than they were in his time. There have been few men in all the world's history who have been so little deceived by the illusory things of life as the great English Chancellor. He incurred the displeasure of King Henry VII. when yet a beardless youth by daring to prevent legislation which would give the King control of a large sum of money, but would inflict a grievous burden on the English people. He had to give up his Parliamentary career because of the King's displeasure thus incurred, but far from making him less courageous, this actually seems to have made him more uncompromising than ever, and in every action in his life he manifestly consulted never his own interest, but always duty as he saw it, no matter what it might cost himself.

As Lord Chancellor he might have been Henry VIII.'s right hand man; he might surely have attained high nobility; he might

have laid the foundation of an immense fortune. All he needed to do was to assent, as all the Bishops of England with practically one exception had done, to the King's supremacy in religious as well as political matters, and then every possible earthly advantage would have been his. On the other hand, he faced by his refusal not only his own death, but the attainder of treason carried with it the confiscation of all his goods and he would have to leave his family in utter poverty. There has probably never been two more contrasting human alternatives ever offered, and yet the Lord Chancellor calmly took death for treason rather than violate his conscience. Nor did he set himself up as the judge in the situation and insist that as he had done others must do. He did not blame the Bishops for having done what they did; he told the judges who condemned him that he hoped to meet them in heaven. All that he could do was to follow his own conscience, cost him what it might. There was no obscuration of life values for him in any self-interest and no eclipse of the moral order even under the stress of the highest worldly consideration. Surely, if any man ever could, Sir Thomas More was in a position to write about human life and its possibilities of happiness without being led away into side issues of lack of proper appreciation for the things that are really worth while.

ROMANCE OF UTOPIA.

While More was rather a philosophic and legal genius than a literary man, the beginning, particularly of "*Utopia*," shows very well that he knew how to take advantage of romantic elements in the immediate historical incidents around him to add to the interest of his work. Attention has often been called to how well Shakespeare adapted and adopted incidents in current history, earthquakes, persecutions of the Jews, recent voyages to America and the like to give a local timely interest to portions of his plays. Sir Thomas More did that with excellent appreciation of publicity values. The story of "*Utopia*" is supposed to be taken down from the lips of a wandering traveler—that is, a man who had sailed with Amerigo Vespucci on at least one of his voyages as a volunteer mariner, but manifestly of high character and educated intelligence and who insisted on staying over from one expedition to the other and while thus left behind making a particular study of the peoples and conditions that were to be found in America.

I need scarcely say that in 1516, when More began the writing of "*Utopia*," the story of Vespucci's voyages, which had not been published until the second part of the first decade of the century,

were attracting almost universal attention from educated people. Columbus' discoveries had apparently revealed a new way to get to the East, and Columbus himself died without realizing that he had discovered a new continent. Amerigo Vespucci, however, with a daring equal to that of Columbus himself, though, of course, stimulated to his voyages by the news of Columbus' discovery, was the first to reach the western continental mainland, and his voyages made it very clear that a new world had been reached and that it was not the shores of India that were being explored. For some years the sailing along the coast of the peninsula that we call South America had seemed to indicate or had been explained at least as representing a third peninsula which jotted out from Asia beyond Farther India, which was itself known to be beyond what we call Hindustan. Vespucci's voyages, however, soon made it clear that this theory was untenable and that this must be another continent, so that no wonder America was named after him. The suggestions sometimes made that he deprived Columbus of honor in any way are quite untrue. He deserved the honor that came to him.

It is one of the men who had been with Vespucci, then, that the writer of "Utopia" is supposed to meet in the person of Raphael (or Ralph) Hythloday, whose last name is composed of two Greek words which mean "observer of trifles." The adventurer tells him all the story of this wonderfully sensible people who lived over here in America and had solved practically all the social problems that have bothered mankind at all times.

This gives More an opportunity to treat of nearly everything under the sun and a few other things besides in the relations of men to each other and to their environment. There is literally scarcely anything that he does not touch on. Hospitals and the care of the poor, eugenics and physical examinations before marriage and the eight-hour day, which he reduces to a six-hour day, three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon, with an interval of three hours for recreation in the middle of the day, music at meals for the sake of digestion, public playgrounds for the children, public baths, the whipping of children, books and libraries, religious tolerance, military discipline, the death penalty, door closers and many other things are all to be found discussed in "Utopia." There is not one of them with regard to which the present generation might not obtain interesting information out of the pages of this four-hundred-year-old book. James Russell Lowell once said that to read a classic is like reading a commentary in the morning papers. If, as seems proper, the converse of his proposi-

tion is true, then More's four-hundred-year-old little book, with its constantly recurring commentary on the morning paper, must be indeed set down as a classic.

The simple direct way in which More introduces this romantic element to his story is characteristic of that utter simplicity of and lack of striving after effect which was his most prominent quality throughout life. There is a little bit of perhaps unconscious personal revelation in the fact that he puts his meeting with the traveler from America who had visited Utopia on an occasion when, having been to Mass on a weekday, he was strolling home to take up the day's work. It might perhaps be thought that there was a little egotism in his confession of having been to Mass on a weekday, but then it was well known to be his custom to go practically every day, and any one who knows Cardinal Gasquet's work on the English parish will appreciate that about half the population went to Mass on weekdays before the Reformation. More begins his story very straightforwardly then:

“One day, as I was returning home from Mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw my friend Peter Giles, by accident, talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that, by his looks and habit, I concluded that he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me, and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: ‘Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.’ I answered: ‘He should have been very welcome on your account.’ ‘And on his own, too,’ replied he, ‘if you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do, which I know you very much desire.’ Then said I: ‘I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman.’ ‘But you are much mistaken,’ said he, ‘for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveler or rather a philosopher!’”

More begins his “Utopia” by stating without ado that his embassy in the Low Countries leaving some time on his hands during the interval when, after the first conference between the ambassadors, the embassy from Charles withdrew to consult with their sovereign, so More, “since the business would admit it, went to Antwerp,” where he met Peter Giles, better known perhaps by the Latin than the English form of his name, Petrus Ægidius, and by him was introduced to the traveler, who told him all about Utopia. In the first two paragraphs he describes two friends, Cuthbert

Tonstal and Peter Giles, and praises both of them very highly. He has practically enshrined both of them in an immortal work, and their characters have probably been better known to succeeding generations because of More's kindly words with regard to them than for anything almost that they accomplished in life.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

There are many surprising passages in the book, but none more amazing to those who think that mankind is changing in modern times than the expressions with regard to religious tolerance. In "Utopia" More represent Utopus, the original King of the country, as taking high ground on this thorny important subject. More has been accused himself during his Lord Chancellorship of having violated his own policy as thus set forth, but even Protestant Lord Chancellors of England have defended him from such aspersions and have shown that they were founded on misunderstandings of his legal activities when laws already on the statute books which he was sworn to carry out faithfully perforce guided his policy. In "Utopia" More says (p. 166):

"At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood that before his coming among them the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since, instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves. After he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased and might endeavor to draw others to it by the force of argument and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence, and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

"This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire man in a different manner and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth

and shine bright if supported only by the strength of argument and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind, while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns; he therefore left men wholly free."

While in Utopia they permitted freedom of religious belief and allowed no intolerance, this toleration did not extend to those who were atheists and unbelievers in the immortality of the soul. This unbelief they thought went entirely too far and destroying the sanction for law and order, endangered the state, so that it could not be permitted with safety. Accordingly, while they might believe as they wished, there was this exception:

"Only Utopus made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies or that the world was governed by chance without a wise overruling Providence, for they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life, and they now look on those that think otherwise as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul and reckon it no better than a beast's; thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society or to be citizens of a well-ordered Commonwealth—since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs; for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law and apprehends nothing after death will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetite. They never raise any that hold these maxims either to honors or offices nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions, which, being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defense of these opinions, especially before the common people; but they suffer and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests and other brave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions by having reason laid before them."

DEVIOUS DIPLOMACY.

While we have progressed to Utopia's ideas on religious tolera-

tion, there is a very sad reflection for humanity in the passage of "Utopia" in which Sir Thomas More describes in detail the diplomacy of his time. When he wrote his scheme of a happy country he was himself on a sort of diplomatic mission in the Low Countries with Cuthbert Tunstal, who had been the chancellor to the Archbishop of Canterbury and was made master of the rolls in 1516. The avowed purpose of the embassy was to confer with the ambassadors of Charles V., at that time only Archduke of Austria, upon a renewal of the alliance between Henry VIII. and Charles. The ambassador's description of things in Europe as he saw them at the moment might almost be taken as indiscreet in our time, but it is surely a sad, only too true commentary on the morning papers of the month before the war in 1914. More has one of his characters say:

"Do you think that if I were about any king proposing good laws to him and endeavoring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or, at least, be laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could I signify if I were about the King of France and were called into his cabinet council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients—as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that has so often slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued, and then how Flanders, Brabant and all Burgundy and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs may be added to his empire? One proposes a league with the Venetians—to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate counsels with them and give them some share of the spoil till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands; another proposes the hiring the Germans and the securing the Switzers by pensions; another proposes the gaining the Emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him; another proposes a peace with the King of Arragon, and in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of Navarre's pretensions; another thinks that the Prince of Castile is to be wrought on by the hope of an alliance and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England? A treaty of peace is to be set on foot, and, if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible, and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies; therefore, the Scots are to be kept in readiness to be let loose upon England on every occasion, and some banished nobleman is to be supported under hand (*for by the league it cannot be done avowedly*), (*italics*

ours), who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe."

In More's time, then, as in our own, devious were the ways of diplomacy and spying and secret service was the order of the day and the maintenance of reactionary politicians and all the rest was part of the policy of the nation. After thus descanting on it, Hythloday, who has witnessed the simplicities of diplomatic customs in Utopia, asks very frankly what would happen to him if he should ask the European diplomats to give up their duplicity and be straightforward in their relations with others. If he should advise kings to give up all but their own people and let other peoples be ruled in the way they themselves wished and suggest to the King "that he should live among them, governing them gently, loving his people and being loved by them, letting other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his care was big enough, if not too big, for him"—pray, how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?

Would it be heard any differently in our own day—four hundred years later?

PREDATORY WEALTH.

More's characterization of the rich is not very complimentary to those who in his time had attained money, and the most curiously interesting reflection of his opinion of them is that it runs exactly along the same lines of criticism as those which are followed by the thinkers in our time, who condemn our money-getters as probably the most prolific source of our social evils. In my book on "The Century of Columbus," for Sir Thomas More is one of the greatest characters in that marvelously fertile of genius century in the midst of which Columbus discovered America, I ventured to say that perhaps the greatest contribution to social ethics and the solution of social problems in More's "Utopia" is to be found in his emphatic assertion of the right of the laborer to a living wage in the best sense of that much abused term, and his insistent deprecation of the fact that laborers must not be exploited so as to enable a few men to accumulate great wealth that is sure to be abused. More believed in profit-sharing very heartily and had no hesitation in expressing himself. Above all, he deprecates the injustice worked by predatory wealth. It was the judicial mind of the greatest Lord Chancellor England has ever had, who, after speaking of the Utopian state as "that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of Commonwealth," continues:

"Here now would I see, if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity, the justice of other nations, among whom

I forsake God if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this that a rich goldsmith or an usurer, or, to be short, any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the Commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or unnecessary business, when in the meantime poor laborers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil as drawing and bearing beasts, be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no Commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should get so hard and poor a living and live so wretched and miserable a life that the state and condition of the laboring beasts may seem much better and healthier? . . . And yet besides this the rich men, not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. . . . They invent and devise all means and manner of crafts—first, how to keep safely without fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together and next how to hire and abuse the work and labor of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under color of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. . . . *Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these Commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and the title of Commonwealth.*"

THE COST OF HIGH LIVING.

High prices is a subject of particular interest at the present time, and not a few people in our day have called attention to the fact that for a great many it was the cost of high living rather than the high cost of living that was the important factor. The expression is sometimes thought of as distinctly modern, but read "Utopia": "Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you to set forward your poverty and misery; there is an excessive vanity in apparel and great cost in diet, and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves and among all ranks of persons." It is sometimes thought that such expressions are modern and consequent upon the more acute observation and power of drawing conclusions which has come to us as the result of scientific education and the development of ideas with regard to political and domestic economy in our time. If any corrective is needed of this assumption, "Utopia" would teach

us that such observations are the common heritage of mankind at all times.

Sir Thomas suggests a remedy also for the suffering that is occasioned among the poor by high prices. He talks very plainly, more plainly than we might think necessary perhaps, of the fact that "there are many infamous houses, and besides those that are known, the taverns and alehouses are no better." These eat up money and add greatly to suffering. He suggests that "these plagues should be banished." We are still engaged in the banishment process. He suggests that in addition to these, "there are dice and cards and gambling that consume the money of those who can ill afford it, and then football and tennis and quoits, in which money runs fast away until "those that are initiated into them must in the conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply." One might almost think so close is the commentary on the morning paper that some of Sir Thomas' friends had lost money because some young fellow in their offices had been "knocking down" in order to get money enough to go to the ball games to bet on them.

More shows by many passages in his book that far from deprecating sports and games and outdoor exercise, on the contrary he believed thoroughly in them, and he describes Utopian interest in them when properly conducted. When he mentions in a contemptuous way, then, football, quoits, tennis and other games, it is not because he considers these trivial and unworthy, but because they were made an occasion by a great many people for excitement, betting, gambling and other undesirable social manifestations. More had no liking at all for the sport taken by proxy. He did not believe in games that attracted great crowds of people, who watched other people play. He felt that sport should be joined in and not merely watched. Whenever people become mere spectators, then various artificial excitements almost inevitably develop, which soon degenerate into real abuses. Above all, the gathering of crowds gives opportunity for the mob spirit to develop, in the midst of which the worst traits rather than the better side of humanity come into play. For crowds are not as good as their best people, but are usually a little worse than the worst people among them in giving way to excitement.

ANTICIPATIONS IN PENOLOGY.

Criminology and the question of the proper treatment of the criminal has, of course, come up in our time, and most people would brush aside any thought of there having been any serious discussion of how to treat criminals four or five hundred years ago with the feeling that at that time no one had ever given the slightest

consideration to such a subject. More shows that he must have given a great deal of thought to it, for there is scarcely a mode of modern criminology that he has not touched upon. He protests against the death penalty for thievery and insists that such extremity of punishment overreaches itself. "It is plain and obvious that it is absurd and of ill consequence to the Commonwealth that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since if the punishment is the same, there is more security and less danger of discovery when he that can best make it is put out of the way." He believed thoroughly in the death penalty for murder, however, and would probably have argued with regard to our time, when it is said that only two per cent. of our murderers are put to death; that we have gone to just the opposite extreme and are encouraging crime.

For repeated thefts More tells of the value of indeterminate sentences, during which the thieves should be compelled to work enough to pay back the money that they have stolen. "They are treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injury they had formerly done to society." They were not kept in jails, but were allowed to go out to occupation on public works or they were hired out to those who needed workmen. "Besides their livelihood, they earned somewhat still to the public." They wore a particular kind of clothes and their hair was cropped a little above their ears, so as to make them easily recognizable, and repeated offenders had a piece of one of their ears cut off, to make recognition doubly sure. The method of treating criminals was so successful that "so little do travelers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides from one jurisdiction to another."

I need scarcely say that the idea of repayment of money that has been stolen or the price of valuables that have been taken is one of the most valued of thoughts in modern penology. It is felt that nothing will so deter men from taking what does not belong to them as the thought that the owner will have to be repaid before they can be free from punishment. The indeterminate sentence made freedom depend on good behavior. "None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom since by their obedience and patience and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future they may expect at last to obtain their liberty, and some are every year restored to it upon the good character that is given them."

Sir Thomas More had no delusions with regard to the necessity of punishment, and yet with that marvelous insight of his he perceived very clearly that there were elements in the criminality of men which deserved sympathy and that could be better corrected by proper understanding than by vindictiveness. He was probably looked upon as over-sympathetic to the criminal in his time, but he did see the terms of the problem very clearly, even as clearly as we do. He even hints of how much responsibility society has for many of the criminals that it has to punish, though he does not impugn their heredity so much as their unfortunate environment. He puts the blame on bad education and wrong upbringing for not a little of the crime. He says (p. 32): "For if you suffer your people to be ill educated and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"

Idleness as perhaps the most important predisposing factor to crime was a favorite idea of Sir Thomas More. He felt, however, that one very important factor in evil was the sight forced upon poorer people of the rich using the power of their wealth to do what was manifestly unjust and yet getting round the law. He said: "Restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies." See that everybody works and that there are no idle livers, neither poor nor rich. "Leave fewer occasions to idleness." Then set the tide of population back toward the country again. "Let agriculture be set up again and the manufacture of the wood be regulated that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people whom want forces to be thieves or who now, being idle vagabonds or useless servants in the cities, will certainly grow thieves at last." He considers that the correction of these evils is the most important thing for the reformation of mankind. Elsewhere his ideas on penology are given, and associated with that should be this thought with regard to the place of poverty, idleness and above all monopoly in producing criminals.

CONVENIENCES AND COMFORTS.

There are some of the descriptions of construction work in "Utopia" that must make the mouths of modern contractors and builders water. For instance, "Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaster which costs little and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire and yet resist the weather more than lead." Then there were gardens behind all their houses, the buildings being built all around the blocks, with the gardens in the centre, "so that every house has both a door to the street and a

back door to the garden." Each family had a garden for itself, but was required to devote a certain amount of space in it for flowers as well as for fruits, herbs and wines. The relator in "Utopia" says: "I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as those." There was an emulation between the different families in this regard and competition between the different blocks and prizes and distinctions were given, so that the element of friendly rivalry entered in in order to arouse energy and stimulate industry.

Their doors also have two leaves, which "as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord." These doors were all without locks, "and there being no property among them, every man may enter freely into any house whatsoever." Modern exclusiveness would be seriously shocked by this. "At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots." This is in order to provide change of scene and variety for all and so that no one might become so attached to a particular place as to feel that he had a right to it. As all the houses were so uniform that "a whole side of a street looks like one house," there was no preference in the matter, though doubtless what one had become used to had an attraction of its own. They had great quantities of glass, a material that was not common in England in More's time, but was replaced to a great extent by another material, which in Utopia was said also to be rather abundant—"a thin linen cloth in their windows, that is so oiled or gummed that it both keeps out the wind and gives free admission to the light."

MODERN HOSPITALS IN UTOPIA.

To many people in our time it will seem most amazing that in Utopia as More tells the story their hospitals were so good that people generally when they fell ill preferred to go to them to be nursed and cared for rather than to be taken care of at home. This is, of course, the condition of affairs that actually obtains with us at the present time, but the people of our generation generally have been inclined to think of this happy state of affairs as a very modern development, due doubtless to the evolution of mankind in thoughtfulness for others. Our modern hospitals were so unspeakably bad even a brief generation ago as to make old time hospitals seem a disgrace, for in the seventies of the last century the nurses at Bellevue Hospital were mainly the "ten day women," that is, such women as had been condemned to the workhouse for ten days for being drunk and disorderly and who, if they had any family experience in nursing, had their sentences commuted so that they might act as nurses in the hospital for a month. With this in mind,

it seems as though the older hospitals must have been absolutely impossible.

As a matter of fact, however, in describing the hospitals in "Utopia," More is only telling the story of some of the things that he had actually seen on the continent, though, of course, he combines the features of a number of hospitals in order to create his ideals in "Utopia." When he stopped at Bruges More had surely seen the hospital of St. Jean, with its beautiful gardens surrounded by water and its magnificent old buildings. They were very different from our modern hospitals until this last few years, for the worst hospitals in the world were built during the early part of the nineteenth century. To any one who knows the history of hospitals and above all who realizes that even the magnificent hospital that More described, more like a town than a hospital, is after all only a description down to date of St. Basil's Hospital at Cesarea, which was actually called Newtown, it was so extensive the Utopian hospital will not be an unattainable ideal, but only a reminder from history of the development of fine Christian charity. With this in mind, More's description is easy to understand and loses most of its apparent idealization.

"But they take more care of their sick than of any others; these are lodged and provided for in public hospitals. They have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large that they may pass for little towns. By this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender and watchful care and are so constantly attended by their skillful physicians that as none are sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town that, if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie sick at home."

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

Sir Thomas More was far ahead of his time in many of his practical conclusions. His common sense enabled him to appreciate the real significance or lack of significance of many things that others were misunderstanding or exaggerating. For instance, he says very emphatically that while the Utopians "knew astronomy and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies and were possessed of many instruments well contrived and

celebrated, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon and stars, but for the cheat of divining by the stars, by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts."

The significance of a remark of this kind is greatly enhanced by the fact that in spite of Copernicus' researches and great new theory which was elaborated in More's time, but only announced and not yet published to the world, astrology still continued to occupy the minds of a great many educated people, even mathematicians and astronomers, for fully a century and a half after his time. It is a matter of great surprise to find that Galileo more than a century later worked out a horoscope for the Duke of Tuscany, according to which that potentate by the same token was to live for a very long time in happiness and health, though, as a matter of fact, he died a very brief interval afterwards. Kepler also made horoscopes, and though he declared that their significance and value was more than dubious, he was paid so much more for making a horoscope than for making important astronomical discoveries or for teaching mathematics and astronomy, that in order to make a living he continued to provide them for noble patrons, who thus hoped to obtain the assurance of long life and happiness.

Even in the eighteenth century Mesmer, the famous charlatan, to whose name we owe the term mesmerism and who attracted so much attention by his cures of all sorts of things by what was supposed to be animal magnetism, wrote a thesis for the University of Vienna for his doctorate in medicine on the influence of the stars on human constitutions, and it was accepted quite seriously by the learned faculty. In our time astrology is not yet dead. There are a number of astrological journals published and a number of dupes who have their horoscopes made, just as others have their palms read, and still others have their heads phrenologically examined, and still others have their fortunes told in many other ways. There are just as many dupes now as there ever were. Four hundred years ago Sir Thomas More was emphasizing how his Utopians rejected such absurd trifling with mysteries of the universe and of life, but the time when men will be wise enough to reject such nonsense utterly will probably never come.

EUGENIC MARRIAGES.

Probably the most startling passage in "Utopia" for modern readers is that in which, quite in line with some modern eugenic suggestions as to the taking out of health certificates after a medical examination before marriage, the laws of Sir Thomas More's "Nowhere" required that young folks should have an opportunity

to see each other naked in order that there might not be any imposition practiced. The subject is introduced rather apologetically and somewhat deprecatingly, as if, of course, other peoples could scarcely be expected to imitate the simple naturalness of the Utopians in this matter, but at least it is interesting to realize that the subject had been not only thought about, but that the problem which underlies it had actually been thought out more than four centuries ago. The passage runs (p. 135):

"In choosing a wife they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride, naked, whether she is a virgin or widow, to the bridegroom, and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom, naked, to the bride. We, indeed, both laughed at this and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them, and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a handsbreadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which may lie hid what may be *contagious* as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities, and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind, and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience; they, therefore, think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds."

PREACHING AND PRACTICE.

The secret of "Utopia" is probably best revealed in the fact that more than one editor of it has called attention to the somewhat unusual circumstance perhaps that Sir Thomas More was a philosopher who practiced what he preached. He lived the life of simplicity, directness, unselfishness that he described in his "Nowhere." Maurice Adams in his introduction to the Camelot edition of "Utopia" says (p. 553): "Utopia was but the author's home writ large. His beautiful house, on the riverside at Chelsea, was, through his delight in social life and music and through the wit and merriment of his nature, a dwelling of joy and mirth as well

as of study and thought. It often rang with song and was cheery with the laughter of children and grandchildren, he himself, in his own words, 'being merry, jocund and pleasant among them.' Erasmus, who was often his guest, has given us many delightful glimpses of his family life and his children and their tasks, and the monkey and rabbits which amused their leisure. To the solitary and ever-wandering Erasmus, More's house was a haven of refuge from the discomforts and vexations of his bachelor existence. In one of his epistles he writes: 'More has built near London, upon the Thames, a modest yet commodious mansion. There he lives, surrounded by his numerous family, including his wife, his son and his son's wife, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate to his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as if she were a girl of fifteen. Such is the excellence of his disposition that whatever happeneth that could not be helped, he is as cheerful and well pleased as though the best thing possible had been done. In More's house you would say that Plato's academy was revived again, only, whereas, in the academy the discussion turned upon geometry and the power of numbers, the house at Chelsea is a veritable school of Christian religion. In it is none, man or woman, but readeth or studieth the liberal arts, yet is their chief care of piety. There is never any seen idle; the head of the house governs it, not only by a lofty carriage and oft rebukes, but by gentleness and amiable inanners. Every member is busy in his place, performing his duty with alacrity; nor is sober mirth wanting.'

CONTEMPORARY APPRECIATION.

At least there is some consolation in knowing that during his lifetime More was thoroughly appreciated by those who knew him best and above all by those whose opinion was most worth while in their time. We know the high appreciation in which Cardinal Morton held him as a youth, and something at least of what Bishop Fisher thought of him as the years went on. Surely the praise of such men might well outweigh a whole world of others. To Erasmus he was a very dear friend, beloved and admired, even, one might well say, *rêverenced*. Those of us who have come to know how little there was in the quality of reverence in that scholarly mechanism so purely intellectual which constituted Erasmus can well judge that its manifestation in More's regard meant a very great deal. King Henry VIII. appreciated him very highly until the inevitable woman in the case brought a change of conduct toward him in the hope that severity might win where friendship had failed and years of intimacy could not weigh against

conscience. That it brought no change of opinion may be realized from the fact established by sound tradition that when the news was brought to the monarch that More's head had fallen, he was with Anne Boleyn. He turned aside, a change came over him and it was evident as he left her that he had suffered severely.

As to what the greatest ruler of the time, the Emperor Charles V., ruled most of Europe and nearly all of America in his time and knew men so well and thought of him can be very well appreciated in the last paragraph of Roper More's son-in-law's account of what the Emperor said to the English Ambassador when he heard the news that More had been beheaded. That paragraph surely makes a fitting ending to an article on "Utopia" written on the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the book:*

"Soon after whose (More's) death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereupon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our English Ambassador, and said unto him, 'My Lord Ambassador, we understand that the King, your master, hath put his faithful servant and grave wise Councillor, Sir Thomas More, to death?' Whereunto Sir Thomas Eliott answered that he understood nothing thereof. 'Well,' said the Emperor, 'it is very true, and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than have lost such a worthy Councillor.'"

JAMES J. WALSH.

New York, N. Y.

*Camelot, p. 61.

JOHN DRYDEN.

WE scrutinize a poet whose name is generally taken to designate his age. John Dryden, born in 1631, began serious composition almost at the exact date of the Restoration and died at the close of the century. Almost coincident with his death was the appearance of Congreve's "Way of the World," which set a new dramatic fashion. Because of these accidental correspondences between his literary period and the space of years from the return of Charles II. to the beginning of the new hundred years, it has been found convenient to speak of this time as "the age of Dryden." Yet the appellation must be granted much more of justice than the mere foundation of chance, for it can scarcely be questioned that Dryden absolutely dominated literary production during most of those forty years.

We are discussing, then, a man whose name will perhaps never die. Nevertheless, Dryden had a host of enemies and was as often blamed as praised. After graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge, and receiving the usual thorough classical education, we find him writing a poem to Cromwell in 1659, hailing the Lord Protector as a preserver of peace, as a creator of order out of chaos, and then, in 1660 ("Astræa Redux"), praising the return of the Stuarts and the royal establishment. These things were seized upon by later assailants as early instances of time-serving. But Dr. Johnson replied to them: "The reproach of inconstancy was, on this occasion, shared with such numbers that it produced neither hatred nor disgrace; if he changed, he changed with the nation. It was, however, not totally forgotten when his reputation raised him enemies." And a more recent critic has pointed out that the "Lord Protector" poem merely praised the security made certain by Cromwell, not Cromwell himself, and that the praise of Charles II. was therefore naturally due to a monarch who promised a further increase in governmental stability.¹

Then when James II. came to the throne Dryden became a Catholic, an action which drew on him more condemnations from his contemporaries,² but which was defended even by Dr. Johnson. Many other people have assailed Dryden on this score. They have

¹ R. K. Root: "Dryden's Conversion to the Roman Catholic Faith." Publications of the Modern Language Association, 1907.

² "The Reasons of Mr. Bays [Dryden] changing his Religion. Considered in a Dialogue between Crites, Eugenius and Mr. Bays." By Thomas Brown, London, 1688.

pointed out that "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681), in spite of its famous line,

"Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed,"

had compared the two religions to the advantage of the Anglican and the disadvantage of the Catholic. And they have pointed out also that "Religio Laici" (1682) and his stated change in religious belief concur very closely with what must at that time have been Dryden's material interest. On the death of D'Avenant he had succeeded to the laureateship,³ and his interests and those of the court were very nearly identical. Yet the latest dictum on this very delicate subject says:

"An attempt to prove that Dryden's conversion was due, not as Macaulay and others have maintained, to an unworthy desire to ingratiate himself at court, nor yet, as Johnson and Scott believed, to any deep religious conviction, but rather to a sincere political conviction that an infallible Church offered the only permanent safeguard against dissension and civil war."⁴

We find several more incongruities in this matter. The first of these contradictory facts is the play "The Spanish Friar" (1681), an unchaste thing where religion and rogues go together and a huge, fat religious gentleman does things no Catholic sympathizer would make him do, a play which for its lewdness justly deserved the condemnation of Jeremy Collier, and lastly a play dedicated as "a Protestant play to a Protestant patron." In the same vein was "The Assignation; or, Love in a Nunnery" (1673), equally bad, of which, as Mr. Saintsbury has remarked, "nobody has ever been able to say much good."⁵ On the other hand is the obvious sincerity of a man who brought up three sons in the religion which he himself had embraced in middle age, and there is the fact that, when he professed Catholicism, he did not pretend to have changed in his conceptions of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church. "Again, "we know that Dryden's several productions were so many successive expedients for his own support," and that "Religio Laici" was his only work which seems to have come from his heart and not from a calculating mind seeking for remuneration. There is no possibility of proving that Dryden would have lost by remaining an Anglican, nor that

³ See "Dryden: Poet Laureate," *The Nation*, vol. 98, p. 751.

⁴ R. K. Root, *Op. cit.* iv.

⁵ We may likewise cite Lyndaraxa's lines from "The Conquest of Granada" (1672), Part II., Act II. Scene 2, beginning "O Lottery of Fate," and a slighting reference to ostentatious priests" in "Marriage à la Mode" (1673), Act iv., Scene 5.

he actually gained by changing. He took a risk of losing by some new sudden change of royalties—as in fact he did lose his laureateship in 1689. He swept his stakes on the table, and with the common fortune of gamblers was content to hear his fortune cursed and his faults arraigned and to suffer both without further reply.⁶

Dryden's life was, in effect, rather a sad one. If in religious matters he kept his own counsel, in literary affairs he showed an almost malignant impatience. He assailed his assailants unremittingly, hesitating not to attack such, even of the nobility, as dared to attack him. But slowly he was supplanted on the dramatic stage by persons far inferior in ability and forced to devote much of his time to political satire. Nowadays a man asks: "Who was that man who quarreled with Dryden?" and when the answer comes, "Elkanah Settle!" inevitably all but professional literary historians have to query, "Who was he?" These were days of bitter literary feuds, in which personal attacks supplemented poetical asperities. For instance, Sir William D'Avenant had the ill luck to lose his nose, and was satirized on that account even by his friends. So one night as Dryden was returning from Will's Coffee House he was set upon and beaten by hired ruffians.

Yet, with the pen, Dryden gave blow for blow, buffet for buffet. "The Hind and the Panther" (1687) was as vigorous an attack as any man could want, and "The Medal" (1682) spared no feelings. In "MacFlecknoe" (1682), however, he outdid himself, for that poem was not merely an answer to Shadwell's repeated attacks upon his literary reputation, his political principles and his moral character, but stands as the perfect model of vindictiveness, after which the even more vindictive Alexander Pope was content to pattern his more famous, but more diffuse "Dunciad."

Times change and favor departs: the favor of courts and the constancy of public applause. As Sir Walter Scott has enumerated them, Dryden had to write and find commendation under three diverse British kings, "the needy Charles, who loved literary merit without rewarding it; the saturnine James, who rewarded it without loving it; and the phlegmatic William, who did neither the one nor the other." In years which stretched from the days of the Protectorate, through the reign of "the Merry Monarch" and that of the over-zealous James, over "the glorious Revolution" and into the establishment of the Hanoverian kings, Dryden lived

⁶ I should go more deeply into this matter had not Mr. Root already done it before me.

⁷ See "Dryden in The Dunciad," *The Nation*, vol. 98, p. 568.

and worked.⁸ And finally when change of fortune drove him in turn even from the arena of poetical satire he turned to the art and business of translation. To him it was the art of translation, for in his many long prefaces, in the length of which he has scarcely been excelled except by Mr. Shaw, Dryden shows a clear consciousness of the difficulties and the dignities of his task. He establishes certain principles to which he tried to conform; no man was more exacting in his theories, which are still quoted with approval. To him it was the business of translation, for by it he had to earn the wherewithal to pay the butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker. Scarcely has Charles Lamb's statement been better vindicated than by this gigantic example—that though literature may serve very well for a staff, it will hardly serve as a crutch. Many men in many ages have tried to live exclusively by what profit their pens might earn, and in most cases the declining years were tinged by the sadness of unproductive and exhaustive genius which is harmed and harried by being continually urged on and on for mere pecuniary remuneration. Sheridan is a great example. In Dryden's own age, or to use a professorial phrase, in the Age of Dryden, Shirley spent his later years doing mere drudge-work in translation for the bookseller Ogilby, and Elkanah Settle—who had answered "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681) and "The Medal" (1682) with no mean success—died forgotten in a hospital after spending his declining years contriving shows for fairs and peddling occasional verses to families who could pay for commemorative poems on weddings or funerals. So with Dryden. Sick, discouraged, half-despised and half-forgotten, he died—by a strange irony for a pathetic scene—on May Day, 1701. No man may say exactly how much truth there is in the wild tale repeated by Congreve⁹ concerning disputes and disagreements as to the manner and the circumstances of his burial. It may be true that these things happened as Congreve related them. It is at least true that he lay for a long time in an unmarked grave in Westminster Abbey until the Duke of Buckinghamshire gave him a tablet inscribed only with the name of DRYDEN.

⁸ Mr. Saintsbury's biography in the "English Men of Letters" Series, the articles in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and "The Cambridge History of English Literature" are replete in details. There is a more popular survey in a more recent book, "The Poets Laureate of England," by W. Forbes Gray. Bibliographical data are to be found in the above, in "Catalogue of Dryden Exhibition" (1900), by the Groller Club, in the introduction to the Everyman "Dramatic Essays," and in "A Cheer List of Dryden's Plays" in "The Bibliographer," November, 1902 (vol. I, p. 374).

⁹In his biography of Dryden.

The reputation which is attached to that name rests chiefly upon a few plays and upon a great many of which these few are the type. The "Restoration Drama" is characterized and dominated by Dryden. To appreciate him you must know the temper of the whole time, and in this century we are too forgetful of the days of the second Charles and the second James. It is, as Mr. P. P. Howe has said, a minor irony of our English-speaking theatre that the drama called "Restoration" should be itself in need of restoration to favor. "It is more than a little ironic that the very plays with which the English theatre broke its Puritan-imposed silence should be now the plays on which a silence is imposed." When the words of D'Avenant were being neglected, Dryden—who knew him as a collaborator¹⁰ and revered him as a humble disciple should revere a master—continued the things which Sir William had revived, and established the type of the heroic play. In the preface to "The Conquest of Granada" (1672) he said: "Love and valor ought to be the subject," and then pointed out that the play that was heroic was but a stage representation of the already existing heroic poem. In the preface to "Aurengzebe" (1676) he even boasts that he has created the characters in that drama the nearest they could possibly be made to those of the heroic poem. D'Avenant used verse, but it was Dryden who boldly claimed, "Serious plays ought to be raised above the level of prose. . . . Heroic verse is already in possession of the stage."¹¹

The main characteristics of these plays have already been seen in D'Avenant—to some degree at least—but they may be applied particularly to those which are most frequently cited as examples. There had been in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher and in those of Shirley intrigues in high places, but it is not until we get to D'Avenant's "Siege of Rhodes" (1656), Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" (1672) and his "Aurengzebe" (1676) and to Otway's "Venice Preserved" (1682) that we see again the representation of battles and the frequent use of drums and trumpets which had existed in the early chronicle-history plays and in Shakespeare. Personal affairs are made to complicate international affairs, and ordinary amorous emotions to determine the making and breaking of national allegiances as much in Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" (1672) as in D'Avenant's "Love and Honor" (1661). These, though, are not the mere allegories of the fall of princes or tragedies of the unfortunate great. The heroes are heroic, each is

¹⁰ See the adaptation of "The Tempest," played November, 1667.

¹¹ Preface to "The Conquest of Granada," (1672).

the soul of honor. Gone is the lascivious love of the early Jacobean:

"Honor's the only idol of his eyes;
The claims of beauty like a pest he flies."

The brotherly self-sacrifice in Otway's play, "The Orphan" (1680) is equaled if not outdone in "The Conquest of Granada" (1672), when Almanzor frees his captive Almahide, although he loves her, and when Boabdelin later frees his rival, Almanzor, and gives him to the loving, but repining Almahide. That the notorious Nell Gwyn appeared in this play in a broad-brimmed hat and a waist-belt: not even this can detract from the heroic effectiveness of the ideal. The hero is superb, "the soul of honor," as I have said, and his conquering individuality stands forth like a bright comet against a midnight sky. He joins himself to the weaker side in combat, and the weaker side forthwith becomes the stronger. He is the subject for Henley's lines, he is the master of his fate:

". . . one great soul
Whose single force can multitudes control."

And if he seems to boast too loudly at times of his own ability,

"The Moors have heaven, and me, to assist their cause,"

he yet declares:

"If I am proud, 'tis only to my foes."

It is not ambition which drives him on; it is merely his unconquerable soul which bows to none and always upholds the right.

When finally this superhuman creature betrays one mortal weakness, saying:

"Love has undone me,"

he has revealed another characteristic of these plays. In them love is not a mere passion; it is a noble emotion, almost conforming to the definition of Ben Jonson, "the right affection of the mind, the noble appetite of what is best." Before the haughty heroine alone will he bow, the haughty heroine with alabaster brow and breast of stone. This lover's passion is a high and mighty sort of thing which interferes with the cause of nations, which coincides with the quest of honor at war without selfish ambition:

"Your beauty, as it moves no common fire,
So it no common courage can inspire."

As he fought well, so had he prospered, too,
If, madam, he, like me, had fought for you."

The faults of these plays lie in the very exaltation of their tone. They are unnatural. They are artificial, with a form which many men in many decades have felt was improperly imposed upon them from the French¹² as a result of the royal exile at the Parisian court.¹³ Yet they have a merit all their own, a quaintness and a charm, an almost mechanical beauty. They are put together from numerous sources, but shaped in a new mould. In fact, the King was not far wrong when to those who charged Dryden with plagiarism "he only desired that they who accused Dryden of thefts would steal him plays like these." We close this brief praise of Dryden's plays, then, with quotation of a passage from "*Aurengzebe*" (1675), which has been praised by the author of the *Spectator* papers and by the thundering Dr. Johnson, who did not always approve of Dryden, and which certainly is "The Vanity of Human Wishes" or "Rasselas" in a nutshell:

"When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat;
Yet, fooled with hope, men favour the deceit;
Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay:
To-morrow's falser than the former day;
Lies worse, and, while it says, we shall be blest
With some new joys, cuts off what we possesst.
Strange cozenage! None would live past years again,
Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain;
And, from the dregs of life, think to receive,
What the first sprightly running could not give.
I'm tired with waiting for this chemic gold,
Which fools us young, and beggars us when old."

It was in the form of prefaces to these plays and others that Dryden published the prose writing which has entitled him to one of the most prominent places as a creator of modern English prose style.¹⁴ Save for a very slight tendency toward the balanced construction—a tendency not nearly so outrageous as in Lyly and

¹² A chance line, though in a character who is being ridiculed, may be quoted from "*Marriage à la Mode*" (1673): "T'd sacrifice my life for French poetry."

¹³ It must be remembered that decent tradesmen, professional men and bankers could not be seen at the theatre—through prejudice—and that the audience was consequently chiefly aristocratic.

¹⁴ See W. E. Bolen, "Development of Dryden's Literary Criticism," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, 1907, and "Dryden as a Prose Writer," *Catholic University Bulletin*, March, 1914.

Sidney, in Bacon or Milton—we might easily mistake his for modern writing. There is ease and decision, and variety, too, in his paragraphs. There is wealth of well-rounded thought, not barely expressed, and sufficient quantity of allusion and quotation to lend richness and strength without too much encumbrance. He had read sufficiently to provide this detail, but he also provided a classical inclination. In the preface to "*Troilus and Cressida*" (1679) he found fault with earlier versions of the story because in them false Cressida went unpunished. This would never do. The old dramatic rules and regulations were as moral as they were strict, and Dryden meant to abide by the old rules and regulations. In the well-known "*Essay of Dramatic Poesy*" (1668) he defends the unities; in the preface to "*The Mock Astrologer*" (1671) he shows a reasonably wide knowledge of the drama, and on the basis of his study declares against extravagance in comedy and in tragedy; and in the preface to "*Troilus and Cressida*" (1679) he boasts—not without some condemnation of Shakespeare—that he has maintained due consideration for the unity of place and the proportion of time, and will have "no leaping from Troy to the Grecian tent, and back again, in the same act." It is not surprising, therefore, to find him deploring Beaumont and Fletcher and praising Ben Jonson, who, he says, "is to be admired for many excellencies, and can be taxed with fewer failings than any English poet." Shakespeare he admired as a great genius who "had a universal mind" and criticized as a violator of laws of the stage.¹⁵ He also adapted from him and was frank enough to say that where he imitated Shakespeare he excelled himself by so doing.¹⁶ There is more in these estimates than Dryden's mere opinion; there is a shadow of the theory of his own art, for he himself said that the prefaces so laboriously written had instructed the public to a level where he could not attain. But Dryden firmly believed the Restoration age superior to that of Shakespeare; the master dramatist of Elizabethan drama was to him very nearly the same "great barbarian" as to the later eighteenth century:

"If Shakespeare were stripped of all the bombasts in his passions, and dressed in the most vulgar words, we should find the beauties of his thoughts remaining; if his embroideries were burnt down, there would still be silver at the bottom of the melting pot;

¹⁵ Preface to "*Troilus and Cressida*" (1679).

¹⁶ Preface to "*All For Love*" (1678). Lyndaraxa in "*The Conquest of Granada*," (1672) is somewhat similar to Lady Macbeth, save in being ambitious only for herself. (See Part II., Act II., Scene 3). In the same play is "a wood of lances and a moving war" and Macbeth is quoted in "*Marriage à la Mode*."

but I fear (at least let me fear it for myself) that we, who ape his sounding words, have nothing of his thought, but are all outside; there is not so much as a dwarf within our giant's clothes. Therefore, let not Shakespeare suffer for our sakes; 'tis our fault, who succeed him in an age which is more refined, if we imitate him so ill that we copy his failings only and make a virtue of that in our writings which in his was an imperfection."

Here is the dramatist turned critic, or—more significantly—the critic turned dramatist, and no man would agree more readily to condemn his own improprieties and barbarisms than Dryden himself. He who was one of the first to do anything like, to suggest anything like, an historical method of criticism, felt that his age inherited the virtues of past ages, the perfections of form, the niceties of expression and the niceties of moral endings. He considered this a great advantage, that he and his contemporaries lived in a time when the language, wit and conversation were improved and refined over those of times that had gone before. Dryden agreed that it is not unreasonable to expect their plays to derive some advantage from this general advancement. Certain it is that whatever may be said in detraction of his over-refined dramas,¹⁷ his prose has richness and flavor that place it for all time among the best specimens of dramatic criticism in any language. The words of Dr. Johnson are as just as they are final:

"The criticism of Dryden is the criticism of a poet; not a dull collection of theorems, nor a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the censor was able to have committed, but a gay and vigorous dissertation, where delight is mingled with instruction and where the author proves his right of judgment by his power of performance. . . . With Dryden we are wandering in quest of Truth, whom we find, if we find her at all, dressed in the graces of elegance, and if we miss her, the labor of the pursuit rewards itself; we are led only through fragrance and flowers."

What though they seem too much the flowers of the hothouse? Even in their artificiality they are exquisite.

FRANCIS PAUL.

¹⁷ Congreve said: "We refine upon our pleasures." It was the spirit of the age.

CARDINAL GUIBERT.

III.

GLANCING, at the close of 1860, at the events of the past months, Monsignor Guibert wrote: "When I decided to take up a different attitude towards the Government from that which I had hitherto preserved, it was because I saw clearly and pointedly that the Church was betrayed under seeming respect and devotedness, whether this system was the consequence of previous engagements or personal fear, or, which seemed to me more probable, of theories conceived in the head of a prince who thinks he has received the mission of reforming society and the Church at the same time." More fuel was thrown upon the fires of political controversy when, in February, 1861, appeared Arthur de la Guéronnière's pamphlet, "*La France, Rome, et l'Italie*," which contained a slighting appreciation of the Papal policy and the fullest approval of that of the Second Empire; the Pope being charged with being the real cause of his own misfortunes by taking sides against France and obstinately and unreasonably refusing to grant the just reforms demanded by his people; while the French episcopate was accused of letting itself be dominated by political parties." The Archbishop of Tours, in a letter to the Pope, protested against a publication which was like a semi-official manifesto foreshadowing sinister events, and against the project of reducing the Papal Power to a purely nominal sovereignty, which would never guarantee the independence necessary to the head of the Church. This letter afforded great consolation to the much-tried Pontiff who was to suffer more at the hands of the House of Savoy, verifying the legend in St. Malachy's prophecy—*cruce de cruce*. Not content with this, Monsignor Guibert went to Rome to give the Pontiff more sensible evidence of his filial attachments. The Holy Father, a pathetic figure like all those who in history are fated to stand at the parting of the ways—at the transition from an older to a newer order of things—never appeared to him more majestic and amiable. "God, who is with him," he wrote on his return, "knows how to proportion His graces to perils; He raises the courage of His vicar to the height of his trials. I can never forget the sublime picture it has been given to me to contemplate in the private audiences to which the Holy Father deigned to admit me. No one can ever see anything in the world worthier of admiration and respect. What tranquillity! what patience! what resignation! It is impossible he could be more master of himself and every emotion of his soul. One

scarcely discerns in his serene countenance the trace of a calm, sweet sadness, which adds to the nobleness of his features. It is clearly seen that his mind is elevated above terrestrial regions, and that his only reliance is in the thoughts of faith and in the promise of Jesus Christ. His mildness is what is most opposed to weakness, and the firmness of his character is at an infinite distance from what is called obstinacy. His virtue is not a showy virtue; it is simple, natural, unaffected. His generous heart has never known anything but love, forgiveness and charity. No one could ever by chance hear from his lips a bitter word for his enemies: he bewails them, but he loves them and prays for them."

This independent attitude of Monsignor Guibert, which was that of the majority of the French episcopate, irritated the Government which sought to intimidate and silence the Bishops; M. Delangle, Keeper of the Seals, addressing a circular to the public prosecutors relative to "the misdemeanors ecclesiastics may commit in the exercise of their functions." The Archbishop of Tours protested in a letter to the Minister of Public Worship, which was applauded by the whole Catholic world. Many Bishops, ecclesiastical conferences and prominent laymen, including General Lamoricière and Louis Veuillot, wrote to the intrepid writer to congratulate and encourage him. But when the Government disregarded these protestations, Monsignor Guibert assembled the Bishops of his province and addressed a letter to the Emperor in their name, in which he reaffirmed and demonstrated the utility of the temporal power and unmasked the hypocritical intentions of the enemies of the Papacy; a courageous proceeding of which the Pope approved. In February, 1862, he again went to Rome, and was cordially greeted by Pius IX., who seemed quite decided to part with the last company of the army of occupation. After his return, he issued another long pastoral on the affairs of the Church in which he again defended the temporal power. His language and action all through this episode must obliterate the impression that there existed any latent tinge of Gallicanism or Cisalpine ideas in his mind; for no one could have been more pronouncedly ultramontane.

The conflict between the episcopate and Government in France was becoming more acute. Their relations were strained to the utmost tension when, in 1863, the Archbishops of Cambrai, Tours and Rennes, and the Bishops of Metz, Nantes, Orleans and Chartres published in the "Monde" a collective reply to Catholics who had consulted them regarding their conduct at the approaching elections. Minister Rouland wrote to them that the Government would forbid the publication in the press of any deliberation.

emanating from the assembled Bishops without legal authorization. To this the Archbishop of Tours, who was the inspirer and mouth-piece of the Bishops, replied in a letter to the Minister, in which he said: "The danger to the Government is not where you see it: it is where you do not see it. The Bishops desire order; they respect authority, which is the principal foundation of society. The hand of the Church has never been seen in revolutions. You will do well to direct your attention and solicitude elsewhere." Despite his pacific dispositions, he was prosecuted for his public acts. The consultation of the seven Bishops and his letter to the Minister of Public Worship were delated to the Council of State as cases of an alleged abuse of ecclesiastical authority. Meanwhile he scored a triumph over his opponents, for the portfolio of Worship was transferred from Rouland to Baroche. Monsignor Guibert then wrote to the new minister claiming the privilege of being the only one to be tried, as there was no question of accusing the other Bishops before his letter of June 4, which he wrote, signed and published even without their knowledge, and it was only just that he alone should bear the consequences. He first thought of putting in no other defense than this letter, but he changed his mind and put his case in the hands of Léon Cornudet. It was adjudicated on August 16, when the consultation of the seven Bishops was decreed an abuse; although it only advised good citizens to go to the poll and vote according to the dictates of their consciences. This decision, M. Cornudet said, was of great gravity because for the first time it established doctrinally that Bishops may be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Council of State, even when they do not perform an episcopal act in the strict sense of the word. This decision wounded Monsignor Guibert where he was most sensitive, in his innate respect for authority. But he was consoled by the numerous testimonies of respect and admiration which reached him. The Pope, through his relations with the French Government, forbade him to write directly to the Archbishop, indirectly made known to him his approval of the letter which led to his condemnation by the Council, which, he said, was impressed with as much dignity as truth. "He said nothing but what is true," said His Holiness, "and I do not think they seriously mean to persecute; the Catholic party is too powerful in France. I have seen the Archbishop of Tours last year in the month of January; he is worthy." Monsignor Nardi, then in Rome, wrote to him: "Your acts are worthy of St. Martin. You have spoken to the intelligence and the heart, to the sentiments of men and Christians. When one reads such things, the soul is uplifted and vigor is revived." And, giving news about the Pope, he added: "Pius IX. is a saint,

a great saint. He much resembles you, only he is more trameled." Montalembert was delighted with him. "We are enraptured!" he wrote. Everything strikes home in that incomparable and memorable letter. It will be registered in the ecclesiastical history of our country and our time as one of the finest and most useful pages of that history. In reading it every one will say of M. Rouland: *In episcopum incidit!* Courageous successor of St. Martin, you are worthy to occupy his See. We thank you for presenting to us, in these times of treason and servility, the spectacle of true Pontifical virtue."

The Imperial Government next showed its animus when Pius IX. published his encyclical *Quanta Cura*, along with the *Syllabus*, or resumé of the principal errors of modern times. The publication in France of the first part was interdicted, an arbitrary act which drew from Monsignor Guibert a letter to the Keeper of the Seals in which he protested against the denial to Catholic prelates of a liberty permitted to the worst enemies of religion and social order. Monsignor Matthieu, Archbishop of Besancon, and Monsignor de Dreux-Brézé, who published the whole encyclical, were penalized.

When Thiers delivered a remarkable speech in the Corps législatif in favor of the temporal power, it gave the liveliest satisfaction to the Archbishop of Tours, at whose instance it was reproduced in pamphlet form by the future President of the republic. And when, later, English and Irish Bishops felt that the time had come to warn the faithful of the danger that menaced the Holy Father and ordered public prayers to be offered for him, and the Nuncio invited him to follow their example, he responded with alacrity. In an "Instruction on the present dangers of the Church" (November 4, 1866), he wrote: "All the world seems convinced that after the departure of our soldiers from Rome, the Italian revolution, which covets that city for the capital, will strive, by methods familiar to it, to stir up seditions in the interior of the small State that remains to the Pope, and will thus supply the Government of Italy with a pretext to seize on the holy city, as it has already usurped the other provinces of the Pontifical State. This crime, when it will be accomplished, will be the greatest of modern times." Having expressed his astonishment at the passive attitude of kings and peoples in presence of such an outrage, he proceeds: "As to France, let it be permitted to an old Bishop, who has ever passionately loved the honor and glory of his country, to remind it that its providential mission is to defend the Patrimony of Peter. It may repudiate this task; but let it be remembered that, when a people has abandoned its destiny, it cannot

be surprised to see its country decline, grow weak and efface itself from the scene. The crimes of nations, besides, are punished in this world. Is not the uneasiness from which Europe suffers a chastisement? Addressing peoples, we would add, that, if they do not return from the ways into which they have strayed, God will send them a final scourge which He holds in reserve among the resources of His justice, and which will surpass all others: this supreme chastisement, if the evil becomes incurable, will consist in abandoning society into the hands of Godless sophists who, by the application of their false and anarchical utopias, will complete its dissolution and make it the image of hell." Have we not seen some realization of this forecast in the anti-Christian propagandism of our time and in the terrible war of nations by which peoples are scourging themselves, in that deluge of blood which is punishing, while it is purifying, a guilty world? "They will be forced to return to the Gospel and the Church," said Monsignor Guibert, "when, after unhappy attempts and perhaps dreadful misfortunes, they will want to establish a solid and durable order." We have seen, by the lurid light of battle fires, many hopeful glimpses of this long and much-desired reawakening of faith and turning towards the Catholic Church for solace and salvation. A copy of this pastoral was sent to Thiers, who, in acknowledging it, said: "To the noble touching language of a Bishop you have added the elevated and strongly expressed views of the statesman, and everybody applauds this way of thus uniting the interests of religion and of France." Simultaneously the Nuncio hastened to give expression to the joy he felt on reading it, and Monsignor Nardi told him of "the great consolation it had given the Holy Father, very sad at that moment."

The Archbishop of Tours had, as far as in him lay, rallied to the aid of the Church in what he described as one of the most dangerous crises it ever had to pass through. When it became still more acute and the possibility of the Pope going into exile, the Holy Father requested Monsignor Nardi to consult the Archbishop, who replied: "The Pope ought not to retire to Malta, although it may have the advantage of giving a lesson to the Catholic Powers by asking refuge of another Power. But the Holy Father ought to remain in the sphere of events and in the midst of Catholic nations. There he would be too isolated, not sufficiently accessible. In Europe, and particularly in France, there is a whirling of interest in which minds are involved and which only allows them to be impressed by what is visible and tangible. Malta would look like the St. Helena of the temporal Papacy, and the kingdom of Italy might establish itself in Rome as in free quarters.

Spain is too troubled, Germany too Prussian. It is to France the Pope ought to come, unexpectedly, without apprising the Government, not to Marseilles, where religious enthusiasm and political passions are so hot as to give umbrage to the Power. Pius IX. wants a calm and tranquil sojourn; Tours or Bourges. He should only tell the Emperor on his arrival; he should say to him that he does not ask his hospitality, because, an unhappy exile, all splendor would be inopportune. Thus Pius IX. would not be the guest of the Emperor; at no price should he consent to become so, and should even refrain from appearing in Paris. He would be the guest of French Catholics. Rather lose everything than compromise honor, which is the Church's treasure. The dignity of the Holy Father would be at ease in the midst of the testimonies of our love and veneration. What a festival for this privileged portion of the great Catholic family, and what a spectacle our country would present to the world!"

Even now, after the lapse of so many years, the Roman question is still an unsolved problem. Providence, when all is said and done, is, in the ultimate, the great maker of history, and it alone possesses the key to the enigma. Monsignor Guibert, as has been seen, was profoundly convinced of the necessity of the temporal power. Minds have traveled far since those days; but, whatever the solution may be, all are at one on the need of securing to the Pope the completest independence and freedom of action, which he could not enjoy if he were practically the subject, no matter how exalted, of any State. As the true successor of the Cæsars, he alone of all sovereigns possesses a sovereignty which is world-wide, and of which he cannot be deprived. He is an international personage, which makes his neutrality and inviolability a matter of international importance. In Monsignor Guibert's time events were shaping themselves towards the leveling down of the Church to the rank of a branch of the civil administration; and from that to a national Church was not far. He pointed out this danger to his episcopal colleagues. "It is the old system they are pursuing towards Rome," he said. "There will be no violence; violence would do good to our cause; but the temporal power is condemned in the opinion of our enemies. The new principles will not admit of a priest being King. We said that without this principality the head of the Church would no longer be free. Nothing is truer, and they know it; but it is the very motive that impels them to suppress this power. They do not want an independent Church, nor an independent Pope." Considering the political consequences likely to follow from the line taken by the French Government, he said: "Let Germany and Italy become more powerful, which

we can no longer prevent; think of the hatred, at least of the jealousy of other peoples, and ask yourself what part our country will play in the future. It will thus receive the punishment of its unfaithfulness towards the Church. The lessons of history are lost upon peoples and their rulers. The first Empire was on the road to ruin the moment it assailed the head of the Church. Up to this we do not see what profit the second Empire will gain by its conduct to the Pope." The Archbishop lived long enough to see that instead of being profitable it was perilous; and when the fall of the second Empire speedily followed the crushing defeat at Sedan, Napoleon must have recalled with unavailing regret the unheeded warnings he had received from Monsignor Guibert.

In a pastoral announcing his departure for Rome in 1867 to take part in the solemnities in celebration of the eighteen hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, we find this remarkable passage: "Since the power of the Pacific King, of Him who, according to the expression in the Sacred Scriptures, is 'the Prince of Peace,' has been destroyed, nations are engaged in nothing but raising formidable armies, and one would think that half the human race was getting ready to rush furiously on the other half. Since they have usurped most of the provinces of the Pontifical States, no territory is respected; the most powerful despoil the weak, and the law of the strongest seems to have become the law that governs society nowadays." The events that have taken place in Europe since the outbreak of this gigantic war; the huge armaments by land and sea out of all proportion to the legitimate needs of the Powers engaged in the greatest conflict of modern times; the megalomania which has turned the heads of rulers and statesmen; the seizure of territory on the plea of what is called "economic development"; and the total disregard of treaty obligations emphasize the correctness of Monsignor Guibert's reading of the signs of the times.

During his sojourn in Rome he drew up, in defense of the Papal Government, an "Address of the Bishops assembled in Rome in 1867 to Catholic princes, other sovereigns and Presidents of Republics who have subjects professing the Catholic religion in their States." Many gave their unqualified approval to it, particularly the Archbishops of Westminster and Posen, but some French prelates thinking it might displease the Government and, desirous that no divergence of opinion in the French episcopate should be made public, the project was abandoned. It was, however, substantially incorporated in the pastoral of August 20, 1867, which he issued on his return. Another project which was abandoned was his suggested embassy to Victor Emmanuel at Flor-

ence to negotiate with him or at least to try to bring Catholic opinion to bear upon the Pope in order to get him to accept what they called necessary reforms. He, after some reflection, rejected the proposal as a snare. "Such a mission," he said, "could only lessen and perhaps dishonor him who would accept it. I do not wish to be either a M. de Barral or a M. du Voisin," alluding to the mission of those two Bishops, the first his predecessor, from Napoleon I. to Pius VII. at Savona.

Monsignor Guibert's defense of the Papal monarchy, in which he displayed all the skill of a special pleader, greatly enhanced his reputation. He was the most conspicuous figure in the French episcopate and a power which even the Imperial Government had to count with. He was consulted as to the choice of ecclesiastics to fill vacant sees, and in 1859 was made an officer of the Legion of Honor as a mark of the high esteem in which the Emperor held him. Honors, however, did not seduce him or sap his virility. He remained the same man who wrote when an article appeared in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the Government, which he regarded as a species of persecution: "You will see that this Government will perish through its faults and that a day will come when it will fall into public disrepute."

Not only Napoleon III., but statesmen, authors and the leaders and moulders of public opinion in France looked up to him. Guizot spoke of him as one of the best writers of the epoch. He was a born litterateur; the literary gift was innate; his pastorals are models of good French. He read, liked and praised Guizot, particularly when that eminent statesman and historian dwelt upon the necessity of the temporal power. The most cordial relations existed between the Catholic Archbishop and this Protestant politician and publicist. Monsignor Guibert's admiration of his uprightness and elevation of soul prompted him, he told him, at the close of his reading, to repeat the prayer which Christ dictated to His Disciples: "*Sint unum sicut et nos unum sumus.*" To this Guizot replied: "I am glad of your approval, Monseigneur, and very touched by the sentiment you are pleased to express. I thank you for giving me your sympathy by praying for unity. In writing I have only had in mind the faith and the common cause of all Christians. To succeed a little in this design is my sole ambition, and the support of Christians like you, Monseigneur, is my best reward." His pastorals, which Guizot read attentively, ranged over a variety of subjects, each one of them being a treatise in itself; whether he dwelt on ecclesiastical studies, recommending St. Thomas of Aquin, the greatest of all the grand theologians, as the author to be preferred, though he was then laid aside in

most French seminaries; and the importance of higher and broader teaching, "the Church having always been the mother and guardian of knowledge"; or of the annexation of Nice and Savoy, which Guizot, to whom he sent his mandements and episcopal letters, regarded as a fine example of the harmony between sentiment and duty.

On the question of ecclesiastical vocations, a subject to which his attention had always been directed, he gave very wise counsel to those in authority, laying much stress on the need of a highly educated clergy, in which he anticipated the views and action of Leo XIII. He would have the avenues to the sanctuary open to all, provided they had real and solid vocations. "It is the glory of the Church," he said, "to have drawn from the humblest classes privileged minds who have often shed great lustre on the world and who otherwise would have remained in profound obscurity. Could one," he asked, "imagine a work more useful, more meritorious and more pleasing to God than to form a ministry of the sanctuary? It is the good work by excellence. It is sharing the merit of the Holy Sacrifices the young aspirant, raised to the priesthood, will one day offer at the altar, in the conversion of souls he will lead back to God, in all the sublime ministries he will be called upon to exercise."

In 1867, dreading the effect of the allurements of Paris during exhibition year upon his flock, he composed a Lenten mandement on "the disastrous consequences of the abandonment of country life." There was then a movement of the rural populations towards the large towns and cities which was assuming proportions that sound economists did not approve. Besides, the greed of gain, the rapid acquisition of wealth by stock-jobbing, the scandalous success of certain financial operations, inspired agriculturists with a growing distaste of the slower methods of money-making by farming and wine cultivation. Then the deadening influence upon religious practice of the unbridled love of wealth, ease and pleasure, and the corruption of morals during the heyday of the second Empire, filled Monsignor Guibert with well-grounded alarm for the future of the country and he uttered some grave words of warning. But they fell on unheeding ears, for no one then suspected the terrible reawakening which in a few years was to arouse the people from their pleasant dreams.

When the inundations of the Loire devastated the country and made terrible ravages in Touraine, causing great loss and suffering, the agriculturists, panic-stricken, and driving their cattle before them, sought shelter and relief in Tours. The Archbishop, country born and bred, keenly sympathized with the sufferers. He

not only appealed for them in pastorals, but he threw open his own palace to them and let them pen their live stock in his grounds, so that for several weeks his house was like a rural manor. Many of the poor people were housed in the grand seminary, two Sisters of Charity superintending the arrangements for their accommodation.

The translation, in 1867, of the head of St. Athanasius afforded him an opportunity of recalling the merits of that great servant of God and recommending his cultus to the faithful. He also powerfully contributed to rendering honor to two other holy souls, the Blessed Françoise d'Amboise and Jeanne Marie de Maillé, the cause of whose beatification he promoted in Rome.

While these and many other subjects claimed his attention he was not insensible to the charms of literary and social intercourse. The episcopal palace, where he dispensed generous hospitality, was a centre of attraction to many men of light and leading. Audin, before publishing his works on Luther and Calvin, had consulted Monsignor Guibert when he was Bishop of Viviers, and had ever since been in constant correspondence and familiar intercourse with him. Monsignor Laforêt, rector of the University of Louvain, submitted to him his "Philosophie Morale" and "Dogmes Catholiques," when in course of publication, and solicited the same favor for his work on the Papacy; but the French police, then very distrustful, seized it at the frontier, and it was never allowed to reach its destination. When that project was given up, he consulted him on the plan of a Christian history of philosophy. Père Gratry sought his approbation for his "Philosophie du Credo," as did the Abbé Mignan about his exegetical and apostolic works. He exercised not only a spiritual but an intellectual ascendancy over the men of his time. He was a strong supporter of the journal *l'Ami de la Religion*, then edited by Poujoulat, and in which Comte de Lacombe, united to the Archbishop by ties of affection, M. de Carné and many other writers of great distinction collaborated. When *l'Univers*, after its suppression, reappeared in 1868, Monsignor Guibert, forgetting or ignoring past differences, encouraged the editors with his money and his great influence. More charitable and broadminded than Montalembert, he did not wait for Veuillot's overtures of reconciliation, but took the first step himself. Between the author of "Le Parfum de Rome" and one of the most Roman of the French Bishops there could have been no difference that could not easily have been bridged over. "I subscribed from the first to the new *Univers*," wrote the Archbishop, "Mr. Veuillot having asked my advice, which he accepted with a simplicity that honors him." He calls

him "a distinguished writer, full of *verve*." Veuillot lived at No. 44 Rue du Bac. In a flat below him lived in common several able ecclesiastics, of whom the pious Abbé Éleuthère de Girardin was superior. One evening the latter went up to the chief editor of *l'Univers* and said: "Monsignor Guibert, who is dining with us, requests you to receive him." "It is for me," good humoredly replied the journalist, "to cover the distance that separates us," and he promptly went down to greet the prelate. In 1861 he sent Monsignor Guibert a copy of his "Satires," which so pleased him that he expressed the opinion that writing of that sort was the vocation that God reserved for him in the maturity of age. "Since Boileau, Jean Baptiste Rousseau, La Fontaine, we have hardly read verses so strong, so free from verbiage, so impregnated with the genuine flavor of wit," was his appreciative comment. In inviting him to accept his "modest but cordial hospitality" and talk things over, he wrote: "Although they may make me out a son of thunder, I shall preach to you prudence and moderation, and above all union among Catholics. It is the sermon I am continually preaching, when opportunity presents, to your former adversaries. Let us then be united against the common enemy, truly formidable by audacity and an hypocrisy such as up to this hell had not exhibited any types. We shall talk of all these things, of our dangers, of methods of defense and of our infallible hopes when you shall do me the honor to come." When Veuillot was ill he went to see him, and when he died he joined in the general mourning for the loss of the great journalist who fought the battle of the faith as chivalrously with the pen as ever belted knight fought with the sword. He deemed it fitting that a monument should be erected in the Church of the Sacred Heart commemorating the brilliant services the editor of *l'Univers* had rendered to the Church.

Meanwhile his heart was wrung by deaths in his own and in his spiritual family. In 1858 his mother died; in January, 1860, Monsignor de Mazenod announced the death of Père Aubert, whom he followed to the grave next year to the great grief of his most devoted disciple; in 1863 passed away Père Courtès, one of his oldest friends and confidants; and in 1864 his sister, Pauline.

"Star after star decays. Who hath not lost a friend?

There is no union here of hearts that hath not here an end."

In November, 1869, on his way to Rome to attend the Vatican Council, he broke the journey at Aix, his native city, Père Augier, then superior of the Oblates' house there, relates an incident which throws a flood of light upon the Archbishop's *vie intime*. In visiting his modest apartments he said to him: "Are these your apartments as superior?" "Yes, Monseigneur." "If I asked you to

give them up to me would you do so?" "With all my heart, and, with them my title and functions as superior. I am speaking seriously to you," he added. "I am possessed of the idea of one day laying aside the episcopal office and retiring to one of our houses, to live there in recollection and peace and prepare for death. Now, the apartment you occupy here is just what would suit me. I have now given you the reason which made me put the question to you." "Your Lordship will always find me disposed to give up my apartments to you," Père Augier replied; "but since they are to help you to prepare for death, I wish it may be as late as possible." Though an Archbishop occupying a prominent and commanding position in the episcopate and in already measurable distance of reaching a still higher elevation, he was still an Oblate, a religious at heart. Even when he was a Cardinal, invested with the Roman purple, he harbored the same design. So that, years before that, when the French Director of Public Worship let fall the expression, "there is something of the monk in that man," he was not mistaken. Emile Ollivier, in his work, "l'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican," who traced therein pen-portraits of the principal prelates, says: "Grave, austere, Monsignor Guibert has a monastic aspect which would change to severity if, under a severe brow, did not flash a bright eye, and if the lip was not relieved by a fatherly smile."

Pius IX. early consulted him as to the opportunities of holding an œcumenical council, to which he replied in the affirmative, while avoiding any reference to the main question that was to be debated; not that he had any substantial doubts on the subject of Papal infallibility, but at first he thought it useless and inopportune to raise it. Cautious and reflective, his was not a mind that rushed to conclusions hastily: his logical habits of thought disposed him to pause and weigh things in the balance of his judgment before expressing a definite opinion or coming to a conclusion. His belief was the belief of sound Catholics in all ages. "As to the question of the infallibility of the Pope," he wrote to Monsignor Regnault, "you know my opinion on that subject. I have always believed that the Pope, deciding *ex cathedra*, on matters of faith, is infallible; he could not be otherwise, for without that the Church would lack a necessary and permanent tribunal to put a stop to heresies, to prevent them from propagating themselves, and to preserve the faith of the faithful; general councils only assembling rarely and at undetermined epochs. Is it opportune at present to make a dogma of this truth? It is a thing which is not yet very clear to me. I do not know if these reflections are of any worth; but, *au fond*, I would not have the least repugnance

to subscribing to a decree which would proclaim the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, since I admit this truth as necessary and that I believe Jesus Christ Himself proclaimed it when He said: "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.*" During the Vatican Council he was one of the twenty-five members of the Congregation of the *postulata* and, as such, by his very clear and conclusive address largely influenced their decision in favor of the question of infallibility being submitted to the council. He began by making a profession of faith in the infallibility of the Pope, which was the belief of his whole life, which he had been taught in his youth and during his course of studies had himself taught in his ministry and when he was director of the seminary at Ajaccio, and which was unreservedly admitted by his order. In conclusion, he said it was necessary that the question should be treated and decided affirmatively, for otherwise it would be the cause of great inconvenience to the faithful; governments would no longer have the respect they should for the Holy See, and the Pope's authority would be lessened. The Holy Father, who had given orders to have the result of the voting immediately communicated to him, expressed the liveliest satisfaction. The Cardinals told him that, thanks to the Archbishop of Tours, whose reasons were convincing, they had voted its introduction. Cardinal Franchi afterwards said he was one of the principal causes of its definition. He was, in fact, the first to vote in favor of the infallibility of the Pope; he did so in advance of all others. When his health broke down owing to the Roman climate, Pius IX., in alarm, sent him his own physician, Dr. Ceccarelli, who said to Monsignor Jeancard: "If you wish to take him away otherwise than in his coffin, he must be sent away forthwith." Before his departure he wrote to the Pope, saying that, forestalling the moment when his brethren in the episcopate would he called upon to vote, he said from the bottom of his heart "*Placet*" to the proposition of the definition of his doctrinal infallibility. In acting thus, he acted as a true Oblate, for belief in Papal infallibility was long held and upheld by the founder of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate.

Shortly after his return to Tours the war of 1870 broke out, France having fallen into the trap set for it by Bismarck and Prim. A patriot to the heart's core, he wrote to his nephew: "If I was younger, I should ask to be an army chaplain;" and a little later, at the approach of the invasion: "If the Prussians arrive, I am quite decided to remain at my post; they will take what they wish, if they are the strongest; but I shall not offer them a glass of water." He was, despite himself, drawn into the whirl of events. After ordering prayers for the success of the French arms, he pre-

scribed a collection for the sick and wounded, and had Mass daily said at St. Martin's tomb for the army in the field, while the archiepiscopal palace and the two seminaries were placed at the disposal of the military authority. For three months Tours was the provisional capital of France. The heads of the Government asked and received hospitality at his hands. With the exception of a few rooms, his house became the headquarters of the governmental delegation, which included men of different beliefs or none. This placed him in a difficult and delicate position, but his unflinching urbanity, tact and firmness rose to the occasion. All through this very trying time the most cordial relations existed between Cremieux, Keeper of the Seals, a Jew and head of the Freemasons, and the Catholic Archbishop, who had to arrange with him the nomination of Bishops and other important matters. The only jarring note which slightly disturbed the harmony was struck when Gambetta came upon the scene. As was only natural under the circumstances, Monsignor Guibert took a rather pessimistic view of the situation. Writing to Monsignor Pie, he said: "There is nothing to be expected from men; but we may hope that if God blots out, it is afterwards to write. There is no longer any principle existing, even in the minds of those governing. It is not only the religious, but the moral sense which is obliterated. I do not think one has ever spoken so many truths as I scatter daily around me. They listen deferentially, but they do not understand. We Christians form a society, a people apart, no longer in community of thought with the immense society around us, which is breaking up or rather completely dissolving. It is a world which is coming to an end. If another society is to be formed and continued, it must necessarily be reconstituted on the Catholic principle, which is the only foundation that promises consistence; if not, it is the end of all things." The war he regarded as the consequence of preceding faults, chief of which was the war in Italy.

He opposed the incorporation of seminarists in the regiments. Thrice the decree of incorporation was carried; as often the Archbishop's influence prevented its execution. He also prevented Garibaldi setting foot in his palace, telling his guests if he came that he would retire to his diocesan seminary. The *London Daily News* having stated that the Archbishop, along with Cremieux, had received the Italian revolutionary and shaken hands with him, he indignantly denied it. "In the country of St. Thomas of Canterbury," he said, "they seem no longer to know what a Bishop is; but we still know it in France, despite our misfortunes, and, with God's help, it is not I who shall ever forget the respect I owe to my sacred character nor my duties to my Church as well as to my

country." When another false report made it appear that the Pope was about to leave Rome and retire to a city under the protection of Prussia, he wrote to Cardinal Antonelli that such condescendence on the part of Rome would scandalize the Catholic world. But the Cardinal assured him that His Holiness never thought of quitting the Eternal City for any other country.

When it became known that the victorious Prussian monarch secretly desired to bring the war to an end, Pius IX. intervened in the interests of peace and appealed to him to stop the effusion of blood, writing at the same time to the Archbishop of Tours to confer with his brethren in the episcopate and do everything in his power to get the French Government to open negotiations. But His Holiness' suggestion of an armistice was politely declined at Versailles, and the letter which Monsignor Guibert addressed to the Government of the National Defense, conveying the Pope's wishes, received no direct reply. "When Pius IX. invites us to peace, do not think, gentlemen," wrote the Archbishop, "that he recommends a humiliating peace; he loves France too much not to love its honor; the Church cannot wish its eldest daughter to be lowered, and we, French Bishops, are wont to regard love and respect for our country as a second religion." Having waited three weeks for a communication from the Government and receiving none, after the departure of the delegation to Bordeaux and as the enemy were approaching Tours, he wrote to the King of Prussia, saying: "Sufficient blood has been shed on both sides; religion and humanity unite in demanding the end of a war which saddens and afflicts all hearts." This letter had just a little effect. He was more successful in saving the lives of two French peasants who had fired on the German troops when they were entering Tours, and for whom he appealed to General Hartmann. The fortunes of war constrained him to extend the hospitality of his palace to unwelcome German guests; but when it was proposed to billet the young Prince of Mecklenburg upon him, his patriotic spirit revolted, and he declared that if the prince came, he would leave it. His firmness had the same result that it had when it kept Garibaldi at bay. His solicitude for his people made him write to the German Emperor, appealing to his sense of justice against the exorbitant war contribution imposed upon Tours, which was also required to guarantee all the other communes of the department under the severest penalties. The King did not reply, but an unexpected reduction showed that the prelate's protest had been effectual.

His interest in French affairs at this momentous epoch did not cause him to forget the interests of the Church. In a pastoral of January 1, 1871, he wrote: "If we are Frenchmen, we are also

Catholics, and in our hearts love of the Church is blended with love of our country." Even when the enemy were near Tours he published the encyclical of November 1, 1870, with indignant commentaries. On June 21, 1871, he sent to the members of the National Assembly an address praying them to take in hand the cause of the Papal sovereignty. This was signed by the four suffragan Bishops of his province. In all his relations with men in power he never swerved from the guiding principle of his life ever since he was mitred, the maintenance in all its plenitude of the dignity and independence of the episcopal office. It was this which gave him such an ascendancy even over men diametrically opposed to him in religion and politics. Ministers consulted him when the religious interests of the country were at stake and were willingly guided by him. "At that time," he said later, with a shrewd smile, "politicians discovered that Bishops might be good for something."

When the brief reign of terror which the Communists had established in Paris had been put down and the massacre of the hostages, including Monsignor Darboy, left the See of Paris vacant, both the Nunciature and the Government fixed their choice upon Monsignor Guibert as the fittest successor of the martyred Archbishop. It was a post of peril. A succession of tragic incidents had marked the *via dolorosa* trodden by preceding prelates. Monsignor de Quelen had seen his palace and his chateau at Conflans sacked by the revolutionists; Monsignor Affre had been shot dead on the barricades when, Crucifix in hand, he had intervened as a peacemaker in 1848; Monsignor Sibour had been assassinated by a fanatical priest, and Monsignor Darboy had just been shot by the Communists in the prison yard of La Roquette. These presaged a future overshadowed by possible perils. The times were stormy and needed a firm hand at the helm. Such a hand was that of the Archbishop of Tours, who had steered safely through many trying crises. The Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Chigi, looked upon his designation as "a real providence," the Church of Paris wanting such "a worthy, firm and prudent prelate," noted for "his great virtues and noble qualities." Thiers, although it is said he would have preferred Monsignor Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, was so impressed by his learning, his profound wisdom and dignity that he found no one worthier. Monsignor Guibert at first declined the nomination, alleging his great age (he was then sixty-eight), his infirmities, the overwhelming labor which the Diocese of Paris at all times imposes upon its ruler and the necessity, after a great religious and social crisis, of placing in still vigorous hands the crozier of the chief pastor in the French capital. These and other objections he pressed upon Jules Simon until the latter observed:

"But if you refuse, they will say one does not wish for the Archbishopric of Paris because they shoot the Archbishops." He asked to be allowed to consult one whose advice he always took in difficult circumstances. "How long will that take?" inquired the Minister. "I don't want more than an hour," replied Monsignor Guibert, adding: "But why should I not tell you the name of Him whom I am going to consult? It is Our Lord Jesus Christ." After about an hour's prayerful consideration in his chapel, he returned and said: "I have a superior; it is the Pope. He knows me, he knows my age; if he orders me to go to Paris, I will go to Paris." He soon received from Cardinal Antonelli, who wrote in the Pope's name, a communication which made it obligatory upon him to accept the Archbishopric of Paris. He at once sent his acceptance to the President of the Republic and wrote to the Pope: "You have deigned, Holy Father, to make it known to me that you would view with satisfaction my acceptance of the Archbishopric of Paris. That is enough for me; I have set aside all my objections. How could I draw back before the troubles I foresee in this new ministry, thinking of the pains and persecutions with which the Vicar of Jesus Christ is oppressed? I ought to consider myself happy if it be given to me to participate of the bitter chalice with which your Holiness is drenched."

Monsignor Nardi reminded him that St. Charles Borromeo found Milan worse perhaps than Paris, and history records what he made of it. "You will be the St. Charles of Paris," he wrote. "I never despair of the French, or French hearts. They go very far, it is true, but one can lead them back; they are much more docile than people generally think. I pity Tours, but your works there remain." Monsignor Meignan wrote from Châlons: "You are going to the post which Providence calls you to occupy, as the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul went to Rome; let me hope, however, that you will have the glory of the confessor and not that of the martyr." The happiest feature of the translation, as it struck Monsignor Lavigerie, was that the French episcopate would have in him a guide and a chief, enabling it to recover a little of that cohesion which was so necessary under existing circumstances. Jules Simon had said to him, when he objected to his advanced years: "Nowadays everything is done by old men." Cremieux was more precise and emphatic. When he heard of the promotion he wrote: "The news is then official, and it is in the Archbishopric of Paris that your grand career is to be contained *ab anno 1871 usque ad annum 1922.*" This was giving him a patriarchal prolongation of life, far beyond the ordinary Scriptural span; for if he fulfilled the good Jew's wishes he would have attained the age of 120! His appear-

ance in the See of St. Denis seemed to Monsignor Segur the dawn of a new era in the Church of Paris and the beginning of a resurrection.

Preconized in the consistory of October 27, 1871, he was installed in Notre Dame on November 27. His elevation made no change in his habits of life. Before taking possession of his see he gave directions that his apartment in the Archbishop's palace should be fitted up with extreme simplicity, deeming it a duty, as he told the chancellor, the Abbé Petit, to practise simplicity and even poverty in the times in which they lived. "One is not at his ease," he said, "in the midst of brilliant and luxurious furniture, when one is surrounded by so much misery and suffering." In a farewell pastoral to his former diocesans he said that the Church of Tours had possessed his whole heart to such a degree that he had already selected his burial place alongside the tomb of St. Martin. Pius IX., through the intermediary of the Nuncio, sent him a magnificent crozier, which he carried when he took possession of his Cathedral. "The presence of Monsignor Guibert yesterday at Notre Dame," wrote M. Poujoulat, "produced one of the profoundest impressions of respect we remember. That fine episcopal head which recalls the ascetical heads sculptured in the portals of old cathedrals, that gravity tempered by Christian meekness, that rare dignity allied to perfect simplicity, all that blending of authority, goodness and austere grandeur excited real religious emotion. Since the great days of Père Lacordaire we have not seen such a numerous congregation at Notre Dame. What a moment was that when the Archbishop, leaning on the pastoral staff the Pope had given him, advanced under the canopy to the sound of bells and the roll of the organ, to the chanting of the *Benedictus qui venit*, blessing the silent and prostrate crowd! It was the soul of the pastor who was devoting himself to his flock: a beautiful and moving spectacle!"

In his domestic life the spirit of evangelical poverty pervaded everywhere. The great dining room was converted into a domestic chapel. Reform extended even to the stables, where he would only have one horse, which became embarrassing when, later on, he had a coadjutor. This made one of the household observe: "Alas! formerly the Archbishop had two horses; now the horse has two Archbishops." He touched the hearts of the Parisians by his liberal almsgiving and his interest in the working classes, visited the *faubourgs* and was accessible to everybody. When they saw him passing along the streets, this aged Bishop with the emaciated face, luminous eyes, and white hair, they murmured as they followed him: "It is a saint!" Of his own motion he came into imme-

diate contact with misery and suffering. After his installation he asked to be allowed to exercise the privilege, conceded by the head of the State to a new Archbishop, of releasing four prisoners. Thiers at once acceded to his request. Although very ill, he immediately went to Sainte Pélagie, la Santé, la Roquette, and Saint Lazare, and gave their liberty to four prisoners, who were so moved and astonished that they could only express their gratitude by silence and tears. On his feast day, March 19, every year, putting on a white apron, he waited at table on the old men in the house of the Little Sisters of the Poor. Whenever he met a poor man, he never failed to stop his carriage, interrupt the reading of his breviary, and open his purse. He took pleasure in distributing alms himself and not delegating it to an almoner. An unpleasant experience, however, showed him the impossibility of continuing in Paris what was easy enough at Viviers or Tours. The first time he went to Saint Sulpice to confer orders, he found a dozen beggars at the seminary gate; he had them ranged in a semi-circle, dropping a silver coin in each one's hand and accompanying the action with a few compassionating words. The news spread. At the next ordination there were more than a hundred. The number increased at each successive ordination, until a whole army of mendicants numbering nearly a thousand besieged the seminary. There was such a rough scramble, such a free fight for the coveted coins, that the Archbishop, pressed by the crowd, was unable to move, and his cassock and surplice were torn to shreds. By an adroit manœuvre one of the Sulpician Fathers released him from his uncomfortable position, and he returned to his palace somewhat disillusionized.

He was the antithesis of wordly, high-placed ecclesiastics. Shortly after his installation Thiers invited him to dinner; he went; but when the invitation was renewed, he politely declined. Thiers was pained. "Monsieur le President," he explained, "in our epoch Bishops have no longer time to be grand dignitaries of State; they must be apostles. Leave me time to be simply an apostle." When Marshal McMahon became President, Monsignor Guibert took up the same attitude. The literary merit of his pastorals, carefully written and modeled on the style of Bossuet and writers of that school who made *le grand français* classic, having greatly impressed others besides Guizot, the Duc de Noailles, a member of the French Academy, was commissioned by a number of that distinguished body to invite him to become a candidate for a vacant seat in it. He declined, firstly because he disclaimed any pretensions to rank as a man of letters and secondly because he considered that dignity would be incompatible with his sacred ministry.

His diplomacy and his *savoir faire*, of which he possessed a mas-

tery, having gained for him the sympathy and confidence of the Government, he availed of the influence he exercised to obtain measures useful to the Church. His great qualities were not only recognized in Paris, but in Rome; and in the consistory of December 22, 1873, Pius IX. set the seal of Papal approval of his services to the Church by raising him to the Cardinalate. He selected as his titular church that of St. John at the Latin Gate, out of special veneration for the beloved disciple and devotion to the Sacred Heart. His elevation to the Sacred College, no more than his elevation to the Archbishopric of Paris, did not alter the sentiments of profound humility with which he was penetrated. Writing to his sister he said: "What has taken place ought not to inspire either you or me with the least feeling of pride and vanity. We must be grateful to God, but remain in our modesty. It is certainly not my personal merit which called for these high dignities; but God, as He declares in the Holy Scriptures, loves to make something of those who are nothing."

He was thoroughly Roman, or as Liberalists called it, ultramontane, as if the latter word was in any sense depreciatory. In 1872 he had promulgated the decrees of the Vatican Council in his diocese, and two months after his installation introduced the Roman liturgy into Paris. In 1875 he postulated for a coadjutor *cum jure*, his nominee being Monsignor Richard, Bishop of Belley, who, on August 13 of that year, was installed as titular Archbishop of Larissa, and ultimately was his successor.

During intervals in his administrative work he took a conspicuous part in public religious demonstrations. Thus, in July, 1876, he went to Lourdes in company with the Nuncio and consecrated the famous basilica; after which both eminent prelates, in the name of the Holy Father, crowned the statue of Our Lady Immaculate, an act which well befitted the illustrious Oblate. It was a great occasion. There were not less than thirty-five Bishops and a hundred thousand pilgrims present. At his instance all the assembled prelates sent an address from Lourdes to Pius IX. in anticipation of His Holiness' episcopal jubilee. Another famous sanctuary of Our Lady, that of La Salette, was also visited, as well as that of Notre Dame de l'Osier, specially endeared to many Oblates who made their novitiate under its protecting shades. It was his intention to visit several other sanctuaries, but the serious illness of his coadjutor summoned him to Paris. The death of Pius IX. summoned him further when he had to go to Rome to take part in the conclave of Leo XIII. On his return he broke his journey at Frejus, where he consecrated the new Bishop of Nice, Monsignor Balain, O. M. I., formerly superior of the seminary

at Ajaccio, and at Aix, where he said to the seminarists: "I have come from Rome; we have just made a Pope, and I think we have done well." Two days afterwards he assisted at an impressive religious solemnity at Marseilles, in the Church of Notre Dame de la Garde, to thank God for the recent Pontifical election, and two years later he was at the crowning of Our Lady of Good Help at La Blachère in Ardèche.

The hapless condition of the orphans of the war and the Commune and the moral and social amelioration of the no less lamentable state of the working classes appealed to his charitable heart. Madame Thiers interested herself chiefly in the children of the soldiers who had fallen in battle, while Madame MacMahon looked after those of the insurgents, the innocent victims of the Paris *émeute*. But it was only when Monsignor Guibert took it in hands that the work was energetically pushed on. Up to February, 1872, more than two hundred children had been placed in different educational establishments; in October, following an appeal issued by the Archbishop, the number was doubled. During the eight years it existed the committee, who had charge of what came to be called "the Work of the Orphans of the Archbishop of Paris" spent over 150,000 francs and put more than five hundred children in the way of earning an honest living. The moral betterment of the toiling masses he aimed at effecting by multiplying churches in the faubourgs; knowing well that the root cause of Communism was the decadence or loss of faith and all religious sentiment, exposing the demoralized populace to every corrupting influence. The most direct means of remedying such a state of things was to bring the Church and its influence closer to the people; for the faubourgs were the seed-plots of revolution and anti-clericalism. Not only those who suffered morally but those who were suffering physically were the objects of his solicitude, and for the latter he organized a system of relief called "the work of the sick poor of the faubourgs."

But the greatest undertaking in which, not without mature thought and prudent circumspection, Monsignor Guibert embarked was the basilica on Montmartre, the Church of the National Vow, or consecration of France to the Sacred Heart. This project, placed before Pius IX. by Father Jandel, the master general of the Dominicans, received the Pontifical blessing on February 11, 1871. It was motived by a desire to make reparation for the public crimes of the nation, to implore the salvation of France. Père Jonquet, in his *Montmartre autrefois et aujourd'hui*, says: "The National Vow owes to him its definitive form, its expansion, and its marvellous popularity." Père Mousabré, at his request, preached elo-

quently in favor of it from the pulpit of Notre Dame, and after the distinguished Dominican finished his discourse, Monsignor Guibert, in commending the undertaking to the generosity of the faithful, said: "Henceforth I make this work mine, and I desire its success with all my soul." Pius IX. encouraged it with a special brief. Montmartre is traditionally said to have been the scene of the martyrdom of the first Bishop of Paris and a large number of Christians, his converts. During the ages of faith a celebrated abbey had established on the summit of the hill a retreat for prayer and penitence. Religious souls, monarchs and ecclesiastical dignitaries went there in large numbers to offer thanksgiving to God or implore a favor or forgiveness. It was the birthplace of one of the greatest orders in the Church, the Society of Jesus, for it was there St. Ignatius Loyola and his first companions, at the Mass said by Peter Fabre, vowed to devote their future lives *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Twice Monsignor Guibert made a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial to draw inspiration for his great work on the spot where the Blessed Marguerite Marie Alacoque received the mission to propagate devotion to the Sacred Heart; first, when he had secured the public approval and support of the National Assembly, and again before he performed the ceremony of blessing the first stone of the basilica on June 16, 1875, when more than twelve thousand persons assembled on Montmartre. Meanwhile, during the building, a provisional chapel was erected and given in charge to his religious brethren, the Oblates. "One of the consolations of my old age," he wrote to the superior general, "is to see the Oblates ascend Montmartre. I shall die content, because, when I shall be no more, I shall live in that dear family which will continue the work I have just begun."

Space will not permit to detail all the beneficent acts of his administration. There was no cause worthy of support that appealed to him in vain; whether it was the priests exiled by the Swiss Government, the devastation occasioned by the inundations in the south of France, distress in Ireland, the earthquake at Ischia, the sufferings of the southern populations ravaged by cholera, the persecution of the Jews in Russia, the maintenance of the free schools established after the public schools had been laicized and the provision of voluntary hospital chaplains after the suppression of official chaplains. Education, a subject of vital interest everywhere, was specially so in France, where the enemies of the Church sought by its means to sap the foundations of belief. Therefore, when the law of 1875 decreed freedom of higher teaching, Monsignor Guibert, acting in concert with the other Bishops, promptly availed of it to found a Catholic University, later renamed the Catholic

Institute when at the instigation of Jules Ferry the law of March 18, 1880, deprived the free faculties of the title of universities. In 1879 its curriculum had been completed by the creation of an upper school of theology, ten years later erected into a faculty. Its progress had been rapid until political changes, so common in France, disturbed its peaceful existence. Up to the last Cardinal Guibert evinced the keenest interest in this great Catholic institution, the importance of which was only made the more manifest by the violence with which the secularists attacked it. Out of this grew the Hospital of St. Joseph, which supplied the need of a school of medicine, where students, who came in large numbers to Paris, could qualify without any of the dangers to faith to which the official faculty exposed them.

The years from 1877 to 1886 were marked by encroachments of the civil power on the ecclesiastical domain and the laicization of every institution of a religious or semi-religious character. These arbitrary excesses of authority called forth from the militant Archbishop of Paris, who was practically the leader of the Catholic forces, vigorous protests. "They would now like," he said, "to laicize the Church itself and make its administration a chapter of the general administration of the republic. We must oppose with all our power such a pretension. The way they wish to enter on, in which they have taken the first steps, would successively and by renewed encroachments lead to the civil constitution of the clergy." No arguments based on merely human prudence would deter the intrepid prelate from openly engaging in the conflict. Thus one day several of his colleagues were discussing the opportuneness of one of his letters in which they were to join. One of them, Cardinal de Bonnechose, had been commissioned by the Nuncio, Monsignor Czacki, to prevent its publication. In a long address he urged all the arguments he could in favor of keeping silent. While he was speaking, Cardinal Guibert listened with unmistakable signs of impatience and discontent, while the nervous twitchings of his face and the glances shot from his eyes showed what was passing in his mind. When Cardinal de Bonnechose had ceased speaking, he rose abruptly, and, with his hands resting on the arms of his chair, said: "If the Nuncio told you to use such language, Eminence, it is because political expediency demands it; he is a diplomat, he has his points of view; but we, we are Bishops, not Bishops without flocks, but Bishops to whom the Church has confided a portion of its children; our duty is to defend our people, and since to defend them we must speak, we shall speak." His voice prevailed; a brief delay was all they could get him to consent to.

He showed equal courage and interpidity in his chmapionship of

the religious orders and congregations when Jules Ferry's famous, or rather infamous, March decrees led to the expulsion of the Jesuits, Carmelites and Barnabites, the first victims of a policy of undisguised persecution. De Freycinet imagined he had sufficient influence in Parliament to have the execution of the decree postponed, after the suppression of the Jesuits, if the other congregations submitted to the civil power by asking for authorization, and when they declined to accept such a precarious guarantee, the President of the Council addressed himself to Rome through the intermediary of the Ambassador. But the Holy Father, who was not to be duped by such promises, directed his Secretary of State to write to Cardinal Guibert commissioning him and Cardinal de Bonnechose to transmit to all the French Bishops and through them to all the heads of congregations a draft declaration which they might sign and send privately to the Minister of Public Worship. It was promptly signed, but its premature publicity in a Bordeaux paper gave the radical organs an opportunity of accusing De Freycinet of having deserted the republican cause and compacted with the opponents of the party in power. De Freycinet resigned and was replaced by Ferry, who was given a free hand in the expulsion of religious. The line of conduct Cardinal Guibert had counseled the congregations to pursue and the letters he had published in their defense were approved by the Pope, whose brief on this occasion was not the only evidence of Pontifical approbation. The Holy Father not only supported by his authority the attitude assumed by Cardinal Guibert towards the civil authorities, but liked to consult him about the general direction of religious affairs in France.

The Archbishop wrote more than once to the President of the Republic to warn him of the popular commotion caused by the execution of the decrees, and when all arguments and expostulations failed to stay the hands of the oppressors, he publicly manifested his sympathy with the expelled religious. And when the Government accused the clergy of having unduly exercised their influence in the elections in favor of candidates antagonistic to the republic, he, jointly with the Cardinal Archbishops of Lyons and Toulouse, replied in the names of the whole French episcopate, repelling the false accusation. "Permit an old Bishop who has seen the political régime of his country change seven times," he said, "permit him to say to you for the last time what his long experience suggests. By continuing in the way to which it is self-committed, the republic may do much injury to religion; it will not succeed in killing it. The Church has known other perils, it has passed through other storms, and it still lives in the heart of France. It will assist at the funerals of those who flatter themselves they are destroying it. The republic

has received neither from God nor from history any promise of immortality. It is not the Church one can accuse of working the ruin of the political establishment of which you are guardians; you know that revolt is not a weapon we use. The clergy will continue to suffer patiently; they will pray for their enemies; they will ask God to enlighten them and inspire them with juster sentiments; but those who shall have willed this impious war will destroy themselves, and great ruin will have been wrought before our beloved country sees prosperous days again. . . . Arrived at the end of a long career, I wished before rendering an account to God of my administration to relieve myself of any responsibility for such misfortunes. But I cannot close this letter without expressing the hope that France will never let itself be robbed of the holy beliefs which have been its strength and its glory in the past and ensured it the first rank among nations." A courageous combatant to the last, he may be said to have almost died pen in hand, a weapon he wielded with great power and effectiveness, for three months after he wrote these brave words he expired. It was in the spring of 1885 that the malady, a cardiac affection, which ultimately proved fatal, first suddenly revealed itself. A terrible suffocating crisis put his life in danger, and the next day, Good Friday, at his own request, Extreme Unction was administered, and the day following, Holy Saturday, he received the Viaticum. He rallied, and after that intermittent crises supervened until the end. During this, his last illness, having heard that Victor Hugo was dying, he became greatly concerned for the salvation of the poet, who when moved to better sentiments than in his declining years had written some of his finest verses in praise of religion. The Archbishop, always intent on doing good as long as life lasted, wrote to Madame Edouard Lockroy, to say that he had made a memento at Mass for the illustrious invalid, and that, if he wished to see a minister of religion, though he was still weak from a malady much resembling his, he would make it his duty to afford him the spiritual succor and consolations he needed. M. Edouard Lockroy replied that Victor Hugo had declared that he did not wish to be assisted by any priest of any creed, and that they felt bound to respect his wishes. It afterwards transpired that Lockroy had withheld from the dying man any knowledge of the Cardinal's charitable overtures.

In the intervals between the crises he said Mass as long as any flickering strength remained in him. Fearing to be spoiled by too much care being taken of him, they had a difficulty in getting him to accept the services of two nursing Sisters. He would not partake of any delicacies, telling them that what suited him best was the plain fare of the country folk in his native Provence. His only

wish was to die a priestly death as he had lived a priestly life—*une mort bien chrétienne et bien sacerdotale*. When Père Fabre, superior general of the Oblates, paid him a last visit, he said: "Let the Oblates always live in humility; let them practice mutual charity; let them be always devoted to the poor; let them go on quietly (*qu'ils fassent peu de bruit*); let them bring forth much fruit. The Lord will bless them; He will multiply the members of the congregation and will maintain among us the spirit of our first fathers." When he knew that his last hour was very near, he said to his coadjutor: "I cannot speak any more. Ask of God for me that I may die as a Bishop should die, offering to God the sacrifice of my life for my diocese and for Holy Church." These were his last words. Shortly afterwards he passed away peaceably without a struggle. In his last will he expressed a wish that his obsequies and funeral should be characterized by simplicity, and that what they would like to expend on them should be given to the poor. He desired that his epitaph should be thus worded: "*Hic Jacet Josephus-Hippolytus Guibert, Archiepiscopus Parisiensis, expectans beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostræ, configuratum corpori claritatis suæ.*" Cardinal Perraud, who preached his panegyric at Notre Dame on November 17, 1886, compared his passing to that of one of the old patriarchs. In the two volumes in which M. De Follenay has reviewed his well-filled career, every phase of his character and action is described in detail. It leaves upon the reader the impression that Cardinal Guibert was a Bishop cast in the antique mould of the early ages and yet preëminently a man of his time, a great churchman and a great patriot, and one of the noblest ecclesiastical personalities of the nineteenth century.

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DANTE'S REFERENCES TO THE TROUBADOURS.

OUR English word "poet" comes to us from the Greek "poietes," an inventor, maker. Likewise the word "Troubadour," which we have for our consideration in this paper, is derived from the French "trouver," to invent or make—to make rhymes or verses. Indeed there was no little ingenuity or inventive skill displayed in the fanciful and intricate rhymes interlacing with each other in the different poems called "sirventès, sestines, triolets," etc., according to the number and arrangement of rhymes and stanzas.

Mr. Francis Hueffer, in his essay, "Troubadours, Ancient and Modern," says "the good old-fashioned idea of the troubadour as the minstrel going from land to land singing his songs and twanging his guitar with no object in view but the praise of beauty, and no rule to trammel his affairs—has by this time been pretty generally abandoned." From contemporary history we know that many of the most celebrated troubadours were men of action—twenty-three reigning dukes, counts, princes, kings, out of perhaps four hundred in all. Guilhem IX., Count of Poitiers, born 1071, was one of the earliest and most noted of troubadours. He was the grandfather of Eleanor of Aquitaine, who, after her divorce from Louis VII. of France, married Henry II. of England. Richard Cœur de Lion, Crusader King of England, one of the best known of royal troubadours, will at once recur to mind. All these lords and nobles—kings, princes, counts, viscounts—sang in different strains, sometimes of love, sometimes of war, or they slashed their enemies in bitterest satire.

Bertran de Born, one of the most famous troubadours, not only for his spirited lays, but also for the condign punishment meted out to him by Dante, sang of war. It would be hard indeed to conceive of love strains coming from the lips or lute of such a turbulent, undisciplined, adventuresome spirit as he. And yet, on the death of the "young king," son of Henry II. of England, he poured forth his plaint of sorrow, "planh," in two poems of surpassing beauty. Sordello, too, another adventuresome spirit, sang of love, but his most notable work is the dirge or "planh" on the death of Blacatz, a Provençal baron of Raymond Berenger IV. In this he pours forth the fiercest invectives on all the sovereigns of Europe for their degeneracy.

It will be seen, then, that we must perforce give up the idea that the troubadour went about from castle to castle, singing a

woful ballad to his mistress' eyebrow, or descanting upon the many excellences of her mind and heart. Dante, in the "*Vulgari Eloquentia*," cites among a number of those who had written in the Vulgar Tongue so as to improve upon it, Bertram de Born on Arms; Arnould Daniel on Love; Gerard de Borneil on Rectitude, or Righteousness.

But let us take up Dante's references to the troubadours whether they sang of courage, or love, or virtue by following his progress through the dolorous realm, up the precipitous slopes of the Mountain of Penance, and into the supernal regions of Paradise, at least so far as the Third Heaven—that of Venus, where we find Folco of Marseilles.

Bertran de Born, Viscount of Hautefort, near Périgueux, as has been already remarked, was one of the most famous of the troubadours. Dante meets in the ninth pit of Malebolgia, where were punished the sowers of discord, a headless body swinging the head by the hair like a lantern before him. He addresses Dante, tells him that because he had given evil counsel to the "young king," son of Henry II., he had set Henry at war with his son until he was slain (1183) in Bertran's own castle:

"I made the father and the son rebels to each other; Ahitophel did not do more with Absalom and David by his malicious instigations.

Because I parted persons thus united, I carry

My brain, ah me! parted from its source

Which is in this trunk. Thus the law of retribution is observed in me."

"Inferno" XXVIII., 136-142.

Bertran, born 1140, died c. 1215 in the Cistercian monastery of Dallon, which he had entered twenty years earlier. Before this he had spent his whole life in feudal warfare. Besides setting Henry, whose vassal he was, at war with the young King, who was twice crowned during his father's lifetime, but who never reigned, Bertran sowed dissension between all the brothers and between the King of England and the King of France. Nothing is known of these wars historically, but from the Provençal biographies and prefaces or arguments to Bertran's poems, forty in all.

Bertran is mentioned in the "*Convito*," IV., 11, 20, as an example of munificence, as well as in "*Vulgari Eloquentia*" as the poet who wrote of "Arms."

In anti-purgatory, as Vergil and Dante are dubiously seeking their way, they come upon a spirit standing alone, haughty and disdainful. Not till Vergil had answered the question as to his

native city, did this proud spirit vouchsafe reply. Then he leaped towards Vergil and embraced him, saying:

"O Mantuan, I am Sordello of thy city."

This ardor of patriotism shown at the mere mention of his native city on the part of Sordello causes Dante to break forth into his arraignment ("Purg." VI., 76) of all the princes of Italy for their neglect of duty towards their people, their incessant warfare, their greed of power and riches—a most noble and magnificent passage. This love of country kindled by repentance in Sordello's heart does not agree with the facts of his life, for he wandered about from one court to another, his intrigues and amours making it unsafe and impossible to remain long in one place. He was born about 1200, at Goito, a small village near Mantua. He eloped with Cunizza from the castle of her husband, Count Richard of Bonifazio, taking her to the court of her brother, the infamous and notorious tyrant Ezzelino da Romano. Ere long he was forced to flee from there. At one time of his life we hear of him in Portugal. In 1240 he wrote the "Lamentation" or "Planh" on the death of Blacatz, a poet himself. In this ode or elegy Sordello inveighs against all the sovereigns of Christendom, calling upon them to come eat of the heart of Blacatz, so that they might gain some of the courage and virtue that they so sorely needed. It has been thought that it was this poem that gave Dante the idea of giving to Sordello the place he holds in the "Purgatorio," of pointing out the princes in the flowery vale; and, to use Mr. Edmund Gardner's words in a note to a passage in "Dante's Ten Heavens," "to pass judgment upon these same princes or their heirs or descendants, whom he had rebuked during life." The influence of this same poem of Sordello's is clearly seen in Dante's denunciation of the kings of the earth at the close of the nineteenth canto of the "Paradiso"—another magnificent passage, bearing witness to our poet's love of justice and giving him right to the title of poet of Righteousness which he claimed for himself. There is a reminiscence, too, Mr. Gardner thinks, of Sordello's elegy in the first sonnet of the "Vita Nuova." Again, a further reference to it is to be found in the "Convito," IV., 6. Although Sordello was, as we have seen, an Italian, a Lombard, he did not write in his native dialect, but used the Provençal in all his works, as Dante notes in the "Vulgari Eloquentia" I., 15, 9-15, where he speaks of Sordello's eloquence.

It is most likely that Sordello came to a violent death, such as would be meted out to an unprincipled, licentious adventurer. The place assigned him by Dante—ante-purgatory—denotes that he had

no time for repentance. Not with reluctance we leave him, and may God have mercy on his soul.

Proceeding up the Penitential Mount, we reach the seventh, the last terrace—where are purified those who have been profligate in Love. Here Guido Guinicelli points out to Dante the shade of one who “in verses of love and prose tales of romance all he surpassed.” (“Purg.” XXVI., 118.) This was Arnauld Daniello. Dante had just called Guido his master, but he, disclaiming this precedence, said that Arnauld “was a better craftsman of the mother-tongue”—“fu mighir fabbro del parlar materno.” (“Purg.” XXVI., 117.)

Arnauld Daniel, knight of the castle of Ribeyrac, in Perigord, of poor, but noble parentage, flourished in the last quarter of the twelfth century. He was a friend of Bertrand de Born and troubadour at the court of Richard Cœur de Lion. He it was who invented the *sestina*. It is hard to understand the evident bias shown by Dante to this singer over Giraud de Borneil in the passage just quoted from the “Purgatorio,” when we call to mind the many passages in the “Vulgari Eloquentia” extolling the verses of Giraud, who is here slightly spoken of by Dante. “Let fools talk,” he says, putting the words into the mouth of Guido Guinicelli, “who think that he of Limoges excels”—“quel di Lemosi.” When Dante drew near to the singer, Arnauld, who had been pointed out, he accosted him graciously. Whereupon Arnauld answered him in his native tongue, the Provençal, and said: “I am Arnaut, that weep and go a-singing.”

Dante cites him in the “Vulgari Eloquentia” always as the Poet of Love, II., 2, and II., 6. Both Dante and Petrarch placed Arnauld at the head of the Provençal poets, and a higher note of praise is shown in their imitation of his verses.

Gerardus de Borniel is cited in one or two remarkably passages of the “Vulgari Eloquentia” as the poet of Rectitude or Righteousness. Another author attributes a gnomie quality to his poems on account of their high moral tone. He was styled *Il Maestro de' Trovatori*. The invention of the canzone is ascribed to him. Born at the castle of Essedeiul, in Limoges, he was much loved and admired in his day by the kings of Castile, Navarre and Arragon. He died about 1178.

Folco of Marseilles is perhaps the only one of Dante's troubadours who comes up to the old-fashioned idea of one. Dante finds him in the heaven of Venus, by which he had been influenced in his former life; and he tells Dante of his experiences, comparing them as to the ardor of his love to those which befell Dido and two others famed in ancient story, not, however, with their tragic results.

He had paid court at different times to three noble ladies, and the scenes of his life as troubadour had ranged along the shores of the Mediterranean from Genoa, on through Southern France, and into Spain as far as the Ebro, taking in the courts of Castile and Barcelona. This he relates to Dante. He afterwards became a monk, then abbot, then Bishop of Toulouse, dying in 1231. He had taken part in the terrible persecution of the Albigenses. Some authorities quote him as a powerful thinker. Dante through him, reproaches the Popes for their slackness in their efforts to free the Holy Land from the Saracens, and foretells the transfer of the Papal Court to Avignon.

Folco's canzone is quoted by Dante in the "Vulgari Eloquentia." This is specially addressed to three ladies.

That Dante was influenced by the Provençal poets is too obvious to require comment. In the harmonious disposition of his syllables and rhymes and in the use of the Vulgar Tongue for most of his works he could follow. Among his minor poems ranged under the term *canzoniere* are many examples of the *sestina*, with its elaborate chain of rhymed syllables; and among the *canzoni* or odes is one specially beautiful, standing easily first among all such poems—*"Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' amore."*

Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo degli Uberti, Cino da Pistoia, with Dante, were all apt learners of *"il dolce stil nuovo,"* and many were the sonnets and ballades exchanged among them. Dante's idea and conception of love was infinitely higher than that entertained by the troubadours. From the low level of mere gallantry to women and the Courts of Love, his thought soared up to the contemplation of Divine Theology and the "Love that moves the sun and all the stars"—*"L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle."*

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POLAND AND THE POLES.

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THE sword is the pen, blood and tears the ink with which the history of Poland is written. No country in the world has suffered as Poland has suffered in every way—physically, mentally, morally, intellectually, spiritually, as a nation, as individuals. It seems impossible to write calmly of the Poles and what was once their country, for the map of Europe contains no kingdom of Poland now, and unless the new map at present under course of construction assigns a place to a new, free, independent, united kingdom of Poland, this war will have been waged in vain.

The great Polish mystic, Towianski, taught that Poland was the Messianic nation, suffering for the sins of the world and working out by her suffering the salvation of mankind. Poland's three greatest modern poets, Michiewicz, Slowaki and Krasinski, all of whom were mystics and influenced by Towianski, have followed his teaching in this respect.

A celebrated French writer, Victor Cherbuliez, said of Poland "that she was not only a nation condemned to death, but buried alive, and yet continually lifting the lid of her coffin to show she was not dead." And the pity of it is, it is true. Downtrodden, crushed, oppressed, starving, suffering, bleeding, poverty-stricken as Poland is, the flame of patriotism burns brightly in all her three divisions—in Russian, Austrian and German Poland. Patriotism is to the Poles what religion is to other nations; it is to them the most sacred of all the virtues, the one predominant passion among old and young, peasant and noble, rich and poor, men and women, especially women, is patriotism. A free, independent, united Poland is the vision of the old men, the dream of the young. No Irishman longs for Home Rule more passionately than the Poles long for freedom, for independence, for autonomy, for the restoration of their kingdom. Love of their mother country, its language and literature is not only innate in every Pole, but it is a sacred fire that cannot be extinguished; the many waters of tears shed in

Poland cannot quench that love, and the persistent aim and object of life of every Polish man, woman and child, to which even religious aims are subordinate, is the restoration of their country. No one who has not either visited Poland or known Poles can realize how soul-absorbing a passion their patriotism is. Other nations may count it fanaticism, but none can deny it is a noble virtue, although we may regret that, at any rate before the present war, which has altered so many things, the tendency in Poland was to allow patriotism to usurp the predominant place to which the Catholic religion is entitled in a Catholic country. And here it may be remarked that as far as the Poles are concerned, Catholicism has little to fear from the Orthodox religion and less from Lutheranism, for few if any Poles will ever now voluntarily forsake Catholicity for either of these. But freethinking among the party which is identified with what is known as Young Poland, and this all-absorbing yearning for Polish autonomy, and this fervent love of all that a free, independent kingdom of Poland means to them are dangerous rivals to the Church, and before the war freethinking was on the increase, especially in Russian Poland. Austria being a Catholic country, the danger there is less, because religious liberty is allowed; indeed, the Austrian Poles in Galicia enjoy or did enjoy much greater liberty in every way than the German or Russian Poles. But this freethinking is so mixed up with patriotic aspirations for freedom that it is less deadly than in other countries, and much of it is due rather to circumstances than to intellectual conviction.

Poland was the most important power in Europe during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and she extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the Dnieper to the Elbe and Oder, and covered an area of 20,000 square miles. Then in the zenith of her fame she was a great Catholic power. In the fourteenth century the Hussites had given trouble, but it was not until the Reformation that Protestantism gained any real sway; it was absolutely distasteful to the Polish nature, and the fact that Luther was a German would in any case have set them against it, but in 1518 there was an outburst of militant Protestantism in Dantzic and the Prussian provinces, and this penetrated to Cracow and was at its height in 1559. Edicts were issued against it at Thorn, Grodno and Cracow, but it made way and was tolerated until the arrival of the Jesuits in 1564, and they immediately established schools of their own and got those which were in existence into their hands, with excellent results. This was in the reign of Sigismund III., when the celebrated Jesuit, Peter Skarga, who brought back to the Church most of the Polish nobility, fought against Calvinism. He was a great preacher and was called the Polish Chrysostom; he converted among others the Calvinist Pole, Prince Christopher Radziwill, whose father had translated the Bible into Polish, but after his con-

version Christopher burnt it publicly. Skarga was court chaplain to Sigismund III., who was a most devout and zealous Catholic. Skarga foretold the partition of Poland in a sermon preached before the Diet; he also wrote a history of the saints, first published in Cracow in 1603, and the twentieth edition was published in Lemberg in 1855. Skarga was a great Polish patriot, and it was as much from patriotic as from religious motives that he wrote his famous book on the union of the Catholic Church with the Orthodox, to strengthen the union of the two States of Poland and Lithuania. The Jesuits all favored this policy, but only under the conditions drawn up by Peter Skarga. These were first that the Metropolitan of the Western Russian Church, the Archbishop of Kiev, should be consecrated by the Pope instead of by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Secondly, that the Orthodox Catholics should acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

Thirdly, that the Russian liturgy and all the ceremonies of the Orthodox Church should remain intact.

In 1596, after the Council of Brest, Pope Clement VIII. published the Bull "*Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis*," which received the Ruthenians, as they are now called, into the Catholic Church. These are mostly the natives of Little (or Red) Russia who live in Eastern Russia and Southeastern Poland; they have a married clergy and their liturgy is translated from the Greek into old Slavonic.

This union did not have the desired effect politically nor ecclesiastically, inasmuch as the Poles never have been and never will be united with their conquerors until their kingdom is restored to them, and the union of Catholics and Orthodox divided the Orthodox into two bodies, the Uniates or Ruthenians, in communion with Rome, and the Disunited, who refused to be united with her.

The Ruthenians were first converted to Christianity in the reign of Wladimir the Great, but soon fell into schism. The Jesuits were not established in Poland until the glorious reign of Stephen Bathori (1576-1586); he established them in Cracow, Riga, Posen and other places.

The Poles in Russian Poland show the greatest reverence and respect to the Catholic clergy and the greatest contempt for those of the Orthodox religion, and the fact that these are generally married does not modify their contempt.

There are a good many Jews in Poland, but all, Poles, Jews and Christians alike, are united in their patriotism and longing for freedom, for although the Jews do not suffer as the Catholics do by attempts to force the Orthodox religion upon them in Russian Poland, they have suffered equally in all other ways; their children

have been deported to Russia as well as Catholic children, and the suppression of the Polish language and literature is as galling to them as it is to their Christian brothers. Jews and Christians alike are arrested and exiled to Siberia for long years if found guilty of any attempt at conspiracy against the Russian Government, and frequently for very trivial offenses.

It is forbidden to speak Polish in the streets in Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia; it is forbidden in the schools, where all the education is given in Russian. The only place where Polish may be spoken in public is the theatre, and for this reason Catholic priests are given permission by their superiors to go to the theatre, to encourage the drama and preserve the language; the theatre, too, is the only public place in which the beautiful Polish national dress may be worn (on the stage only "*bien entendu*."). The peasants are forced to wear hideous nondescript garments instead of their artistic national costume. This for the nobles is made in the most costly materials and most beautifully embroidered. The wide sash, made of the richest brocaded silk ribbon, is a conspicuous part of a Polish gentleman's dress. The fiery red plume in their helmets, which stands for splendor, grandeur and glory, all of which are most dear to the Polish nature, is a very significant feature in their dress and an unconscious symbol of Polish character, for the Poles passionately love all that it means to them.

Beniowski¹ has said of this plume: "I see that God is not the God of worms or of creeping things; He is the fiery plume on the proud helmet." It would be easy to appraise the fiery plume more reverently, but difficult to value it higher than in this strange saying.

The Polish ensign of the white eagle is derived from the legend of St. Stanislaus, whose fate was so like that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; he is one of the patron saints of Poland, St. Adelbert being the other. St. Stanislaus was Bishop of Cracow, and was assassinated between the porch and the altar by Bodislaw II. His body was slashed into pieces afterwards and given to birds of prey, but two white eagles protected it, and the monks took it and buried it.

Of course, all national orders, or medals, or decorations of any kind that are of Polish origin are strictly forbidden to be worn in Russian or German Poland by the Government; but fond as they are of display, no Pole will wear a foreign order or medal, and will even hang one round a naughty child's neck as a punishment, such a disgrace is it accounted to wear a Russian or German decoration. The Poles are essentially aristocrats, but they seldom or ever use their titles, especially those that have been conferred upon

¹ "*Memoirs of Count Beniowski*," 1904.

them by foreigners. The middle class is small. Much as they love freedom, the nobility and upper classes are most autocratic to the peasants and servants; the latter are most humble in their attitude to their masters, kissing not their hands, but the sleeve of their coats.

The Polish character, while possessing some admirable qualities, is fuller of inconsistencies than perhaps any other nation's is. They are brave and chivalrous, intensely proud, passionately patriotic, intellectual, brilliantly clever, shining in all the arts, but at the same time unpractical, inconstant, pleasure-loving, despising hard work, easily over-reached in trade and all business matters, hospitable as the Irish, extravagant, unstable as water, like Reuben, whose curse, "thou shalt not excel," appears to have fallen upon them. The Russians have a proverb, "as brave as a Pole."

They are called the French of the North or East, but they differ greatly from the French in many respects, and have not their strength of character, nor their marvelous power of organization shown in the present war. The Poles speak French better even than the Russians, and the upper classes in their family life prefer it to their native language. They are great linguists, and often speak six languages, and they know the literature of most European countries well; they are very fond of travel. They are most chivalrous in their attitude to women, for whom they have a great respect. Some writers think the Polish women superior intellectually to the men. They are just as passionately fond of freedom and of their country as the men; indeed, the women are often the better patriots. In the past they have actually fought for it frequently, and the restoration of the kingdom of Poland is never absent from their minds. They make every social gathering or charitable work subservient to that end. It is the women who keep the flame of patriotism burning; as they are the more devout sex, so are they the more patriotic, and as we have seen, in Poland religion and patriotism are twin sisters.

When their husbands or fathers are exiled to Siberia the Polish women will often voluntarily accompany them, braving all the horrors of the long journey.

Before the war Poland was a very rich country, as there was a great deal of wealth among the nobility and upper classes. Now, of course, the poverty is too terrible for words, and the poor who are homeless are dying of hunger. No country, not even Belgium or Serbia, has suffered so dreadfully in this war as Poland.

At the best of times the great plain of Poland presents a desolate appearance; in winter it is white with snow, in summer brown with stunted trees, spoilt by the cold winds which howl across it.

The extensive cultivation of potatoes and beet root does not add to the beauty of the landscape, while the villages consist mostly of plaster huts. The main roads are few and only between the great cities, the most famous of which is called the Jerusalem road, these roads now are crowded with refugees fleeing either on foot or in carts, with their few sticks of furniture piled up, with the women and children on the top of them. Warsaw is filled with refugees, officers, wounded soldiers and troops passing through.

The Polish nobility have contributed magnificently in money to the aid of the refugees and wounded and in personal help also. At the fall of Warsaw a Polish prince drove a field ambulance and a Polish princess gave up her house as a hospital, while Polish countesses are working hard as nurses, tending the wounded and sick with devoted care.

The geographical position of Poland is no doubt responsible for much of its suffering, from the first partition of Poland up to the present war. Surrounded as it is by Russia, Germany and Austria, with no outlet to the sea since it lost Dantzic, it has ever been a buffer State, and now it is hemmed in by a network of German and Austrian railways, which run up to the frontier on the north, the west and the south, while Poland itself has very few railways, and Russia on the east also has a good supply, so that the little piece of Europe still called Poland is encircled with this constant menace of means of invasion.

The only navigable river is the Vistula, running through the midst of the country. The other rivers are like the Bzura, where there has recently been such terrible fighting, narrow, sluggish tributaries of the Vistula, and most of them, as the Bzura, have steep banks thirty feet deep. In South Poland pine forests run parallel with most of the rivers, for this part is better wooded.

When the present war broke out Russia was distrustful of the attitude of Poland and uncertain what part she would play, which is probably the reason that she did not advance sooner through Poland to threaten Silesia. The Czar's promise of Polish autonomy at the beginning of the war had subdued the tendency to insurrection against the Russian Government and appealed to the loyalty of the Poles, which the Germans by casting leaflets from aeroplanes are constantly trying to deflect to themselves. It was not, however, until the Grand Duke Nicholas' proclamation of liberty for the Poles was issued that Russian fears were removed, and the Poles, who received it with the greatest joy, then professed absolute loyalty to Russia.

In writing of the horrors of this war for the Russian Poles it must be remembered that the front ranks of the enemy are German

and Austrian Poles, purposely placed there to fight against their brothers, and a Pole is a Pole before he is a German or an Austrian, or any other nationality but his own.

The Austrian Poles are far better off than the German or Russian Poles. To begin with, their religion is the same; Poles and Austrians, whatever else they may be, are equally good Catholics, so that there are no religious difficulties to contend with, and in fact the Poles in Austria are allowed all but nominal autonomy; they are even allowed to carry their own banners with the Polish white eagles on them on feast days; the Polish language is allowed to be used in the schools. On the other hand, the poverty in Galicia of the Poles is so great that when war broke out and again when the Archduke's proclamation was made they were tempted to join the Allies, and some did desert. The land in Galicia is poorer than the worst parts of Ireland, and the Poles here are poorer even than the German Poles at Posen.

The Poles all hate the Germans and the German yoke, and they have been tricked so often by them that they hesitate to accept any of their promises. At the same time, when the Germans wilily offered them the Province of Posen, including Dantzic, if they would support the Central Powers, the temptation to accept the offer was very great. On the one hand the Poles saw starvation staring them in the face, on the other an outlet to the sea such as Dantzic provides would mean all the difference between poverty and prosperity. Yet if they accept this offer their national pride, which is so strong a passion, would suffer a severe mortification, for a German prince would then be imposed upon them instead of a Polish sovereign, and no foreign ruler will ever satisfy Polish aspirations for independence.

Besides all the physical sufferings of Poland, such as starvation, privation, ghastly poverty, oppression of every kind, and often persecution, there is also the mental agony their situation causes them of having to choose between the realization of all their highest hopes and patriotic aspirations and the amelioration of their temporal sufferings. The misery of Poland is greater than that of Belgium, but it is further from us, so we fail to realize it.

All the smaller Slav nations have suffered more or less in the past or are now, as the Serbs, suffering equally with the Poles, from the Czechs, the Poles and the Ruthenes on the north, to the Serbs, the Slovenes and Croats on the south. Modern civilization, although checked by the wave of barbarism which is now sweeping over Europe, is facilitating communications between all these smaller Slav nations, and thereby paving the way for future efforts

to realize the dream of the Pan-Slavists. Austria is the country most concerned in this very knotty question, which has so many ramifications and aspects, and the settlement of it is vital for her. Most of the Czechs or Bohemians, the Poles, the Croats and Slovenes are Catholics; the Ruthenes, who hate the Poles, are Uniates, as we said before, and the Serbs, Orthodox. The Serbs and the Ruthenes use the Cyrillic alphabet, like the Bulgarians and Russians; the other Slavs, the Roman characters. This does not facilitate communications. At the present time there is an anti-Catholic movement among the Ruthenes or Red Russians, who are a nation of peasants, with a poor language and little culture, and there is a tendency to revert to the Orthodox religion.

We have said that the Poles are a very talented nation; they are also very intellectual and naturally very energetic, but they have no scope for their talents and suffer an intellectual martyrdom in consequence, for there is no profession open to them to which they can attain any eminence without sacrificing their principles.

They are therefore constantly changing their profession. A man will begin life as a doctor, a few years after will study law, and after practicing for a few years as a solicitor will take to literature. They are hampered with all kinds of restrictions; for instance, they are very fond of dancing and very proud of their national dance, the Polish mazurka; not the mazurka danced in England, but they are not allowed to dance this in their national costume. No public meetings or gatherings of any kind are permitted, no places of amusement are open except the theatre, and they live in dread of the deprivation of that pleasure, and all this was before the war in Russian Poland. More liberty was allowed in Austrian Poland, less in German Poland, where all restrictions are far more galling and much stricter. There Polish children were flogged in school for refusing to learn the Pater Noster in German, though willing enough to say it in Polish.

In Warsaw University it is forbidden to speak of the history or literature of Poland after the year 1500. When we remember that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the period of Poland's greatest prosperity and importance in Europe and that the golden age of her literature was from 1540 to 1600, we can imagine how bitterly the Poles must resent this intellectual tyranny, though we may see the wisdom of it from a Russian point of view.

The censorship is so strict in Russian Poland that no book or newspaper that may come into the country is delivered until it has been examined by the censor and any objectionable passages blotted out, while the censorship of the native Polish press, whether of books, newspapers, magazines, plays, songs or lectures, is still

stricter, and causes necessarily much vexatious delay in publication, especially with newspapers.

The result of all this censoring is that Polish writers are driven to express their national feelings in allegory and figures of speech, using types and symbols understood by every Pole, but often not understood and therefore not suppressed by the Russian censor. A modern Polish author named Olgerd wrote a Polish "Legend of the Virgin Mary," which had a great success, mainly because of its veiled patriotism and from the fact that the mystical meaning of the whole book, which every Pole could interpret, although the Russian censor did not, was that Poland was the Blessed Virgin, who was formerly called "Virgo Maria, Regina Poloniae."

The only other way to give vent to their patriotic sentiments is to do as the three great nineteenth century mystical poets, Michiewicz, Slowaki and Krazinski, did, and leave Poland and live in a foreign land and there publish their poems.

Michiewicz is considered by some modern critics a greater poet than the Polish Shakespeare, Kochanowski, who lived from 1530 to 1584, and is greatly admired by Michiewicz. Of these three modern poets, Michiewicz and Slowaki are the poets of vengeance, Krazinski the poet of love. The latter said of Poland that it was a land of graves and crosses, and it is true that the tall wooden crosses, not Crucifixes, in the Polish churchyards are one of the features of the landscape on the great wide plain. But even these cannot be renewed or erected without permission from the Russian Government, often refused, and always long delayed.

Slowaki, although an ardent Catholic, wrote bitterly against the Papacy when Gregory XVI. condemned the Polish rising of 1862 in a letter to the Polish Bishops, and ignorant of the cruelties the Catholic Poles were enduring at the hands of the Russians, commanded the Poles to be loyal to the Czar.

Krazinski saw no hope of a speedy resurrection of Poland. On the contrary, he believed all Western civilization was doomed and Christianity dying, but his pessimism was probably due largely to his health, for he was very delicate and suffered greatly.

Michiewicz died in Turkey in 1855 trying to raise an army against Russia. Slowaki died in 1849 at the early age of thirty-seven from a painful disease, which made him irritable and quarrelsome and envious of his two contemporaries, Michiewicz, whom he hated, and his friend Krazinski, with whom he quarreled.

The famous Danish writer, Brandes, a great lover of Poland, who has visited Poland many times and written much upon her² and the Poles and suffered much from the Russian censors when

² We have quoted him frequently in this article.

he lectured in Warsaw, says that "of the three winged spirits of Poland, Michiewitz is the eagle, Slowaki the peacock and Krazinski the swan."

We have already seen that the Jesuit, Peter Skarga, and the poet Krazinski both foresaw the ruin of Poland. There was another Pole, the great Sobieski, who reigned under the title of John III., who also foretold the ruin of Poland on his deathbed, when he died broken-hearted, and also when he told the Senate in 1690 "that posterity would be stupefied to learn that the only result of so many Polish victories and triumphs, shedding an eternal glory on the name of Poland throughout the world, would be, God help us, irreparable ruin and damnation. Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed."

He died in 1696, and in 1773 the first partition of Poland took place at Grodno; the second partition was twenty years later, in 1793, and the third in 1795, when Poland was practically wiped off the map of Europe, and what Austria and Germany did not get of her, Russia did.

It has been well said that "we do not love Poland as we love France or England, but as we love freedom," and it is for freedom that we are fighting in this war. If Poland is not liberated at the end of it, all the smaller nations will fall under military rule, instead of under the will of the people. All the hopes of the Poles were fixed on the great war so long expected by every one who had eyes to see the signs of the times, which an intelligent people like the Poles could not fail to read long before it broke out, and if it fails to bring autonomy and independence and the right to lead their own lives to the Poles and the other smaller nations, all the precious lives lost will have been sacrificed in vain.

We have said nothing here of the sufferings of the Poles who are exiled to Siberia, for political offenses against the Russian Government, but for a highly colored account of the terrible journey thither we may refer the reader to the "Memoirs of Count Beniowski," a book of world-wide reputation, which was first published in an English translation by Captain Oliver in 1904. Beniowski was an adventurer and possessed all the best and worst qualities of the Poles. Brave as a lion, untruthful as Munchausen, his memoirs are nevertheless excellent reading, and describe his journey as a Russian prisoner of war from St. Petersburg, as Petrograd was then called, quite across the whole vast extent of Siberia to Kamchatka and his life there and escape thence. He lived in the eighteenth century, and after fighting against the Russians in the Polish troubles of 1768-9 was made prisoner, treated with great indignities and exiled to Siberia. He escaped from Kamchatka

by sea, and was eventually killed in action by the French in Madagascar, whither he had gone to supply slaves to America in 1786.

Another celebrated book of Polish memoirs is those of John Chrysostom Pasek, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was a Polish nobleman, born at Masovia, and wrote his memoirs in 1769, but they were not published till the nineteenth century. They have been translated into English and are said to be very curious.

Mediæval Polish writers wrote in Latin; of these the most celebrated was Martin Gallus, who wrote between the years 1110 and 1113. He is said to have been a monk of St. Gall, but a more modern theory is that he was a Walloon monk and afterwards Bishop of Kruzwicka. His works are full of legends and his style is lively; he translated into Latin an old Polish poem on Bodeslaw the Brave.

Two other mediæval Polish writers who wrote in Latin were the two Bishops of Cracow, Kudlebec and Bogufal; the latter lived from 1160 to 1223, the former a little earlier. Cracow was the capital of Poland in mediæval times; Warsaw did not become so till the eighteenth century.

The University of Cracow was founded in 1364; Copernicus studied there. The beautiful Gothic Cathedral of Cracow, which has several other very fine churches, was built between 1320 and 1359. It contained before the present war monuments of many celebrated Poles, including Jagiello or Ladislaw II., and his descendants, the patriots Sobieski, who reigned under the title of John III., and Kosciuzko. It is adorned with some of Thorwaldsen's finest works, if they have not been carried off to Germany, with all the pianos in Galicia, in the trains that brought the German troops there.

The chief see in Poland is the archiepiscopal one of Gnesen, founded by Bodislaw the Great in the eleventh century, who must not be confused with Bodislaw II., the murderer of St. Stanislaus, who was once Bishop of Cracow.

The earliest Polish manuscript is the Psalter of Queen Margaret, **the wife of Louis of Hungary**; it dates from the middle of the fourteenth century; she died in 1349. She was the mother of one **of Poland's most famous Queens**, Jadwiga or Hedwiga, who succeeded to the throne of Poland on the death of her father, King Louis of Hungary, her elder sister, Maria, inheriting the crown of Hungary. She married the Grand Duke Jagiello, a Lithuanian nobleman and a pagan. She consented to do this for political reasons on condition that he was baptized first. He agreed to this proposal and was baptized in Cracow Cathedral three days before

his marriage with Jagwitha in 1384. He took the name of Ladislaus and reigned under the title of Ladislaus II., but he is better known under his dynastic name of Jagiello. On his conversion the whole of the Lithuanian nation was formally received into the Catholic Church. He reigned for forty-one years and gradually raised Poland to a great power.

His second son, who succeeded him under the title of Casimir IV., did more for Poland than perhaps any other king; he united Lithuania to the Polish crown, but ever since this beginning of the union a struggle has gone on between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox religion, which the Lithuanians appear to prefer.

The last of the Jagiellan kings was Sigismund II. The monarchy then became elective, and Henry of Valois was the first elected monarch, but he only reigned four months and then ran away.

There is no ancient history of Poland; its legendary lore is very poor, and very few Polish songs or ballads have come down to us. The language resembles Wendish and the Czech or Bohemian language. Nothing certain of Poland's history is known until the close of the tenth century. Between the years 962 and 992 the country was converted to Christianity by the Orthodox Church, but in the reign of Bodeslaw the Great, to obtain the protection of the Holy See against the Germans, the Poles were converted to the Catholic Church, and it was then that the primatial See of Gnesen was founded and the Bishoprics of Cracow, Breslau and Kolberg were placed under it.

A later mediæval writer on Polish history was Martin Kromer, who lived from 1512 to 1589; he wrote in Latin during the golden age of Polish literature. The prince of Polish poets, Kochanowski, lived during this period. His most celebrated work was written on the death of his daughter Ursula, and bears the singular appropriate title for a Polish *chef d'œuvre* of the Lamentations.

At the conclusion of the golden age, which is supposed to have terminated in 1606, Polish literature became so interlarded with Latin that the name of the macaronic age was given to it; this lasted until 1764. A writer who lived about the time of the last division of Poland and described all that happened then most graphically was a shoemaker, named Jan Kalinski, whose memoirs are considered a most valuable contribution to the history of that period.

One of the most celebrated authoresses of Poland was the novelist, Klementina Hoffman, whose novels are still much read, although she wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century; she was born in 1798.

Besides the manuscript Psalter of Queen Margaret already men-

tioned, Cracow also did possess a manuscript Bible dating from 1455, which belonged to Queen Sophia, the ambitious Czarina of Russia, who conquered the Poles and imposed the disgraceful treaty of Moscow upon them in 1689. Whether this manuscript is still in existence or what has become of it, is a question which cannot be answered at present, for most of the best Polish works of art and valuable books and church ornaments were carried off to Russia long before the present war, and what remained have probably gone to Germany, for we hear constantly of trains of loot going from Galicia to Germany. It is to be hoped that when peace is declared Poland will get back some of her material treasures as well as her freedom and independence.

Since writing the above news of the abdication of Nicholas II. and the Russian revolution has startled the world. This war is so full of dramatic surprises that it is useless to attempt to prognosticate what effect these events may have on Poland's fate, but the fact that the Provisional Government of Russia has already expressed its intention of securing autonomy for the Poles leads us to hope that the dawn of a happier era is breaking for this most unhappy country, whose glorious past and miserable present appeal to the generosity of every nation.

DARLEY DALE.

CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM IN THE EARLIEST GREEK CHURCH.

MYSTICISM IN THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

THE Greek Apostolic Fathers, as well as their immediate successors, borrowed their mystical experiences and terms, and sometimes their glowing words of divine love, from the Pauline writings. St. Paul was, indeed, the teacher of the mystical life to the earliest Greek Christianity. As von Hügel truly observes, "St. Paul, in his mystical outbursts and in the systematic parts of his doctrine, gives us the earliest, one of the deepest, and, to this hour, by far the most influential among the at all detailed experiences and schemes as to the relations of the human soul with God."¹ This mystical voice of St. Paul sounds clearly in the earliest Greek Fathers till Irenæus.

Yet it deserves to be noted that we cannot find in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers either a scientific systematizing of mystical experiences or their philosophical elaboration. In the first century of the Christian religion mysticism was rather felt and lived than perceived and analyzed. The Christian life was filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and redeemed souls felt the immediate presence of the indwelling God. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers point out with sufficient clearness the ecstatic character of the primitive Church. They raise their voices as charismatic teachers in the fullest consciousness of having received the Spirit of God. They reveal the mysteries of the Deity as spiritual leaders enlightened by the Light from above. Their mystical ejaculations are not hemmed with the fringes of a literary brilliancy or involved in the flights of a pagan language of mystery. They are endowed with a strong mystical temperament, but they do not deserve the name of the scholars, the legislators, of Christian mysticism.²

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers the first and third stages of the *scala perfectionis*, the purgative and unitive lives, are clearly expressed, while the second, the illuminative life, is scantily outlined. The mysticism of the apostolic age is marked by strong Pauline features; above all, in the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch. With him, in fact, starts the first page of the story of Christian mysticism. "In him," says Sweete, "there is a vein of mysticism which suggests that he is to be ranked with Clement of Alexandria and the pseudo-Dionysius rather than with the great champions of dogmatic orthodoxy."³

¹ "The Mystical Element of Religion." London, 1909, Vol. II., p. 320.

² Aube, "Saint Justin." Paris, 1861, p. 13.

³ "Patristic Study." London, 1902, pp. 16-17.

This primeval mysticism of the Greek patristic literature is grounded upon an ethical basis rather than upon the voluntary crucifixion of an ascetic life. The purgative stage is symbolized by the allegory of the two ways, the one of life and the other of death, an allegory derived from a Jewish source and introduced into Christian literature by the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the "Epistle of Barnabas." By means of the purgative stage the redeemed soul is called to the highest reward, to the perfect likeness of God, to become a spiritual temple, the sanctuary of God,⁴ a spiritual creature.⁵ It is by tribulations and sufferings that Christian souls will be able to reach the sunlit heights of the eternal life.⁶ They must be freed from earthly cares and sordid passions; they must seek the things which are pleasing and acceptable to God; they must cast away from themselves all iniquity.⁷ The end of the Christian life is the imitation of God. Christians ought to be *imitatores Dei*, says Ignatius (Eph. 1.) to attain a perfect moral conformity with God, to fix in their souls the dominant feature of the divine beauty.⁸

In later Greek mysticism the ascetic life, a ceaseless desire to crucify the flesh became an essential requisite to the perfect union of the believing soul with Christ. But for the Apostolic Fathers a thoroughly virtuous and religious life, even stripped of the voluntary crucifixion of asceticism, leads Christian souls to receive the full outpouring of the Holy Spirit.⁹

The first Christianity as it is portrayed by the Apostolic Fathers and the Greek Fathers of the second century is wholly penetrated by the intruding tides of the Holy Spirit, that is, lives and moves within an atmosphere of the loftiest mysticism. Every member of the Church is conscious of having received the Holy Spirit, of being ruled by Him in the way of Christian perfection, of possessing special charismata. The Church itself, as it appears from the writings of Ignatius and Hermas, has a mystical existence apart from its outward life.¹⁰

The Greek Fathers of the primitive Church testify to that charismatic shape with which was clothed the earliest Christian brotherhood. S. Irenæus describes the perfect man indwelt by the Spirit of the Father. "We have heard," he says, "that many brethren in the Church possess prophetic gifts, and through the Spirit speak all

⁴ "Ep. Barn.," VI., 15.

⁵ *Ib.*, IV., 2.

⁶ *Ib.*, VII., 11.

⁷ I. "Clem.," 35.

⁸ "Magn.," 6; Lightfoot, "The Apostolic Fathers," II., 1889, p. 120.

⁹ I. "Clem.," II.

¹⁰ Durell, "The Historic Church," Cambridge, 1906, pp. 24-25; Lowrie, "The Church and Its Primitive Organization," London, 1904, p. 147.

kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God.¹¹ These supernatural gifts, described *ib.*, II., 32, 4, cannot be explained without admitting a powerful influence of the Holy Spirit permeating at that time the life of the Church. Origen¹² and Eusebius¹³ declare that at the end of the second century the charismatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit survived in a few persons who had their souls purified by the Gospel and their actions regulated by its influence, and that by these men, filled with His holiness, the Holy Spirit wrought many wonders so that Gentiles embraced the true faith.¹⁴ No doubt the meaning of the word *charisma* in the earliest Christian literature is not well defined, and sometimes extends to gifts that belong to the natural powers of human nature.¹⁵ But on the other hand, the tradition of the fathers is unanimous that the Holy Spirit in the primitive Church, was guiding and inspiring the followers of Christ, enlightening their minds and strengthening their hearts and furthering the communion of souls with God.

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers there is no clear division of the mystical stages. They are perhaps outlined in a very difficult, and almost unintelligible, passage of the "Epistle of Barnabas," which in the translation of Hoole reads as follows: "There are three doctrines ordained of the Lord—the hope of life, the beginning and the end. For the Master hath made known unto us by the prophets the things which are past, and the things which are at hand, and hath given us the first fruits of the knowledge of the things that are to come."¹⁶ According to this reading the hope of life is given us by freeing ourselves from earthliness, that is, by the purgative life; the beginning consists in the empirical knowledge of Christ. The end culminates in the possession of God by the mystical union. The above passage, in accordance with the text edited by Harnack, is rendered by Lightfoot as follows: "There are three ordinances of the Lord—the hope of life, which is the beginning and end of our faith, and righteousness, which is the beginning and end of judgment; love shown in gladness and exultation, the testimony of works of righteousness." But even in this translation we have an attempt at distinguishing the stages of the mystical life. Faith is the force from above that impels the believing soul into the righteous life; righteousness opens to it the

¹¹ "Adv. Haer.," V., 6, 1.

¹² "Contra Celsum," VII., 8.

¹³ "Hist. Eccl.," I., 2, 46; II., 8.

¹⁴ Eusebius III., 37; V., 3; Engelmann, "Von den Charismen in Allegemeinen," Regensburg, 1848, pp. 158-165.

¹⁵ Bruders, "Die Verfassung der Kirche," Mainz, 1904, pp. 72-74.

¹⁶ "Ep. Barn.," I.

mysteries of the divine life; love quickens the soul with the gladness and exultation begotten in it by conscious fellowship with God.

The interior knowledge of God, which is the chief aim of mysticism, is divided into several degrees by the writer of the "Epistle of Barnabas," but it is difficult to say in what they are distinguished from each other. These degrees are called: *sofia*, *synesis*, *epistimi*, *gnosis* (II, 2.) The *gnosis* is the perfect knowledge of the spiritual man.

In general, the Greek mystics of the first century lay stress upon *faith* as leading to communion with God, and *love*, as achieving it. With a characteristic strength of expression, Ignatius says that faith is the beginning of life, love the end of it, and the two in union are God. (Eph., XIV.) Faith and love build up the perfect Christian. (Eph., XX.) These two, being inseparably connected, form the perfect man of God, while all other things which are requisite to a holy life follow after them (Eph., XIV.) The perfect man believes in love.¹⁷ Love is emphasized by Ignatius as the source of a newness of life, as the ground of Christian perfection.¹⁸

Some hints as to the illuminative stage of the mystical life we find in the following passage of Clement of Rome: "By Jesus Christ we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew toward His marvelous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge."¹⁹ The meaning of that passage need not be explained. The chief aspiration of the mystical life is a practical knowledge of God, which shall pierce the veil of the mysteries of the divine life and bestow upon us on earth a foreshadowing of the splendors of the full vision of God in heaven. And Clement declares that the acquisition of such a lofty knowledge of divine things by the influence of Christ is one of the consoling realities brought about in our earthly life by the Christian revelation. The contemplation of God kindles within us the flames of that love, which, according to Clement of Rome, unites us to God and moves God to take us to Himself.²⁰ And, enlightened by faith and fired by love, men are no longer men; they become angels, as the martyrs of the earliest Church.²¹

But it is in the letters of St. Ignatius that we enjoy the richest deposit of mystical truths and experiences. The glowing spirit of Pauline mysticism pervades the writings of the Bishop-martyr

¹⁷ "Philadelph., IX.; "Smyrn.," VII.

¹⁸ "Smyrn., I.

¹⁹ I., 36.

²⁰ I., 49.

²¹ "Martyr. Polycarpl.," II.

of Antioch. Theodore of Studium has perfectly described Ignatius by saying that his heart was fired with the love of Christ, and that the passionate lyric of Paul revives in his letters.²² Tides of spiritual light flowed in his soul, says John Chrysostom.²³ As a mystical temperament is a nature exalted by the intensest love of Christ, St. Ignatius is a rough but at the same time a lively and vigorous poet of the ascents of the human soul to Christ, the centre and focus of the mystical life.²⁴ His letters make plain the inconsistency of the saying of Inge that Christian mysticism appears in history as an intellectual movement, the foster child of Platonic idealism.²⁵

The strongest flights of Ignatius' mysticism, which is the truest expression of the mysticism of St. Paul, are the genuine offspring of the teaching of Jesus Christ, whom the Bishop of Antioch calls his "archives."²⁶ Jesus Christ is the same knowledge of God (Eph., XVII.), the new leaven of our spiritual life.²⁷

The end of the true life is the constant indwelling of God in the believing soul: "Let us, therefore, do all things as knowing that He dwelleth in us, to the end that we may be His temples, and He Himself may be in us as our God" (Eph., XV.). In order to live in Christ and to have Christ living in us, the purification of the soul is the preliminary step. A Christian longing for the heights of the mystical life must do nothing according to the flesh, but all things according to the spirit (Eph. VIII.). This purgative stage is followed by a distaste for earthliness and a vital impulse toward God.

In his letter to the Romans, Ignatius expresses himself as follows: "My lust has been crucified, and there is no fire of material longing in me, but only water living and speaking in me, saying within me, 'Come to the Father.' I have no joy in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life." (Rom. VII.) The purified soul not only despises earthly things and lusts; it wants to die to the world, in order to be possessed of Christ. In touching words Ignatius expresses the double aspiration of his soul: "It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ rather than to reign over the farthest bounds of the earth. Him I seek who died on our behalf. Him I desire who rose again. The pangs of a new birth are upon me." (Rom. VI.) The end of his life, that is, the possession of God, the at-

²² Migne, P. G., XCIX., 1798.

²³ "In S. Ignatium," Migne, P. G., L., 588.

²⁴ See Pfeiderer, "Primitive Christianity," London, 1910, III., p. 364.

²⁵ "Christian Mysticism," London, 1899, p. 22.

²⁶ "Philadelph.," VII.; Bruston, "Ignace d'Antioche," Paris, 1897, pp. 207, 215.

²⁷ "Magn.," X.

tainment of Christ, culminates in love for suffering, in identification with the Crucified Christ. As, long centuries later, St. Teresa cried out: "Let me suffer or die," so, in an outburst of passionate love, Ignatius exclaims: "Come fire and cross and grapplings with beasts, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushing of my whole body; come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me, only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ." (Rom., V.) But this dreadful joy in crucifying the body is not enough for the mystical ardor of Ignatius. As many of the greatest mystics of Christendom, he is filled with "the love for death."²⁸ He cries out: "I desire no longer to live after the manner of men." (Rom. VIII.) In the midst of life he is lusting after death.²⁹ To die unto the passion of Christ is the condition on which the divine life shall be in him.³⁰

From the above passages it is quite evident that the mysticism of Ignatius is the truest reflection of the mysticism of Paul, who also rejoiced in his sufferings and longed to depart and to be with Christ.³⁰

THE GREEK APOLOGISTS AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

Evangelical mysticism ends with Ignatius of Antioch. After him Christian thought enters a new field, seeks new horizons, springs over the narrow barriers of its doctrinal inheritance and wears the appearance of a conqueror. It aims at an intimate contact with the thinkers of heathenism, and even more, at enriching itself with the spoils of its implacable foes. According to the remark of Harnack, as a consequence of the complete break with the Jewish Church there followed not only the strict necessity of quarrying the stones for the building of the Church from the Greco-Roman world, but also the idea that Christianity had a more positive relation to that world than to the synagogue. In its attempts at enlarging the circle of its speculative labors Christian thought for a time wavered between two divergent streams. Some Christian writers, emphasizing the newness of the teaching of Our Saviour, sought to show the failure of all pagan philosophy to satisfy the mind and of all pagan religion to elevate life. Others, impressed with the universality of Christian revelation, sought to show its affiliation with whatever was noblest in paganism and ethics.³¹ This slow penetration of Hellenistic thought into the literature of the Greek Fathers starts with the Greek Apologists, mostly educated in the

²⁸ Zahn, "Ignatius von Antiochen." Gotha, 1873, p. 562.

²⁹ "Magn.," V.

³⁰ See Falconer, "From Apostle to Priest," Edinburgh, 1900, pp. 205-207.

³¹ Purves, "The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity." New York, 1889, p. 10.

school of Platonism, reaches a high pitch in the writings of Justin and marks a new era in the story of Christian mysticism.

Certainly the mystical hue is wanting in the literary inheritance of the Greek Apologists, who aim at striking a death-blow to heathenism by the weapon of sarcasm and a tufted erudition. But they prepared for future generations the method of treating mystical themes, they opened the way to the philosophical elaboration of inward religious experiences, they made possible the harmonizing of the Christian rules of a higher spiritual life with the tenets of a more rational mysticism. The Greek apologists introduced Plato into the Christian mind, and made him the father of European mysticism.³² If Theophilus of Antioch praised Plato as the most respectable of the philosophers, the wisest of the Greeks;³³ if Aristides and Quadratus worked out an alliance between Christianity and philosophy, Justin and Athenagoras went a step further, made of Plato a disciple of Moses and of the Jewish prophets; they considered Plato's teaching as a preparation to the Christian religion.³⁴ Plato's philosophy according to Justin leads us to God, strives to look upon God, therefore it is a mystical philosophy. By rehabilitating philosophy, by showing its most valuable treasure, by putting as the chief end to philosophy the inquiry for God,³⁵ by calling the Christian religion the only sure and valuable philosophy,³⁶ Justin prepared the way for the mystical speculation of later Christian writers in their attempts to harmonize Christian experiences with Platonism and Neoplatonism.³⁷ Through Justin, above all, the evangelical teaching began to be clothed in an Hellenic dress.

This influence of Platonic speculation on Christian mysticism is quite clear in a precious document of early Christianity, which for a long time was ascribed to Justin, the so-called "Epistle to Diognetus." Here we find a classification of the mystical states, tinted with strong Platonic colors. A Christian man, possessed of the Christian faith, receives first of all the knowledge of the Father. This knowledge when attained leads the soul to the supreme joy of the love of God. The love of God makes us the imitators of God. The imitation of God unveils to us the marvels of the divine life and reveals to us the arcana of the Deity. It is an imitation by which we share in the divine life and wisdom. Full of

³² Gregory, "An Introduction to Christian Mysticism," London, 1901, p. 22.

³³ "Ad Autol.," III, VI., XVI.

³⁴ "Dial.," VIII.; Otto, "De Justinii martyris scriptis et doctrina," Jena, 1841, pp. 78-83.

³⁵ "Dial.," I., II.

³⁶ *Ib.*, VIII.

³⁷ Engelhardt, "Das Christentum Justin des Martyrers," Erlangen, 1878, pp. 223-40.

God while still on earth we see that God in the heavens rules the universe; then we begin to speak the mysteries of God. The imitation of God is connected with the endowment with special gifts of the Holy Spirit, with contempt of death and craving for martyrdom.³⁸ The true life becomes a true knowledge inwardly received.³⁹ In the letter to Diognetus, as well as in the Apostolic writings, the two extreme poles of the perfect life are faith and love, and Platonic influences appear in what is said there about the relations between knowledge and love.^{40, 41}

IRENÆUS OF LUGDUNUM.

A strong mystical element pervades the writings of Irenæus. On the one hand, his mysticism follows closely the method inaugurated by the Greek apologists, by Justin above all, and, on the other, roots itself in a purely Christian ground, viz., in the Pauline letters. In speaking of inward religious experiences, Irenæus very often paraphrases the glowing words of love for Christ that are scattered in the writings of St. Paul. He is indeed a link of union between the primitive mystical faith and the speculation of pagan thinkers, which Greek apologists attempted to graft on Christian teaching. Thus, he is a forerunner of the bold method applied to the Christian revelation by the Alexandrian school, and strongly developed by Clement of Alexandria.

It has been alleged that Irenæus is not a mystic in the true sense of the word. He seems to single out only the divine element of the mystical life while overlooking the necessary coöperation of man to the inrushing of the Holy Spirit to the believing soul. In the mind of Irenæus, says Professor Jones, the impartation of God to man is not something mystical. He does not conceive of man as having a natural capacity for God, as possessing within himself a meeting-place with God.⁴² But it cannot be denied that in the light of many passages the Irenæan conception of the mystical life does not at all set at naught the exercise of human powers in the drawing of the believing soul nearer to God. To prove what I say, it might suffice to recall to our minds, that Irenæus constantly say, it may suffice to recall to our minds that Irenæus constantly attempted to blend Christianity and Christian doctrine with classical learning, and thus he intimated that the Christian soul could

³⁸ "Ep. Diogn.," X.

³⁹ *Ib.*, XII.

⁴⁰ See Adam, "The Religious Thinkers of Greece," Edinburgh, 1908, pp. 396-397.

⁴¹ A rudimentary sketch of Ignatius' mysticism is to be found in the recent work of Dr. Michael Rackl: "Die Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien," Freiburg in Breisgau, 1914, pp. 201-205.

⁴² "Studies in Mystical Religion," London, 1909, p. 81.

not move in an exclusively supernatural atmosphere, there to live in a state of quietistic passivity, in the apathy pointed out by Clement of Alexandria as the highest summit of the gnostic's life.⁴³

According to Irenæus, there are some stages of spiritual life through which Christian souls have to pass before climbing to the summits of divine contemplation. These degrees are enumerated by Harnack as follows: "Restoration of the likeness of God in humanity, abolition of death, connection and union of man with God, adoption of man as son of God, imparting of the Spirit who now constantly abides with man, imparting of a knowledge of God, culminating in beholding Him, bestowal of an everlasting life."⁴⁴

The synthesis of the mystical teaching of Irenæus is outlined in the following beautiful passage, which sets forth the highest transformation of a soul absorbed in a loving contemplation of the divine Reality: "Those who see the Light are within the light, and partake of His brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God and receive of His splendor. But His splendor vivifies them. Those, therefore, who see God, do receive life. And for this reason, He although beyond comprehension, boundless and invisible, rendered Himself visible, comprehensible and within the capacity of those who believe, that He might vivify those who receive and behold Him through faith. For, as His greatness is past finding out, so also His goodness is beyond expression; by which having been seen, He bestows life upon those who see Him. It is not possible to live apart from life, and the means of life is found in fellowship with God; but fellowship with God is to know God and to enjoy His goodness."⁴⁵

The personification of the mystical experiences of Irenæus is the *perfect man*, a conception brought over from Pauline mysticism. Man is made in the image and likeness of God. Even by sin he does not lose the image of God; but it is by tending toward the divine perfection that he may reach a moral assimilation to God. The perfect man is possessed of a rich treasure of religious experiences, wrought by the indwelling of the Spirit in a purified soul. He is defined by Irenæus as a man in whom the Spirit dwells:⁴⁶ "Those who have received the Spirit of God remaining in them, and preserve their souls and bodies blameless, holding fast the faith of God, are perfect men."

In order to attain the highest intensity of the spiritual life, man need not free himself of his corruptible frame of flesh. "Perfect

⁴³ "Strom.," VII., 14. See Klebba, "Die Anthropologie des hl. Irenæus," Münster, 1894, p. 186.

⁴⁴ "History of Dogma," XI., 292.

⁴⁵ "Adv. Haer.," IV., 25, 5.

⁴⁶ II., 6, 1.

or spiritual men are so-called because they partake of the Spirit, and not because their flesh has been stripped off and taken away, so that they have become purely spiritual. Taking away the substance of his flesh, man would not be a spiritual man, but would be the spirit of man. But when the Spirit is blended with the soul the man is rendered spiritual, and perfect because of the outpouring of the Spirit." Thus, even in the weakness of the bodily life, the Spirit is able to actualize in man the perfection of a super-sensuous life.

If there is, even on earth, an assimilation of man to God, there are also some rules to attain this *newness of life* in Christ. in opposition to the spiritual man, we have the carnal man, as he is termed by St. Paul. To enter into communion with God, that carnal man must disappear within us; the soul must be clean that the Spirit of God may take delight therein, as a bridegroom in his bride (V., 9, 4.) Thus we have in the mystical terminology of Irenæus the expression, "spiritual marriage," borrowed from St. Paul and frequently employed by the latter mystics of Eastern and Western Christianity. By realizing our purification, little by little we accustom ourselves to receive and bear God within ourselves (V., 8, 1.) Works of righteousness are the condition on which the Spirit of God rests upon us (IV., 36, 6), dwells in us and on which we may make ourselves spiritual even now (V., 8, 1, 2).

The influence of the Spirit taking possession of a purified soul is manifold. The Spirit of God absorbs the weakness, the infirmity of the flesh, purifies the man and raises him up to the life of God (V., 9, 2). He becomes engrafted on us (V., 10, 1; V., 11, 1), and, through faith and chaste conversation, is preserved within us (V., 9, 3). He nourishes us, increases our life, makes us approximate to the Uncreated One (IV., 38, 3). He begets in us a new and true life (IV., 38, 3; V., 11, 2). By His influence we long to see God face to face, to be endowed with that practical knowledge of God which renews man (V., 12, 4). This true knowledge is the understanding of Christ.⁴⁷

The glory of God, says Irenæus, is a living man, and the life of man consists in beholding God. We must, therefore, exercise ourselves in the investigation of the mysteries of God, and adorn our souls with that divine knowledge which will expand and blossom in the sunshine of love for Him who has done and does so great things for us (II., 38, 1). Love for God and for His Word will be the accomplishment of our spiritual evolution. By means of love we attain nearness to God (II., 26, 1). Where there exists an increase of love, there is a greater glory wrought by the

⁴⁷ "Fragm.," XXXVI.

power of God, for those who love Him (V., 3, 1). Love, in its turn, leads us to a conscious fellowship with God and to the vision of His beauty. "We see our Teacher, we hear His voice, we become imitators of His works, as well as doers of His words, and then we may have communion with Him, receiving increase from the Perfect One." (V., 1, 1.)

It is the outpouring of the Spirit that achieves the inward communion of God and man, imparting indeed God to man and attaching man to God (V., 1, 1). Love toward God produces communion with Him. But communion with God is *life and light*, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store (V., 27, 2). A natural outcome of the God-loving stage is the vision of God, followed by the endowment of the soul by charismatic gifts." Men shall see God, that they may live, being immortal by that sight, and attaining even unto God. The life in God carries on the prophetic spirit and gifts (IV., 20, 6). Then we reach the highest rung of the mystical ladder: "*Pertingentes usque in Deum*" (IV., 20, 6). Jesus Christ brings us to be even what He is in Himself (V. Pref). The likeness after God, wrought in us by the mysterious influence of the Spirit, transforms our human nature into a divine one: "*Primo quidem homines, tunc demum Dei*" (IV., 38, 4). It is not enough to be nearer to the Uncreated (IV., 38, 3). Man needs to share in the divine nature, to become God, as, before Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch said,⁴⁸ and after him, many Greek and Latin Fathers.⁴⁹ It deserves here to be noted that the idea of deification is found in both the philosophical mysticism of the Platonic speculation and the Evangelical mysticism of the Christian faith, and by yielding to it, Irenæus recognizes that on some points Christian religious experiences are cognate to those of noble-minded heathen philosophers, and, that, therefore, Christian thought is not bound to abjure any contact with Hellenic culture.

THE MYSTICISM OF ST. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Dr. Rufus Jones says that the trend of the thought of Athanasius was not that of a mystic. Athanasius is, first of all, the theologian of the Word, of Redemption, of the Incarnation, the complete purpose of which is to deify human nature. His mysticism is more theological than philosophical. External causes, viz., ascetic practices and sacraments, are to him the main sources of mystical life. He distinguishes two ways open to Christian souls. The one, the more moderate and ordinary is marriage; the other, angelic and unsurpassed, is virginity. If a man embraces this holy and un-

⁴⁸ "Aut.," II., 27.

⁴⁹ Fleming, p. 19.

earthly way, he will possess the most wonderful gifts.⁵⁰ The true life requires death to the world and life in Christ: "The saints, having become dead to the world, and having renounced the merchandise of the world, gain an honorable death. They are also able, preserving the apostolic likeness, to say: 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live.' For that is the true life, which a man lives in Christ."⁵¹ And elsewhere: "We imitate the saints when we acknowledge Him who died, and no longer live unto ourselves, but Christ henceforth lives in us."⁵² In the newness of life in Christ there are some who have not attained to the perfect way and others who have advanced beyond the full stature of childhood, and lastly others who walk in the perfect way and receive the Word for bread and flesh for food.⁵³

When Christ lives in us the Word of God becomes the principle of our knowledge of divine things, the spring of our restoration, of our appropriation of the divine nature, the mirror in which God reflects His beauty ere our eyes are delighted in it. The Word, therefore, who abides in us⁵⁴ is the Giver of the spiritual life, the Giver of the Spirit, who achieves within us the mystical union of our soul with God: "The Word Himself has spoken of Himself as anointed with the Spirit for us. And, therefore, have we securely received it, He being said to be anointed in the flesh; for the flesh being first sanctified in Him and He being said, as man, to have received for its sake, we have the sequel of the Spirit's grace, receiving out of His fullness."⁵⁵

The main thesis of Athanasius' Mysticism is found in the following formula: "We are deified by the Word in the Father through the Holy Spirit," or in its equivalent: "The Father perfects and renews all beings in the Spirit by the Word."⁵⁶ "As we are sons and gods because of the Word in us, so we shall be in the Son and in the Father, and we shall be accounted to have become one in the Son and in the Father, because that Spirit is in us, Which is the Word Which is in the Father."⁵⁷ The oneness of our being with the Divine nature, a oneness, however, which avoids the extreme poles of Pantheism and Nihilism, is achieved at first in the Word, and afterwards in the Father. "Through the Spirit we are found to be in God, and in this respect to be conjoined with Him.

⁵⁰ "Ep. Am.," P. G., XXVI., 1073; Eickhorn "Athanasii De vita ascetica testimonia collecta," Halle, 1886, p. 6.

⁵¹ "Fest. Ep.," VII., 3.

⁵² "Fest. Ep.," V., 4.

⁵³ "Fest. Ep.," X., 4.

⁵⁴ "De Decr.," XXX.

⁵⁵ "Contra Ar.," I., 50.

⁵⁶ I. "Ser.," 9.

⁵⁷ "Contra Ar.," III., 25.

He wills that we should receive the Spirit, that when we receive it, having the Spirit of the Word which is in the Father, we too may be found, on account of the Spirit, to become one in the Word, and through Him in the Father."⁵⁸

The influence of the Spirit on the development of mystical experiences is variously emphasized by Athanasius. Through the Spirit we share in the divine life; through Him, Christ unites us to the Father.⁵⁹ In the Spirit we gaze at God by the illumination of our mind,⁶⁰ or Christ illumines us in the Spirit. Through the Spirit we are made sons of God.⁶¹ and in Athanasius the sonship of God is a synonym of the deification of the soul.⁶²

But even in this theological scheme which makes the spiritual life rest on purely supernatural grounds, we meet with rationalistic elements of speculation. It is a matter of doubt whether to Athanasius the indwelling of the Word of God within us be the outcome of the theological fact of the Incarnation or a cosmological truth associated with the creation of man: "We have been made after the image of the Word," says Athanasius, "and called both the image and the glory of God, yet not on our account, but because of that image and true glory of God inhabiting us, which is His Word, *who was for us afterwards made flesh*, have we this grace of our designation."⁶³ According to this passage the indwelling of God in us and our deification chronologically precede the coming of the Incarnate God. The Word of God inhabits us in a natural way by means of a reflection of His image in our souls. We have, therefore, a natural capacity of reflecting the rays of His uncreated Light, a vision of God produced within us by the exercise of natural powers, as suggested in the Neo-Platonic system of philosophy.

But in spite of some conflicting statements as to the indwelling of the Word in us, the supernatural character of the mystical deification of the soul is brought out in a bold relief in writings of Athanasius. The adoption of the soul is sometimes exhibited as an effect of the initiation of baptism.⁶⁴ "The only renewal of our being is given by the baptismal waters, that open our souls to the being is given by the baptismal waters, that open our souls to the tides of the grace of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁵ Then we become sons of God." Because of the grace of the Spirit, which has been given to

⁵⁸ "Contra Ar.," III., 25.

⁵⁹ I. "Ser.," 24.

⁶⁰ I. "Ser.," 19.

⁶¹ *Ib.*, 19.

⁶² Bornhäuser, "Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius," Gütersloh, p. 25.

⁶³ "Contra Ar.," III., 10.

⁶⁴ "Contra Ar.," I., 34.

⁶⁵ IV., "Ser.," 13.

us, in Him we come to be and He in us; and since it is the Spirit of God, therefore through His becoming in us, reasonably are we, as having the Spirit, considered to be in God, and thus is God in us."⁶⁶

The renewed soul raises itself to the pure contemplation of God, for the Holy Spirit is a sanctifying and illuminating energy.⁶⁷ Here also the great Alexandrian seems to waver between two conflicting trends of mind. On the one hand, he appears as a follower of what we call the negative way, as to the knowledge of God: "Although it be impossible, he says, to comprehend what God is, yet it is possible to say what He is not."⁶⁸ "The more I endeavor to force myself to understand the divinity of the Word, so much the more does the knowledge thereof withdraw itself from me; and in proportion as I think that I apprehend Him, insomuch I perceive myself to fail of doing so."⁶⁹ On the other hand, some of his passages hint at a natural capacity of beholding God imparted to man, "a capacity received not from without, but from herself of the knowledge and apprehension of the Word of God."⁷⁰ When the soul gets rid of all the filth of sin, it beholds as in a mirror the image of the Father, even the Word, and by this means reaches the idea of the Father.⁷¹ To reconcile these real or apparent contradictions in the mystical scheme of Athanasius, it would be necessary to explain fully his theology of the Word and the Incarnation, a study overstepping the limits of our subject.

Whatever we may think of the source and nature of our knowledge of God, Athanasius affirms that the Word unveils to men some of the hidden splendors of the Deity. He manifested Himself in a body that we might receive the idea of the unseen Father.⁷² The degree of this contemplation varies according to the individual capacity of each soul, because the Word of God is rich and manifold,⁷³ but it leads us to the final stage of a conscious fellowship with God, of a transformation of our created being in an incorruptible one.⁷⁴

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⁶⁶ "Contra Ar.," III., 24; "De decr.," 30.

⁶⁷ I. "Ser.," 20.

⁶⁸ "Ad Mon.," II.

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, I.

⁷⁰ "Adv. Gentes," XXXIII.

⁷¹ *Ib.*, XXXIV.

⁷² "De Incarn.," 54.

⁷³ "Ep. Heort.," X., 4; Wendt, "Die Christliche Lehre von der menschlichen Vollkommenheit," Göttingen, 1882, p. 46.

⁷⁴ Hoss, "Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius," Freiburg, 1899, p. 76.

Book Reviews

THE MASTER'S WORD IN THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. Sermons for all the Sundays and Principal Feasts of the Year. By *Rev. Thomas Flynn, C. C.* 2 volumes. 8vo., cloth. About 650 pages. Net, \$3.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

There has been a demand for a sermon-book based on the Epistles and Gospels which would contain a unified and related series of discourses for the Sundays and the principal feasts of the year on the subjects proposed for consideration in the Epistles and Gospels themselves. It was to supply this demand that "The Master's Word" was written. It is a sermon work that the busy priest may pick up with confidence and be certain that he will find a theme exactly suited to the day at hand. In the two volumes there is a total of sixty discourses, all of the same length and modeled on the same plan, which is substantially as follows: 1. The special subject proposed for consideration as seen from the Epistle and Gospel (taken in connection with each other and in view of the particular Sunday or feast as such.) This subject is seen to be stated in the Epistle in theory, as it were, by St. Paul or some other apostle, and in the Gospel in practice, as it were, by some work, miracle, or saying of Christ Himself. The connection between the two as well as the sequence of the subject in relation to those preceding and following it, is made apparent. 2. A brief explanation of the subject. 3. The bearing of the Epistle on the subject. 4. The bearing of the Gospel on the subject. 5. The teaching of the Church on the subject. The preacher has therefore all the year round a regular calendar of subjects for every Sunday and principal feast in order, with printed notes in the words of Holy Scripture itself as found in the Epistles and Gospels. These subjects whilst definite are yet sufficiently elastic to allow of his own ideas on the matter.

THE LILY OF ISRAEL; or, Life of the Blessed Virgin. By *Abbé Gerbet.* New revised edition. With an Introduction by William Livingston. Cloth, New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

In the golden days of childhood we all loved that sweet story of Our Lady's life, "The Lily of Israel." In riper years when we turned once more the dear old pages, something seemed amiss. The story was still interesting, still fascinating, but here there was a strange use of a word; an unhappy turn of a phrase; again a marvelous incident related with an enthusiasm which carried its writer beyond the confines of credibility. As a consequence many lovers

of Our Lady have longed for just such a work as the one here presented, possessing all the old charm while retaining nothing that might make the judicious grieve. The writer of this new version has performed a difficult task with a sureness of touch which comes from long literary experience and a refinement of sympathy that betokens a labor of love. Some errors in geographical situations have been corrected, the whole narrative of events is brought into strict conformity with Biblical facts. Texts of Scripture, that in the old version were translated from the French, are here quoted in the more familiar words of our own Bible, and the whole work, while adhering as closely as possible to the original, is presented in a new dress, worthy of the advance made in Catholic literature during the last twenty years. The result is a real prose poem that may be read and enjoyed by young and old, with no fear that any page will cause the most critical to wish it had been written in a vein of less imaginative fervor. The extraordinary virtues of some holy souls were so hidden away from the eyes of the world that even our feeblest effort to show them forth in words must needs call the language of imagination to its aid. Genius is a gift of God and should find its noblest expression in making known the love, the wisdom and the omnipotence of Our Heavenly Father. The lives of God's chosen ones should not be mere prosy statements of bald facts. Truth is useful and necessary in its proper place, Truth as presented by an artist is still truth, absolute and unstained, but illuminated, glorified and imbued with new power to warm the affections, strengthen the will and inspire the mind of man. Such was the noble purpose which inspired the Abbé Gerbet to compose "The Lily of Israel," and such was the purpose which prompted the preparation of this appealingly beautiful new version.

THE STORY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. A Narrative of the Development of the Early Church. By *Rev. Denis Lynch, S. J.* With 16 full-page illustrations and map. 8vo., cloth, 295 pages. Net, \$1.75; postage, 15 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book is a rich and graphic narrative of the propagation of the Christian faith throughout a great portion of the Roman Empire up to the closing years of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. The Church of Christ is seen quickly perfecting its essential organization, diffusing with uniformity its distinctive practices, making use of Jew and Greek and Roman, however hostile or contemptuous, availing itself of the Pax Romana—the undisputed universal sway of Rome—to inaugurate the last and greatest phase of the religious dispensation of God to mankind. In this book, Father Lynch visualizes all this for us. With a broad understanding of the history

and conditions of apostolic times, he pictures with graphic touch the details of daily life as they were at that period. With a happy combination of general history and the lore of the classics he makes us see under just what conditions the early Church was fostered. He shows us the apostles on their journeys from place to place, directing our attention to points of interest on the way, and relating all to the Sacred Text. The book is unique. On the one hand it is an intimate and detailed study of the development of the early Church; on the other it is in great measure an enchanting account of a personally conducted tour of the East under the leadership of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For those who desire a broader knowledge of apostolic times and customs, this work will be of great assistance, while it will also greatly please those who wish an entertaining narrative of the early spread of the faith. The main chapter heads are: "Introductory," "The Ascension of Our Lord and the Descent of the Holy Ghost," "Progress and Persecution," "The Deacons and Their Work," "St. Paul, the Vessel of Election," "Peace and Progress of the Church," "Herod's Persecution and Death," "The Mission of Saints Paul and Barnabas," "The Council of Jerusalem," "The Second Mission of St. Paul," "The Third Mission Journey of St. Paul," "The Last Visit to Jerusalem," "St. Paul Before Felix and Agrippa," "The Tempestuous Voyage of St. Paul to Rome" and "St. Paul in Rome."

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR SERMONS AND INSTRUCTIONS. Edited by *Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P.* Cloth, net, \$2.00. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

This unusual and entirely novel work contains, in its several thousand quotations, definitions, word pictures and stories, all pointed and instructive, a complete storehouse of suggestive material for the pulpit, relating to all topics of importance in Catholic doctrine and practice. In its immense variety of illustrations and choice literature gleanings of the highest order, this work furnishes to the pulpit orator a wealth of explanatory and rhetorical matter for the exposition of moral and religious truths. It is a Thesaurus of valuable information and of beautifully expressed thought, intended as an aid in embellishing sermons and instructions with choice imagery, as well as explanatory matter, enforcing the points of a sermon or instruction. Illustrations, as every one knows, are the best remembered parts of a sermon and many a discourse is clinched by a good incident. For the preacher, too, an apt illustration always suggests new ranges of thought. The illustrations in this work are drawn from original sources, from nature, from common life, from recent events, from science, from Holy Scripture,

from the writings and biographies of the fathers and saints, from religious experience and from other approved sources. The subjects are so arranged under heads and sub-divisions that everything can be most readily found. In addition there is an excellent and very thorough subject index. This work is entirely novel and unique; there is nothing in our language like it. It is a work of exceptional value for its purpose, and its usefulness is almost unlimited. It will be as serviceable in the classroom as in the pulpit, and besides its usefulness for these purposes, it is an excellent book for spiritual reading.

STUDIES IN TUDOR HISTORY. By *W. P. M. Kennedy, M. A.* 12mo., pp. 340, with Index. London: Constable & Co.

The author tells us: "My object in publishing this collection of studies in Tudor history is to present to the general student and reader some material connected with subjects which must be treated very briefly in the general histories of the period. The specialist will find little new in this volume, but I venture to hope that those for whom it is written will get a better insight into some of the complicated aims and intricate problems of sixteenth century life. There is a general unity in the studies, which I may call the ideal of Tudor government. This ideal can be traced through the entire age, and it will serve to connect the studies." Beginning with "The Policy of Henry VII.," the author names his chapters "Henry VIII. and Clement VII.," "The Literature of the Edwardine Reformation," "Some Aspects of Edwardine Life," "The Difficulties of Queen Mary," "The Early History of the Elizabethan Compromise in Ceremonial," "Some Aspects of Elizabethan Life," "Two Catholic Champions: Blessed Edmund Campion and Cardinal Allen," "Elizabethan Puritanism," and "Reservation Under the Anglican Prayer-Book." This list bears out the author's claim to the interest and value of the subject matter; his ability already shown in his "Life of Parker" and in "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth," justify the venture; and the admirable manner in which he has treated each phase of the subject brings out clearly the ideal of Tudor government which serves to connect the studies and gives them that special value for the general student which was the end hoped for.

THE FACTS ABOUT LUTHER. By the *Right Rev. Mons. Patrick F. O'Hare, LL.D.* New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Under the suggestive title of "The Facts About Luther," there has been published an important new volume by the Right Rev.

Monsignor Patrick F. O'Hare, LL. D., rector of St. Anthony's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., who is well known as a writer and lecturer on Lutheranism. The object of the volume is to present the life of Luther in its different phases, as outlined in the contents: "Luther—His Friends and Opponents," "Luther Before His Defection," "Luther and Indulgences," "Luther and Justification," "Luther on the Church and the Pope," "Luther and the Bible," "Luther—A Fomentor of Rebellion," "Luther on Free-will and Liberty of Conscience" and "Luther as a Religious Reformer." The forthcoming celebration to commemorate the fourth centenary of Luther's "revolt," which occurs October, 1917,, tend to invest the present volume with a special timeliness. But, apart from this consideration, the need has long been felt of a short but reliable work in English on Luther, based on the best authorities and written more particularly with a view to the "man in the street." Monsignor O'Hare's work admirably fills this want, and it is published at so nominal a price that those whom the subject interests may readily procure copies for distribution.

THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Rev. Constantine Kempf, S. J.* 8vo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Holiness is one of the marks of the true Church, but in our modesty we may be tempted to think we must go a long way back to prove our claim to this mark. Of course, in a general way, we speak of the holiness of many children of the Church in all ages, but if we were asked to particularize in modern times, perhaps we should be at a loss. This is what the author of this book does. He particularizes and shows us that we have had holy Bishops, holy secular priests, holy religious men and women, holy lay men and women, and, what is still more surprising, holy martyrs, in the nineteenth century. He gives a brief review of the lives of those particularly whose process of beatification has been already finished, or is in actual progress. The book is interesting, instructive and consoling. It contains an excellent bibliography for those who wish to follow the subjects further.

CAMILLUS OF LELLIS, the Hospital Saint. By the Sisters of Mercy. With portrait frontispiece. 8vo., cloth, 165 pages, net, \$1.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the life of St. Camillus de Lellis we have an inspiring record of the self-sacrificing zeal of one of God's most humble servants, the founder of an order of black-robed, red-crossed men organized for the personal service of the sick, the poor sick, even the plague-

stricken. The order is shown under the guiding hand of St. Camillus, first as a sort of secret society formed in the hospital of S. Giacomo for the purpose of giving special attention to the souls of the sick, then as a congregation, founded in the direst poverty, and finally as an order. The childhood of the saint was singularly unpromising, and his wild and reckless youth gave small indication of any spiritual development; but the gentle grace of a vocation descended upon his soul and transformed him from a "soldier of fortune" to a man of God. It is indeed an inspiring account and one calculated to give courage to timid souls. Among the many interesting details of this beautiful life is the description of the association of St. Camillus with the Apostle of Rome, St. Philip Neri, who was the confessor of our saint for a long period. The relations between the two saints form one of the most charming parts of the volume. An appropriate gift for all engaged in nursing the sick, whether in hospitals or at home.

CONFERENCES FOR YOUNG WOMEN. By *Rev. Reynold Kuehnelt*. Cloth, net, \$1.50. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

Since the appearance of this author's much admired volume of "Conferences for Boys," the publication from his pen of a similar set of "Conferences for Young Women" has been eagerly awaited by many priests, who will now learn with pleasure of the issue of this volume. He who would take up this book under the impression that he is opening a volume of the conventional and sermon-like literature of good advice will be most strikingly and agreeably surprised. It is a fresh, bright, stirring book from cover to cover; it is searching and pointed, sane and practical. Father Kuehnelt's "Conferences" are alive with the life of their environment, as well as full of striking phrases. Their practical counsels are often very acute as well as sound, and those who have on hand the difficult duty of discoursing to young women will find this volume of exceptional interest and usefulness. Besides being of great service to priests, the book is also an excellent one to put into the hands of young girls and women. They will surely profit by reading it.

THE LOVE OF GOD AND THE LOVE OF THE NEIGHBOR. The Fundamental Principle of the Divine Law Demonstrated to Children by Means of a Thorough Explanation of the Commandments. By *Rev. J. V. Schubert*. Cloth, net, \$1.25. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

This book furnishes, by means of a thorough explanation of the Commandments, a complete course of instructions in the duties and obligations of the Christian. The instructions are couched in simple

and lucid language, and they are replete with examples and illustrations that make the meaning of the law of God plain to children. The author has incorporated in these instructions cogent exhortations for leading a good life, in accordance with duty and with striving after perfection, and he shows that this is the only way to insure both temporal and eternal welfare, and, what is more, he demonstrates to youthful listeners that the doing of the law is "sweet and easy."

The book will be found an excellent aid, especially in connection with instructions on the Sacrament of Penance.

NAMES THAT LIVE IN CATHOLIC HEARTS. By *Anna T. Sadler*. Memoirs of Cardinal Ximenes, Michael Angelo, Samuel de Champlain, Archbishop Plunkett, Charles Carroll, Henri de Larochejacquelein, Simon de Montfort. A new edition. New York: Benziger Brothers.

No more delightful reading can be placed in the hands of the people than this volume. In devotion to duty these men far surpass the heroes of romance, and the story of their lives, with their trials and triumphs, cannot fail to excite interest in every heart.

CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY AND THE MODERN WORLD. A Course of Sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. K. Krogh-Tonning, D. D.* Cloth, net, \$1.25. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

This work of the famous Norwegian convert, Dr. Krogh-Tonning, had, among his various apologetic writings, the widest circulation, in the original as well as in its French and German translations. The author is a pulpit orator of great renown, and the practical, forceful and eloquent form in which he discusses in these sermons the relig-

ious problems of the day accounts largely for the great success of this remarkable work. In an appreciative review in the "Stimmen aus Maria Laach," edited by Jesuit Fathers, this work is referred to as a veritable treasure.

HER FATHER'S SHARE. By *Edith M. Power*. 12mo., pp. 290. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The interesting heroine, brought up amid the hills of Ireland, is invited, when a young woman, to her grandmother's home in Portugal. Before she arrives, a cousin precedes her, personates her, and is received in her stead. She goes to other relatives who live in Oporto, and this complication and variation of scene lend themselves admirably to the interesting story that follows. There is a mystery, which is the key to the story and which is not revealed

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ENLARGEMENTS UPON MEDITATIONS MADE IN TIME OF RETREAT. By *Rev. John Rickaby, S. J.* Cloth, net, 60 cents. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

The renowned author offers here what might be termed a brief commentary upon the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The book is replete with beautiful and lofty thought and will prove decidedly helpful for all those entrusted with the spiritual guidance of souls. The experience and learning of this distinguished author renders his chapters on the topics dealt with in this book of particular value to priests in charge of retreats to religious and the laity.

SHORT SERMONS ON GOSPEL TEXTS. By *Rev. M. Bossaert.* Cloth, net, \$1.00
New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

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THE FRENCH CLERGY AND THE WAR.

THE excellent attitude of the soldier priests of France, who, being forced by an evil law to serve in the army, cheerfully accepted and splendidly performed an uncongenial duty, has been a subject of admiration to friends and foes.

Their influence over their comrades has dispelled many prejudices and brought ignorant souls nearer to God; their ready performance of dangerous tasks and in many cases their happy initiative in moments of crises, have proved that the cloisterlike atmosphere of the French seminaries, far from stunting their mental and moral growth, made an excellent preparation for the strenuous life that is now their portion.

But the soldier priests only represent a single section of the French clergy that the war has touched; older priests, whose age debarred them from active service, have in a widely different sphere usefully served their country. There are the Bishops whose dioceses lie on the line of fire or in the regions held by the enemy, the priests whose churches have been shelled and whose parishioners have been treated as prisoners; there are also many martyred priests, all of whom deserve to be made known. Their generous self-sacrifice, if more obscure than that of the soldier priests, reflects as much honor on the Church to whom they owe their training. It proves, too, that in times of peace they were often harassed and persecuted by an anti-clerical Government, in times of intense peril and tension they naturally took their place as leaders. In some cases their moral

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superiority contrasted with the unworthy attitude of the public functionaries who fled when danger was at hand; in others, on the contrary, as at Nancy, the "préfet" and the Bishop might be seen working hand in hand for the common welfare.

Even in the "départements" that lie out of reach of the German cannon the war brought the French clergy new and important duties. They had to provide for the refugees of less favored regions, for the orphans whom the war has left fatherless, for the women whose means of livelihood have failed. Another more delicate and difficult task devolved upon them: That of keeping up the courage of the *non-fighters*, who, after thirty months of war, are inclined to lose something of their spirit and energy. As a rule, we may safely say that the Bishops and priests of France met these claims with generous self-sacrifice. While at the front the soldier priests fought and died, they spent themselves at home in works of apostleship and charity.

When in August, 1914, the German armies invaded the north and east of France, several French Bishops found themselves in immediate contact with the enemy. It was, as our readers know, a moment of intense tension and deadly peril; the "miracle" of la Marne had not yet restored the confidence of the French people in their soldiers and their leaders and the seemingly irresistible German army was sweeping across Champagne and Picardy towards Paris. There was much confusion in the official world during those first weeks of the war, but be it said to their honor, the Bishops and priests kept their presence of mind and around them the terrified people naturally rallied. At Meaux, Monsignor Marbeau found himself in the space of a few hours obliged to act as the "Governor" of his episcopal city. The town was evacuated by military authority, the representatives of the Government had fled, there only remained a few hundred people, some were too poor and too infirm to leave; others thought, like the Bishop, that they must remain at their post and take the risk. The latter rallied around Monsignor Marbeau, and on September 7 a spirited proclamation, signed by them and the Bishop, informed the inhabitants of the measures of order and discipline that had been taken by those whom the desertion of the official authorities had forced to take up the reins of government. The proclamation appealed to the people's trust in God, to their patriotism and public spirit. Happily, the battle of the Marne having proved a French victory, only German scouts and patrols came to Meaux, but thousands of wounded French soldiers soon poured in, and the Bishop had to provide for their relief. He is a marvelous organizer. The trains to Paris being cut off, a priest, on a motorcycle, was sent by him to summon doctors, surgeons, nurses, who brought remedies.

Monsignor Marbeau was present everywhere; he visited the hastily organized hospitals, pressed all the valid inhabitants into the service of the wounded and, trains being wanting, he arranged that the disabled men should be removed by boat to hospitals at some distance from the line of fire and presided in person at their departure.

At Châlons sur Marne, which was occupied by the enemy on September 4, the Bishop, Monsignor Tessier, sought an interview with the Crown Prince of Saxony and, through him, he convinced the German paymaster that the city was unable to bring forward the enormous sum, 8,000,000 francs, demanded of the inhabitants. Owing to the Bishop's energetic protestations, the sum of 500,000 francs that the municipal authorities had at their disposal was accepted for the present, and the victory of the Marne happily settled the question of further payments. At Soissons, Monsignor Pechenard, when the Germans occupied the town, from September 1 to September 12, was at the head of 3,000 people only, but these much-tried inhabitants found consolation and strength in the daily meetings organized by the Bishop for their benefit. These gatherings took place in the Cathedral. They consisted in familiar talks, during which their pastor counseled and encouraged his people, telling them of the practical measures that had been taken to mitigate, as far as possible, the evil of foreign invasion.

Since then Soissons was furiously bombarded, its churches were much injured, many more people left and the Bishop was finally obliged to retire to Château Thierry, whence he governed his unfortunate diocese and assisted the famished and homeless people. "We are in want of everything," he wrote, "of money, food and clothing." The recent advance has permitted him to return to Soissons.

Even more damaged than Soissons is Reims, where, as we write these lines, the venerable Archbishop, Cardinal Luçon, is still at his post. He lives in a cellar, spends his time visiting the poor and sick and last Christmas he celebrated midnight Mass in another huge cellar, where the altar was made of empty champagne cases and the congregation consisted of refugees and soldiers. The priests of Reims, following the example of their leader, continue, under the German fire, to cling to their pastoral work, and their faithful performance of their daily duties under the circumstances has an element of heroism.

Another Bishop, Monsignor Landrieux, now Bishop of Dijon, is closely connected with Reims, where, for many years, he was "curé" of the Cathedral. It was he who, on the 19th of September, 1914, when the enemy's bombs set fire to the woodwork of the Cathedral, decided to remove the German wounded, who were lying

on straw inside the great church, but his decision was opposed by a crowd of citizens, incensed by the methodical destruction of their Cathedral. Three times Monsignor Landrieux and two other priests, the Abbés Thinot and Andrieux, forced their way into the burning building and came out carrying or leading the wounded prisoners. With quiet courage they faced the angry people outside, and by dint of perseverance accomplished their charitable task. This same young priest, the Abbé Andrieux, was taken as a hostage by the Germans when they left Reims. Hearing this, Monsignor Landrieux hurried to the "kommandatur." "You are surely mistaken," he said. "M. Andrieux is a young priest; I am the curé, and I have a right to be chosen. Our names are so much alike that you have made a mistake; let me take his place." The German chief refused to alter his arrangements, but happily, at the end of some hours, the hostages were sent back.

The Bishop of Arras, Monsignor Lobbeday, died in December, 1916, his health broken by the hardships he underwent at Arras the previous year.

Few cities in France have suffered more grievously than this ancient capital of Artois. Its picturesque "places," with their gabled houses, were a memorial of the Spaniards, who once occupied Arras, and its fine old "hotels," stately and solemn, had an aspect of solid prosperity. Now, the belfry, the town hall, the churches, the old houses, the huge Abbey of St. Wast are either much injured or totally ruined. For many months the Bishop's tall figure was seen going to and fro through the desolate streets and down to the cellars where his people had to burrow, out of reach of the enemy's shells. He was indefatigable in his endeavors to assist and encourage his flock, and, till the favorite shrine of "Notre Dame des Ardents" was damaged, used to assemble the faithful there several times a week, the bell that called them to church mingling its sounds to those of the cannon that never ceased day and night.

He occasionally left Arras to preside at ceremonies along the firing line; once in a church filled to overflowing the whizzing and then the explosion of a big shell might have produced a panic if the Bishop's presence of mind had not controlled the crowd. Standing well upright in the pulpit he first gave his blessing to the people, then he explained that the women and children were to go out before the men and that the officers present would direct the *manœuvres*. These were successfully carried out to the sound of a spirited "cantique," that kept the people employed while they obediently trooped out, according to the Bishop's orders. Needless to say that he left the pulpit only when every one was gone. Another time his clergy came, as they used to do in more peaceful days, to wish him

a happy "fête." Monsignor Lobbeday cheerfully received their greetings, but a big shell falling on a neighboring lilac bush scattered the flowery petals far and wide and somewhat disturbed the visitors. A worthy canon, however, considered the matter as a joke. "It is," he said, "the Kaiser's bouquet."

After a year of hard life, during which he lived like the rest in a cellar, the Bishop became convinced that the government of his diocese could not be duly carried out from Arras, where his priests only had access to their chief pastor at great risk and with many difficulties. He was persuaded in the course of 1915 to take up his residence at Boulogne sur Mer, whence he could freely communicate with all his priests, except of course with those who are still detained in the villages held by the enemy.

At first the Bishop spoke hopefully of the happy day when he would return to his beloved Arras and assist his people to rebuild their ruined city. Then by degrees he seemed to understand and to accept that another should fulfill the task he had hoped to assume. His magnificent constitution had been sorely tried by months of privation and anxiety, and in December, 1916, he died, almost suddenly, after having ordained two new priests in his private chapel the same morning.

The Bishop of Nancy, Monsignor Turinaz, has seen a large portion of his diocese taken possession of by the enemy; thirty-four of his priests have been removed to Germany and four have since died there; eleven are officially reported as having been shot by the enemy in the first year of the war; the fate of others is still veiled in mystery. The old Bishop bears up vigorously under these trials and remains at Nancy; the Germans occasionally bombard the town. The prefect, M. Mirneau, is a patriotic and able public servant, and although they differ on religious questions, he and the Bishop work hand in hand to encourage and support the much-tried people.

Another Bishop, who is the coadjutor and future successor of Monsignor Turinaz, was in August, 1914, on account of his age, called upon to serve in the army and as military chaplain has since then won golden opinions from the troops, who value his quiet courage and absolute devotedness. Monsignor Charles Ruch was given the Legion of Honor some months ago; the *Journal Officiel* explains the motives of this distinction when it informs us that the coadjutor of Nancy, in spite of his episcopal dignity, sought no privileges and by his devotion to the wounded, his presence of mind and admirable courage won the respect and affection of the men. "Among them," adds the paper, "he is the living representative of religious faith and ardent patriotism."

Another Bishop has lately been summoned to take his place at the front. Monsignor de Llobet, Bishop of Gap, is a comparatively young man and, as such, was touched by the military law. He had only been stationed at Gap a few months when the summons came, and his activity and zeal had already won the esteem of the people of this mountainous diocese, one of the poorest in France. Many of its villages were accessible only on foot, and when Monsignor de Llobet, alert and active, appeared among them the people's joy knew no bounds. The Bishop hastens, whenever he has a few days' leave, to return to Gap, where his absence is sorely felt. At the front he is deservedly popular; he is a fluent speaker, and those who have heard him address the soldiers realize that he possesses the rare gift of clothing sublime truths in simple words; without taking away anything of their sublimity, he makes them accessible to his audience.

At the Gold Coast another Bishop, Monsignor Mourey, is doing military service in his own diocese, and, quite lately, at the front, a soldier-priest, Monsignor de la Bonnnière de Beaumont, was informed in the trenches of his appointment as coadjutor of the Colonial Bishop of St. Denis de la Réunion, a post that he will only join when the end of the war makes him a free man.

Two other prelates, an Archbishop and a Bishop, are separated from the rest of France by a wall of fire, across which we sometimes gather news of their attitude in circumstances of exceptional gravity. The venerable Archbishop of Cambrai, Monsignor Chollet, and the Bishop of Lille, Monsignor Charost, have, we know, repeatedly stood between their unfortunate flock and their German masters. They have, alas, been powerless to prevent many evils, but they have never ceased to intercede, protest and remonstrate; the people know that their watchfulness and devotion are to be depended upon, and instinctively these oppressed and suffering citizens turn to them for support. We shall know more when the northern provinces are freed, but in the meantime we may rejoice that here, as elsewhere, the Church is worthily represented.

In a humbler sphere many French parish priests, like the Bishops, proved themselves the best friends of their people at the time of the enemy's advance towards Paris in the autumn of 1914.

At the little town of Nanteuil le Handrin, not far from Compiègne, the "curé," Abbé Hanson, went to meet the invaders; he explained, interpreted, expostulated to such good purpose that no houses were burnt and no atrocities were committed. His attitude, at once calm and fearless, won from the German colonel words of praise. "Monsieur le curé," said the officer, who, after having been fierce and threatening, had quieted down, "you are a brave man."

At Senlis, in the same district, the German troops arrived on September 2. They found the Mayor and the "curé" of the Cathedral both at their post. The former was summarily shot because the rear guard of the retreating French army attacked the first German soldiers who entered the city. The "curé" was informed that the Cathedral would be burnt because shots had been fired from the steeple upon the German troops. He knew that the report was false and he immediately sought the general in command. "I give you my word as a priest," he said, "that there is but one key that opens the door leading to the steeple; that key has never left my pocket. I am quite ready to prove that what I say is strictly true and will conduct you to the steeple if you choose to ascertain that my statement is correct." In the end the old priest's exertions were rewarded and the Cathedral he loves was saved.

At Achouvilliers, in the Somme, the "curé," who was over eighty, clung to the church that he had served for forty years. His parishioners had fled, but he found plenty to occupy him in ministering to the wants, spiritual and material, of the French soldiers who perpetually passed through the place; he encouraged the living, buried the dead and tried, with trembling hands, to repair the damage done to his church. At last stringent orders came from the French military authorities that Achouvilliers must be evacuated. The old priest had to submit, and as the motor car, placed at his disposal, was leaving Achouvilliers a German shell crashed upon the church and destroyed the steeple. At Guerbigny another parish priest remained alone to help, counsel and support a little group of people, the only ones left in the village.

At Vitry le Francois, whence the Government officials promptly fled, the "doyen," the Abbé Nottin, faced the invaders. He is a learned and popular priest, whose excellent attitude was of untold assistance to the terror-stricken people. At Péronne and at Roye, towns in "la Somme," that have now been taken possession of by the French troops, two abbés named Carou, uncle and nephew, distinguished themselves in the autumn of 1914 by their helpfulness and charity. The "doyen" of Mouzon, close to the frontier of Belgium, had more tragic experiences about the same time. He was seized by the Germans and made to walk at their head against the French, in hopes that the latter, seeing a priest, would not use their arms. The "doyen" was an ardent patriot, extremely charitable; he happily survived the ordeal.

The "curé" of Maing, the Abbé Delebecque, was less fortunate; he had been professor in an ecclesiastical college in the Diocese of Cambrai before being named "curé" of the village of Maing. Quite early in the war he was cycling back to his parish, after attending

a funeral Mass at Dunkerque for his father. He had consented to take charge of letters written by some French soldiers to their families who, living in the districts that were held by the enemy, had no news of their fighting men. The abbé was arrested, searched and the letters were found. Correspondence between the captive provinces and the rest of France being prohibited, he was tried and condemned to death. He was, however, permitted to spend the night in prayer in the Church of St. Nicolas at Valenciennes, and having received Holy Communion the next morning, was led on foot to the place of execution. He recited the prayers for the dying as he walked along in the chill morning twilight, attended by a German Catholic priest. On arriving he gave the officer in command a letter for his mother and repeated that he willingly offered his life for the salvation of France. A few minutes later he fell under the enemy's bullets, and was buried on the spot. The superior of the College of Notre Dame succeeded a little later, owing to the intervention of the German chaplain, in removing this good priest's body to bury it in consecrated ground.

In September, 1914, the Abbé Delebecque was the seventh priest shot by the enemy in the single Diocese of Cambrai. About the same time as the Abbé Delebecque was executed at Valenciennes, a Jesuit, Father Veron, who was acting as military chaplain, fell into the hands of the German army that was marching toward Paris, in September, 1914. He was made to follow the troops and had to carry the men's provisions. On the 7th of September he fell down from sheer exhaustion and, although kicked and beaten to make him rise, was unable to stir. A secular priest, who was also a prisoner, succeeded at last in removing him to a wayside cottage, where, at daybreak on the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, he died. His companion finally made his escape, and he reported how Father Veron, during his days of martyrdom, prayed incessantly and to the end remained patient, gentle and forgiving.

A civilian, M. Arnould, who has since returned to France, tells a somewhat similar tale. The story is a horrible one, but its truth is vouched for by many witnesses; its hero is an old man of seventy, the "curé" of Sompuis. When in September, 1914, the Germans invaded Champagne, they passed through Sompuis, near Chalons sur Marne, arrested the "curé" and his old servant and obliged them to walk as far as Sedan. Other inhabitants, who were prisoners like themselves, made up the party, but the latter state that the old priest was selected as a victim and intentionally maltreated by the soldiers and that their efforts to interfere on his behalf proved vain. The "curé" was made to walk with naked feet, was kicked, beaten, trampled under foot, flogged with a horsewhip

until he died on reaching Sedan of the injuries he had received on the way. His old servant was also brutally maltreated and is now in Switzerland, the inmate of a madhouse.

It would be unfair to generalize the hardships that many French priests underwent at the hands of the enemy during the first six months of the war; but there are numerous cases where the "curés" were, on account of their priesthood, treated with peculiar cruelty; this is a fact that is abundantly proved by trustworthy testimonies, that will one day be made public. The temper of the German soldiers depends largely on the attitude of their officers, whom they are taught to obey blindly. Their iron discipline is one of the great secrets of their power, but it often tends to obliterate the sense of right and wrong and to stifle the voice of conscience.

We must add in justice that the "atrocities" committed in France in the autumn of 1914 are less frequent in 1917, though the recent "deportations" of the inhabitants of the captive towns of Northern France prove that methods of terror still hold good among our adversaries. These deportations have, as our readers know, prompted the generous interference of Benedict XV.

All the priests of France are not militarized; those who remain at their ecclesiastical post are generally old men, among whom the "curés" of the devastated districts of the line of fire deserve a special mention.

In the "zone of the armies," as the regions nearest the firing line are called, are over twenty-three hundred churches partly or wholly damaged by the enemy's artillery, and in many cases a priest watches over the ruins and keeps up habits of prayer among the few people who with curious tenacity cling to what was their home.

A work has been founded for the object of assisting these ruined churches; it is encouraged by the French Bishops, and it numbers throughout the country thousands of active workers who have undertaken to supply the stricken homes of prayer with linen, vestments and church furniture. The priests who cling to these devastated districts occasionally write to the "œuvre," either to state their wants or to thank their benefactors for the assistance extended to them, and their letters, better than any description, convey an idea of the difficulties with which they are grappling. "It rains in my church like on the high road," says one. Another writes from the Vosges: "My roof is shattered, my sacristy emptied, all my church furniture, benches, altars, statues, baptismal font, are in bits, my stained windows are smashed to atoms." A third says more laconically: "I am in want of everything, for I have lost everything."

Other letters describe the delight of these priests who, camping among the ruins, receive all that is necessary to say Mass; one ex-

presses his gratitude and tells how his little choir boys and parishioners, after helping him to unpack the precious gifts, join in thanking the generous benefactors to whom they are due. The same words come back in almost all these letters: "Your generosity will permit me to reestablish religious worship in this poor place." The words are simple enough, but they convey to us the thought that dominates these faithful priests, whose efforts tend to keep alive the flame of prayer.

One of the most sorely tried was the "curé" of la Croix au Bac, in Flanders, whose handsome new church was burnt by the enemy on the night of October 15, 1914. The "curé" was able to save the Blessed Sacrament and a few vestments; all the rest perished. This devoted priest managed to build up a temporary refuge, where he says Mass for the present. Another Flemish village, Nieppe, has a parish priest whose tenacious courage is admirable. His church was destroyed by the shells last August; the following Sunday he said Mass in an open field; then he collected a few planks and built a shed, where he gathered his flock. In another temporary barrack he collected a quantity of French and Belgian little girls and persuaded some secularized nuns to take charge of these little ones. M. Henry Cochin writes of this brave priest: "He is calm, full of holy joy, he encourages every one and preaches confidence, victory, faith and prayer."

At Houplines, close to Armentieres, within reach of the German cannon, the two parish priests were killed. Nevertheless, Mass is still celebrated among the ruins of Houplines for the benefit of the civilians and soldiers who live in the half-destroyed town.

At St. Remy, in the heart of the forest of Charmes, in Lorraine, the "curé" raised an altar and put a few benches in a big cavern, half of which serves as a stable for the soldiers' horses.

In other villages of Lorraine where the church is destroyed the "curés" say Mass in their presbytery. Another parish priest writes from the village of Magnieres, in Lorraine, to M. Maurice Barres, the Academician and Deputy: "I took advantage of the good will shown by the Prefect when, after the invasion, he thanked me for having remained with my parishioners under the bombs. As soon as my wounds were healed I asked him to let me use the village school-room, which, in the absence of the schoolmaster, was of no use, and it is there that I have said Mass during the last year." Another parish priest at Loisy, close to Pont a Mousson, writes that his church has no choir left, but, nothing daunted, this energetic pastor has parted off from the ruins the portion of the church that remains and mended the windows. "I have so far had nothing to say," he

adds; "the soldiers worked for me for nothing; after the war I will pay for the planks."

The following letter also comes from Lorraine. The "curé" of Bernecourt, whose church was roofless, writes: "A commander, whose three sons have been killed and whose generous piety is fired by his sorrow, has enabled me to give my church a temporary roof."

The zeal and perseverance of these humble priests is indeed worthy of admiration. The Bishop of Chalons tells us the story of one whose attitude exemplifies the spirit that fills them all. A few days only after the battle of the Marne he visited a village where the church and most of the houses were destroyed. He found the "curé" busily employed in repairing the damage done to his church and house. The cannon was still active, but the good priest, around whom had gathered a few volunteers, was too much in earnest to mind, and his work absorbed all his thoughts. To give their people a spiritual home, however humble, to guard them against the evils that develop more rapidly in centres where the Sacramental Presence of Our Lord is absent, such is the stimulant that urges the priests whose parishes lie on the firing line to superhuman efforts.

But all the priests in France are not serving God in the army, on the frontier or in the provinces that are still held by the enemy; yet every one of them has a patriotic duty to perform, and upon each one weighs, more or less heavily, the weight of the war.

An excellent little tract, written by a learned priest belonging to the Diocese of Paris,* has clearly and forcibly drawn attention to the part played by members of the clergy whose functions lie in the towns that have escaped the trial of foreign invasion. If these priests were not, like many of their brethren, touched by the tragedies of the war, they were none the less called upon to use their influence to mitigate its evils. A German general at the beginning of the conflict condemned a frontier priest to be executed "because he was the soul of resistance in his parish," although it was proved that he never fired a shot. Hundreds of ecclesiastics throughout France deserve the same praise; they have been "the soul of resistance" by their unceasing endeavor to strengthen, elevate and brace the spirit of the nation to meet the hardships that are the consequence of the prolonged ordeal.

While the Bishops at the front faced the enemy and endeavored to protect their people, those of the less dangerous regions devoted themselves to assisting the widows, orphans and refugees of the war. Monsignor Gibier, at Versailles, and Monsignor Riviere, at Perigueny, founded works for their assistance. At Guimper, in a

* "Le clergé et les œuvres de guerre," par T. B. Eriau. Bloud et Gay; Paris, 1917.

poor district of Brittany, an association founded by the Bishop, Monsignor Gourand, was able at the end of six months to assist more than two hundred and fifty orphans. At Grenoble, Monsignor Maurin, who has since been made Archbishop of Lyons, employed hundreds of women who were thrown out of work by the war to make clothes for the soldiers and let them work in the large "salon" of his house. The Bishops have been no less kind and helpful towards the destitute refugees from the invaded "departements," who, since the month of August, 1914, have been living far from homes that the enemy has occupied.

The vicar general of Verdun, Monsignor Henry, is indefatigable in the mission he has assumed with regard to the refugees from Meurthe et Moselle; he visits them in the different towns where they have settled, collects money to assist them and keeps in touch with them by his helpful sympathy. At Limoges, the Bishop, Monsignor Guibbiets, is a native of Arras and was once professor at Lille, hence the particular sympathy with which he made the refugees from the Pas de Calais welcome. He received them, we are told, "as though they were his children," gave them help, found work for some and even created a weekly paper to serve as a link between these scattered people. The Catholics of Limoges, stimulated by their charitable and popular Bishop, have distinguished themselves by their active and generous kindness, not only towards the refugees, but also toward the soldiers at the front. Between October 15, 1914, and October 15, 1915, they sent to the front 20,529 pairs of socks, 4,000 tubes of iodine, besides large quantities of groceries, provisions and clothing. The Dioceses of Orleans and Versailles, at the suggestion of their Bishops, proved themselves equally generous.

It is fair also to notice with what free-handed patriotism the Bishops of France put their seminaries and colleges at the disposal of the Red Cross Societies for the use of the wounded. Some of these buildings were, of course, requisitioned, but in the Diocese of Orleans thirty-three out of one hundred and sixty buildings belonging to the Catholics were spontaneously offered by the Bishop. The great Diocese of Lyons put ninety buildings at the disposal of the wounded, making a sum total of 5,534 beds.

It is safe to state that throughout France the Bishops have taken the lead of all the associations and works started in favor of the refugees, widows and orphans of the war. In certain dioceses, at Versailles and Guimper, for instance, where the marked personality of the Bishops powerfully influences their flock, their action is perhaps more marked, but it exists everywhere in a more or less degree. The Bishops at the front had a more perilous task to fulfill when

they stood between their flock and the invading foe, but if the task of their brethren is less heroic, it needs a long and persevering effort that has its distinct value. After thirty months' war the money of the Catholics of France has been drained by many claims and the strain put upon their courage has been submitted to a severe test; if their generosity and their spirit have proved equal to the occasion, it is owing in great measure to their spiritual leaders' excellent attitude.

In another circumstance the French priests proved their patriotism, and some members of the Government, anti-clerical though it remains, publicly recognized their generous and efficient support.

To face the huge expenses caused by the war the French Government appealed to the people; it demanded, first, that they should subscribe to the war loan; second, that they should bring their gold and exchange it for paper money, to save the heavy loss that is the consequence of the payment in paper of the foodstuffs, munitions, etc., bought from the neutrals. The Government appeal was immediately backed up by Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, in the name of the Bishops of France. He explained for the enlightenment of the ignorant the use of the official appeal and added strong words of encouragement. "It is the duty of the Catholics," he said, "to bring their assistance to the country," and he begged them to respond as largely as they were able to the war loans started by the Government.

The French Bishops, following his lead, repeated the same injunctions in their pastoral letters, and the parish priests were advised to explain and comment their instructions to their flock.

When we remember that a few years ago the French Bishops were banished by the Government from their episcopal palaces, that were most unjustly confiscated at the same time as all ecclesiastical property throughout the country, we cannot but be satisfied with the indirect homage now paid to the clergy of France by their spoilers and persecutors. The assistance so generously extended by the priests to the campaign started by the Government in a patriotic spirit drew warm expressions of gratitude from M. Ribot, the Minister of Finances, who publicly recognized that the influence of the Bishops and priests had contributed to make the loan a success. Monsignor Marbeau, the Bishop of Meaux, who in tragic circumstances rendered signal service to his country, recommended the national loan and the bringing in of gold in terms that deserve to be quoted. He emphasizes the support given to the Government by the clergy, "on whom one can always rely to give an example of sacred union . . . and who strive by all means and at the cost of any sacrifice to secure the triumph of our dear France."

It is consoling to notice with what childlike confidence the people in many districts followed the lead of their priests. In spite of its *official* Godlessness, rural France generally believes in the disinterestedness and devotedness of its priests. In some places three-quarters of the gold handed over to the banks came through the clergy; the Bishop of Grenoble brought 150,000 francs in gold that had been given to him personally, and in the Diocese of Versailles the Bishop publicly announced that at the end of three months 800,000 francs of gold had been collected by his priests. In September, 1916, the single Diocese of Paris, through its parish priests and Catholic schools, had made over to the Bank of France over five million francs' worth of gold.

One case in point proves that even the skeptical and revolutionary Paris workman occasionally accepts the direction of his "curé" in matters patriotic. A most popular parish priest is the "curé" of St. Jean l'Evangeliste, at Montmartre; he is well known as a writer and keeps closely in touch with the artists, workmen and clerks that make up his big and hard-working parish. With his usual "verve" he touched on the question of the war, and his people, who are generally poor, promptly put more than 300,000 francs of gold into his hands to be taken to the bank and exchanged for paper money.

The Prefect of the Rhone, many directors of the Bank of France throughout the country and M. Ribot in the Chamber on November 9, 1916, rendered loyal testimony to the hearty manner in which the Bishops and priests of France had assisted the Government at a difficult crisis; they thus implicitly recognized the extent of the clergy's influence in spite of all that had been done to destroy it, and explicitly acknowledged that the said influence is exercised with the sole view of benefiting the country.

In another branch of the national service the clergy of France have from the beginning of the war efficiently served the country. There is no doubt that a strong feeling existed among the neutral, and even among some allied nations, against anti-clerical France and its Government, whose attitude in religious matters has often been singularly unpolitic as well as unjust.

To destroy these prejudices and to prove that France has different and better aspects than those that are most commonly attributed to her it was necessary to carry on an enlightened campaign among allied and neutral nations. Many associations and committees have been founded for the purpose; they are doing useful work and have enlisted warm sympathies in favor of France, but, writing on the "French clergy and the war," we here are dealing only with the associations that have a religious tendency and that are, more or

Jess, under ecclesiastical control. The committees conducted by laymen have won the interest of neutrals by advocating the generosity, self-sacrifice and heroism of fighting France; the committee of which we here speak draws the line between official France, that has many acts of persecution to account for, and the real soul of the nation, as it stands revealed by a tremendous ordeal. It is called the "Comité Catholique de Propagande" and is directed by the eminent rector of the Catholic University of Paris, Monsignor Baudrillart. Among its active members are Academicians, journalists, Deputies, lawyers, generals, all of whom are men of culture, high character and social importance. This committee, that has in its composition a happy blending of lay and ecclesiastical members, has published an important work in two volumes: "Catholicism and the German War." The book has been translated into six languages, and over 75,000 copies have been bought or given away. Besides these learned works, that are signed by well-known writers, the committee has edited a number of popular tracts that touch on the war. Four millions of these have been distributed in France and abroad, and even at a moderate estimate we may believe that they have been read by ten million readers, whose judgment may have been considerably modified in consequence.

Spoken words are often more convincing than books, although the influence of the latter is generally considered as more far reaching and durable, but a lecture suggests questions and invites explanations. Lecturers, selected by Monsignor Baudrillart's committee, have been sent to Switzerland, Italy, the United States and South America, where they have explained from the standpoint of truth and justice the origin and methods of the present war. Spain, where prejudices against France are strong and are generally combined with devotion to the Church, was visited by Monsignor Baudrillart in person. His historical studies that were pursued in Spain and his important work on Philip V., its first Bourbon sovereign, gave him a unique position among the more cultured Spaniards. His visit was a distinct success. He is a clear and forcible speaker; the consideration that he enjoys at home and abroad gave weight to his words, and his lectures in Madrid and in the provinces gained many friends to the cause of the Allies. He was able, from his personal experience, to tell them of the difference that exists between official France, sectarian and unbelieving, and the real soul of France, with its hereditary traditions of faith and generosity, that a supreme trial has fanned into flame.

The good work that is done by the committee, of which Monsignor Baudrillart is the moving spirit, is recognized by the Government's agents abroad, who consider that among the different com-

mittees of propaganda the one that he directs holds the foremost place. It is a costly work, and the mere fact that the clergy and Catholics of France have been able so far to face the heavy expenses that it entails proves once more their generous patriotism.

It is easier to measure the sacrifices that are demanded by a work of propaganda than to give an exact account of its immediate results. These are evidently satisfactory so far, but it requires considerable time to make a lasting impression on minds that have been colored by the tremendous propaganda carried on by Germany. A notable Spaniard writes to a member of the Catholic committee: "Your propaganda is doing immense good here at Tolosa;" another that its effects are "formidable;" a third that the booklets and tracts are read with increasing satisfaction. The same happy results are obtained in South America; a correspondent writes from Santiago that the ideas promoted by the Catholic committee are slowly but surely making their way. The same note is struck by friends in Chile, Argentina and Ecuador, where the Germans at the beginning of the war completely controlled public opinion.

Curiously enough, there is a close connection between a military success at home and an increase of popularity abroad; in this respect the resistance of Verdun and the German repulse at Paris and Douaumont were an efficacious argument, especially with certain neutrals. "The more well armed, brave and successful we seem the more inclined are the neutrals to believe that our cause is just," says the booklet I have already quoted. Moral arguments may influence cultured and thoughtful minds; success is, alas, a more powerful argument with the masses.

From the facts that we have quoted the friends of France may rest assured that in presence of an ordeal the magnitude of which it is difficult to exaggerate, her clergy has proved itself worthy of its calling.

The Bishops and priests on the line of fire, the clergy of the districts held by the enemy, those who in the centre west and south are safe from invasion, have, according to the duty that lay before them, worked heart and soul for God and their neighbor. The tasks that they assumed varied according to the necessities that surrounded them, but all demanded self-sacrifice and perseverance; the humblest task in these days of difficulty and tension required an effort that in times of peace is unknown.

That the war presses heavily upon the French clergy is undeniable. The empty places of the ecclesiastics at the front have to be filled somehow; old priests retired from active work and religious of different orders have come to the assistance of the harassed and over-wrought parish priests, who can no longer carry on the many

works that depend upon them, but in spite of the self-devotion of these volunteers much is left undone, and it cannot be otherwise.

In the country one priest now serves several parishes; his strength is often severely tried by the exertion, and necessarily the spiritual interests of his flock somewhat suffer. In certain places the overworked "curé," whose time is divided between villages that sometimes lie far apart, is efficiently assisted by a parishioner. We know a parish district near Paris where the lady of the manor read the prayers, taught the children their catechism not only in her own parish church, but in other churches that were left without a pastor. In the plains of "la Beauce," under the shadow of Chartres' glorious Cathedral, several villages are served by an old priest. In one of these centres, where he says Mass every Sunday, but cannot return in the day, a peasant woman assembles the people in the evening, recites the rosary and leads the singing. By her faithful devotion to this apostolic task she keeps alive the flame of faith and preserves among the villagers habits of prayer. It was my good fortune to be present at one of these services on a certain Pentecost Sunday; in a close-fitting Beauce "coiffe," this good Christian reassembled the prayerful women that the old Flemish painters loved to take as their models; around her were grouped the old men, women and children that are now the only inhabitants of the villages of France.

Cases like this one are not rare, but however deep and devoted is the zeal that endeavors to supply the place of the missing priest, his absence entails much suffering and many evils.

When the war is ended other difficulties will arise; the deaths of the soldier priests on the field of battle have left blanks that it will take years to fill. Here, as in all the painful problems suggested by the war, we must turn to the great truths that, like eternal stand posts and beacons, loom through the darkness that surrounds us; we must believe that good may come out of evil and God's beneficial purposes be worked out through pain, loss and even through apparent failure.

The Catholics of America, bound to France by the ties of brotherhood that link the sons of a common mother, will surely rejoice to know that, encompassed by many difficulties, the French priests have lived up to their ideal and have powerfully contributed to elevate, sustain and encourage their much-tried countrymen under an ordeal that is not yet at an end.

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THE QUADRICENTENARY OF THE SO-CALLED REFORMATION AND THE DAWN OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

THE Lutheran denomination in the United States is celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the nailing to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg of the ninety-five theses by Martin Luther on October 31, 1517, which marked the beginning of the so-called Reformation.

If Martin Luther is to be accorded the poor distinction of being the parent of Protestantism, his children know not what he wrought. For they are celebrating the birth of a schism some four hundred years old, which is but a short space of time in God's reckoning and in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church.

Europe, still in the throes of war and largely embittered against the land of Luther, seems to be turning a deaf ear to the jubilee event. There are too many stepsons of the schism crying aloud that Christianity has failed, and to what extent it has fallen short of its progressive mission among civilized peoples we must point to the undying work of heresy of the apostate monk of Germany.

Those lofty souls who are occupied with the thought of reëstablishing in the Christian world the peace and good will of the angels who heralded the birth of the real founder of the Christian religion are not occupied with Luther's tenets of revolt. Some may even recall the wars that followed in the wake of Luther's work of revolution. The world has not heard of any special effort put forth by the Lutheran Church for the bringing about of peace. The world has, however, turned its eyes to the Holy See and the Father of Christendom, Benedict XV., because from him proceeded the clarion call which the world, it is hoped, will at last heed.

Prior to the present European war a would-be prophet of the pulpit in Germany thought he foresaw the complete conversion of the world to Protestantism, presumably to be brought about by the conquest of the German arms. What Catholic Germany might think of such a possible outcome of the war and the millions of Catholics in other war-ridden lands never perturbed the mind of this Salesian pastor. One would think that by this time the lesson had been thoroughly learned that the Catholic religion is here to stay and for all times.

Speaking from his pulpit on July 26, 1914, four days before the war, this preacher referred to thus addressed the members of his congregation: "War or peace? We will know it to-morrow. But what we know to-day already is this, that this war will be the final

spiritual struggle of German Protestantism against Slavic and Roman Catholicism. Luther and his people will triumph." It has also been stated that a preacher of the Prussian Court, Wilhelm Hoffman, has foretold the conquest of the whole of Europe, Turkey included, by the gospel of Luther. It has been pointed out by the historian Goyau that it is proposed that the same German-Lutheran god, proclaimed in 1871, be again raised upon his Teutonic throne, notwithstanding, of course, the sharp protests by the French and Anglo-Saxon Protestants. And with Goyau we ask, "Where is the voice of the Catholic Centre?" But we cannot believe that the spirit of Windthorst is dead, and the voice of religious freedom will be heard in due time raised in protest against anything like Protestant intolerance. There are too many signs that the day of such intolerance is passing rapidly away. Failure is branded on the brow of Protestantism, which is fast drifting towards religious Nihilism. A better understanding of Roman Catholicism, its power and prestige and influence, is more apt to result after the inauguration of a new era of peace among the nations, the complexion of which will be changed religiously as well as politically.

Let us now come to consider the Reformation, so-called—what Luther was and what he taught and what we may expect in the way of a renascent religious unity.

It is not difficult to concede that revolution and reformation are not synonymous terms; wherefore, the movement of the sixteenth century led by Martin Luther and commonly referred to as the Reformation was nothing short of a revolt against the Mother Church, established and founded by Christ Himself.

To reform does not mean to revolt. To reform by revolting is to break away from that which stands in need of reform and establishing in its stead a new order of things in an entirely new institution. This may be done to advantage in civil and political life, for as constituted authority in a governing body or governing head in any form of government gets its sanction from the consent of the people, so that people may form a new constituted authority by virtue of majority rule and by their own consent. But to revolt against divine authority or to overthrow a Church's government that was founded by Christ was to establish a new organization without the sanction of the Divine Head through His vicar on earth, which is anathema. Hence, too, the schismatic condition of the Protestant Church.

The peculiar position in which the Protestant Church finds itself, viz., a division into sects of various and often contradictory tenets, cannot help result in unrest and that natural desire for unity, to get back to what the Church once was and was meant to be by

Christ, who promised her oneness and indivisibility. His promise will be kept, and the Mother Church has remained despite the Reformation. The unity our separated Christian brethren are craving for will never be realized until the truth is driven home that they must go back to the true fold of Christ, from which they have strayed so long and so unwisely. When that day dawns they will raise statues to such true reformers as Loyola and Borromeo and turn Luther's face to the wall for the fanatical, mystical dreamer that he was.

To know Luther, what he was and what he wrought is to know his pernicious legacy to mankind, that is to say, that portion of mankind which has come directly or indirectly under his influence. There is a vast portion of the Christian world which not only deplores the doctrines of the monk of Wittenberg, but rejects his legacy of revolt against the religion of their fathers and only shares it in the sense that it must live surrounded by its erroneous influence and keep from stagnating in its atmosphere. It is a legacy which leaves the inconvenience of rejecting the participation in the supposed advantages it would offer and positive refusal to accept it as a legacy at all. The Catholic mind is consistent in holding aloof from accepting what it tenders, because it realizes that it is on the other side of a schism some four hundred years old and is in a position to trace erroneous philosophy and theology to its source—the apostate doctrines of Martin Luther.

An old German proverb tells us that an apple falls not far from its stem. The fact that Luther was born of a stern and harsh father and mother, who once beat him for some trivial offense until the blood came, cannot be overlooked in gauging the character of Luther, which was not moulded in early youth under the most favorable conditions and influences. It is not surprising, then, to learn that—as a novice—Luther was beset with feelings of despair regarding his salvation and tortured his soul day and night with the thought that his sins had not been forgiven. He was urged to hope; but this hope he translated into faith, and so the idea of justification by faith alone took possession of him. That man's justification was also due to good works did not impress him. Yet the Scriptures, by which Luther so exclusively stood, but dared to change to suit his doctrines, make it plain that the soul shall be finally judged by whether we have fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked and so on; in a word, by our good deeds of charity and brotherly love during our pilgrimage upon earth.

Without a real religious vocation and proper piety and virtue, Luther was never true to the spirit and ideal of the Church. He despaired of himself and feared God rather than loved Him. He

was too easily scandalized, and with his scholastic training he failed to make that distinction which would have saved a learned and able man to the Church, namely, that in its doctrines and ideals the Church was true and that to break away from her was heretical, but to reform her abuses from within was consistent and logical.

Intellectually stubborn, he acknowledged his own violence of character and often said: "I keep three savage dogs, Ingratitude, Pride and Envy; he whom they bite is well bitten." He defiantly determined to use his reasoning powers to excuse his actions and his erroneous opinions, and so interpreted the Scriptures to mean what he would have them mean and gave a new interpretation to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Moreover, in following out his lines of reform, so-called, Luther was influenced by concupiscence, which is too sadly evident from the story of his life. Once he decided to disregard his priestly vows, he chafed under the restraint of celibacy. His spiritual pride was his real misfortune and his succumbing to his own concupiscence weakened his will. His "subsequent breach of his vows and his marriage with a former nun was a sacrilege, which to Catholic eyes showed plainly how he who begins in the spirit of pride, even though his purposes be good, may end in the flesh."

A study of Luther's "Table Talk" reveals the fact that he was unblushingly lewd in his conversation. He speaks freely of such things as St. Paul has admonished should not be mentioned among Christians. His attitude in this respect was consistent with his doctrine that man could not do otherwise than sin, as he exhorts "to sin boldly and to believe more boldly." Thus he gave free reign to man to do as he pleases and renders vain Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The evident contradiction of such an abhorrent doctrine lies in his exhortation to believe and yet to act contrary to what that belief naturally inspires one to practice to assure one's salvation. The saying, which is rightly or wrongly attributed to Luther, "To be a Lutheran is to live well; but to be a Catholic is to die well," is in accordance with his doctrines. Protestants, as well as Catholics, are shocked by Luther's filth, and as for his doctrines, Lutheranism itself is a poor follower of his uninspiring and contradictory tenets.

Luther often spoke of the devil following him about. His tortured imagination and his upbraiding conscience were probably what he mistook for a visitation from the evil one. In fine, there is nothing about Luther's career as a reformer to inspire those who know what it means to turn apostate. The picture is a gloomy one at best and must fill any one with misgivings as to the sincerity of the man's mission. In all Protestantism no one has ever dared to think of Luther as a saint. Christ, the founder of the Christian

religion, was holy; Luther, the would-be reformer of that religion, was unclean. The choice is not difficult to make.

Luther's adoption of the rôle of reformer was unfortunate, for he was not the man for the task. The much felt need of reform in the Church of which he was a member and a priest became with him a matter of sentiment, particularly after his visit to Rome, where he was scandalized by the lasciviousness and luxury of a certain element among the clergy. He rashly decided that the whole fabric must be defective because of the defection of some unfaithful keepers of a trust, as if the Church could not survive even this. Between the scandalous lives led by certain monks and prelates and the stability of the Church's doctrines and its claim on Christ as its founder, notwithstanding such corruption within its fold, Luther could not draw the line of demarcation. He looked for all wheat and no chaff in an institution which, though divinely founded, yet was human in its government and so subject to the weakness of the flesh that humanity is heir to. He utterly overlooked the wheat in the shape of those who had not sinned in the manner that shocked him. And because of the chaff he found his cause sufficient for revolt against the Mother Church that had nurtured strong, holy sons and true, as well as those who refused to appreciate her tender care and guidance.

Luther himself was not strong enough to rise above the corruption of his time, but fell a prey to the influence of the Humanistic views of the Italian naturalism; he imbibed the spirit of free-thinking. The Humanists of the Renaissance, "who saw in the revival of classical paganism," as Father Grisar has put it, "the salvation of mankind," had their attraction for Luther, and he became imbued with the liberalism of the age and the new idealism and spirit of independence which was manifested about him. And so the true souls within the Church who longed for a real reformer, a man who would lead men back to a strict observance of the tenets of Holy Church, were not destined to find such a one in Martin Luther; for his was essentially not a spirit of reform, but one of revolt.

Luther's falling away from the Church was at first marked by his neglect of his religious duties, even of the duty of saying Mass, for which he had a repugnance. He frankly admitted that inward contrition for sin was something foreign, almost unknown to him. He believed in a contrition based upon love of God, but not upon fear, which the Church recognizes as salutary also, as it leads to the more perfect form of contrition. But he does lay stress on his teaching that concupiscence still exists in man and draws him toward sin, or, rather, of itself makes him a real sinner, so that no actual

turning away from sin can take place in the heart. The fact remains that the man who repents from a motive of love of God can will to persist in the state of grace because of his love of God and his positive aversion for sin, because it offends God and is an expression of hatred of God or at least a disregard of God and His commandments.

There is seen in Luther not a sudden revolt and apostasy, but a gradual undermining of the beliefs which he at first strenuously defended. "He at first regarded man as capable of resisting his evil passions; at any rate with assistance from above." "He is mistaken," says Grisar, commenting on Luther's later attitude, "not only in his common statement that man's evil inclination, even though involuntary, is sinful in God's sight, that it is in fact original sin, and that it would carry man to damnation were God not to impute to him Christ's righteousness; he also errs by unduly magnifying the power of concupiscence, as though the practice of virtue, prayer and the reception of the sacraments did not weaken it much more than he is willing to admit."

The real starting point of his erroneous teaching, according to the same source, "was his unfavorable estimate of good works and of any effort, natural or supernatural, on the part of man. He made his own the deadly error that man by his natural powers is unable to do anything but sin. To this he added that the man who by God's grace is raised to justification through divinely infused faith and trust must, it is true, perform good works, but that the latter are not to be accounted meritorious. All works avail nothing as means for arriving at righteousness and eternal salvation; faith alone effects both."

"To place our hope in anything but God, even in the merit of our good works, is to have false idols before God." This, then, is Luther's first challenge against the dogma of the Church. God regenerates us while we remain passive. And so he fell into a vague, obscure mysticism which paved the way to heresy.

A close examination of Luther's theological training reveals the fact that "he never esteemed or made any attempt to penetrate himself with the learning of Albertus Magnus, Thomas of Aquin or Bonaventure, notwithstanding the fact that in the Church their teaching, particularly that of Aquinas, already took the first place, owing to the approval of the Holy See." Thus Grisar. Scholasticism had fallen into decay, it is true, but by his neglect of the better schools Luther shut out from his mind "the elements of knowledge of true and lasting value—of which tradition embodied the work of centuries of intellectual effort on the part of some of the world's greatest minds." Rather than be guided by reason.

accordingly, he was led by his feelings and experiences to misinterpret the true doctrine of the Church. Aristotle, as Christianized by Aquinas, he decried; for Aristotle, he thought, laid too much stress upon the importance and merit of human effort and human works. Under the guise of such expressions he attacked the dogma and the laws of the Church.

Since Luther's time Germany, and largely through Germany—Protestant Germany, the Germany that Luther helped to make—the world at large has had to suffer the consequences of liberalism and erroneous philosophy, the poison of which France and other nations have begun to admit. Is it the beginning of the end? Will man at last come to realize that in trying to go further than Aquinas they have not gone as far? That in trying to improve upon the religion of their forefathers, who antedated Luther's pragmatism, they have corrupted the Church of Jesus Christ? And those who have not broken faith with the Mother Church, but who come under the influence of Luther's legacy, must have common sense enough to realize why Leo XIII., condemning the inroads of Higher Criticism, cautioned the churchmen to go back to St. Thomas. The legend to the effect that Our Lord appeared to the Angelic Doctor and told him he had spoken well of Him comes home to us even in this twentieth century of warring creeds and nations, in that St. Thomas has indeed spoken well of Christ, and who shall arise to speak better?

"For all acts necessary for salvation," Father Grisar points out, "true Scholasticism demanded the supernatural 'preventing' grace of God." But Luther followed Biel, who held that man is able without grace to avoid all mortal sin, keep all the commandments and love God above all things, a doctrine which the Thomists and even the Nominalists declared against. It was the true theology of the Middle Ages also and it is good Catholic doctrine to-day that a man must be inwardly justified by God before his good works can be of value for the obtaining of eternal glory.

Father Grisar further points out that from his disparagement of the merit of good works Luther passed to an admiration of self-abasement, apathy and abnegation of self. He exhorts a trustful despair of oneself and one's works. It is scarcely an exaggeration, then, to formulate this new doctrine of Luther's to mean that we are by nature sinners and must go on sinning, and since we cannot be otherwise than sinners or add to our righteousness by good works, we should be content to hope in our regeneration through Christ. A man who assumes this attitude is in much the same condition as the lukewarm Catholic who falls back into sin over and over again without succeeding in bettering himself morally,

despite the repeated confession of his faults in the tribunal of penance, as if, according to Luther, we cannot keep God's commandments. This doctrine of Luther's does away with free will in the choice of good which can please God. He expounded the terrible thesis that free will in general is dead; that when we are virtuous we sin, because we are then guilty of sinful love of self. He teaches absolute predestination to hell, and resignation to hell as the highest act of virtue. He thus became the expounder of a pessimism which was at utter variance with the theology of the Church, and he paved the way to his absolute reform of that theology which he deemed necessary.

Luther preferred to see the powers of the will depreciated and everything placed to the account of grace and divine election. Man is no mechanical toy without a free will. And the truth neither lies in regarding ourselves able to achieve victory over sin by sheer force of our will unaided by Divine Grace; nor does it lie in ourselves being passive and being moulded by grace from above without any effort on our part. To hold either of the two formulated opinions set forth is to give assent to a half truth. The truth of the matter lies in the fact that by the efforts of our own will in the direction of moral good with the help of God's grace we are to avoid sin and save our souls.

Another evidence of Luther's contradiction and inconsistency lies in his condemnation of the want in the divinity studies of his time to make use of the Holy Scriptures and the traditions of the Fathers of the Church to the extent that in its condemnation he made his battle-cry: "Scripture only, and nothing but the Scripture; away with all Scholasticism." The result was that he gave his followers the right to interpret the Scriptures to mean what they pleased, which is inconsistent with the oneness of Divine Truth and which took away from the infallibility of the teaching head of the Church the right to interpret disputed doctrine, as was and is inconsistent with the Divine intention. He rails against scholasticism—he who never knew the best of it—and yet takes sides with Occam, a schoolman whose scholasticism was of the weakest sort and whose theology was most meagre.

Next we come to a consideration of Luther's gloomy views regarding God and predestination. His were the mystical views of Quietism, namely, to be passive and resigned if one is predestined to hell. He overlooked God's goodness and inexhaustible mercy and that He wills not the death of the sinner, but that he be saved.

If a given individual were to decide that he is predestined to be saved and that, therefore, he need not concern himself about his moral conduct, and even if he dared to presume upon God's mercy by leading

a sinful life, he would be regarded as a foolhardy person. For he could feel certain that because of his evil life he was rather predestined to damnation. Accordingly, he would find more comfort, in leading as nearly as possible a blameless life, since he might thereby be consoled with the thought that on the face of the evidence in his favor he was saving his soul. The supposition either way that he is either to be saved or damned because so predestined by God and that, no matter what he does, his fate is already determined by God's knowledge of what his end is to be, is manifestly absurd. One knows that one must some day surely die. But the knowledge of the fact that one must die is not the cause of one's death.

Luther did not distinguish between temptation and actual sin, and denied that the will is free to decide to give into temptation and consent to sin or resist the temptation and not sin. He further held that it depends on the will of God whether a thing is good or bad. Scholasticism regarded virtue and vice as something real, as qualities of the soul which adhere to it inwardly and inform it; so that evil deeds and vices render a man evil and virtues render him good. By his theory of imputation, denying that vices and virtues exist in the soul, he paved a way for the doctrine of the transformation or transvaluation of all values, which forms the basis of much erroneous modern philosophy, notably, that of Nietzsche.

We now come to consider Luther's attack upon indulgences. "The indulgence preachers," he says, "must be withstood, because they are overturning the whole system of penance; not only do they set up penitential works and satisfaction as the principal thing, but they extol them, solely with a view to inducing the faithful to secure the remission of satisfaction by their rich offerings in return for indulgences. Therefore, he has been obliged, though unwillingly, to emerge from his retirement in order to defend the doctrine that it is better to make real satisfaction than merely to have it remitted by securing an indulgence."

True it is that the pandering of indulgences by unscrupulous preachers was an abuse that needed correction; yet the doctrine of indulgences was not therefore erroneous or invalidated, nor did the Church sanction the sale of indulgences. It must be remembered that Luther was not alone in his condemnation of the abuses in the manner of dispensing and preaching indulgences. Bishops had pointed them out and statesmen had protested against them. Tetzel did not altogether avoid the abuses, and later the Papal Legate, pointed them out and statesmen had protested against them. Tetzel Miltitz, sharply rebuked him for his indiscretions. Here was Luther's opportunity to align himself on the side of those who would have corrected the abuse for which the Church was not responsible. But

He preferred to attack the Church and the very doctrine of indulgences in his startling theses. He obstinately refused to retract his teachings, which his condemnation of indulgences offered an excuse to expound and which were condemned as heretical. He could not humbly get on common ground with others who desired to really reform the abuse growing out of a beautiful and wholesome doctrine. He preferred to defend his opinion against all odds and so threw over the entire doctrine concerning indulgences, as if the abuse of a salutary institution sanctioned by God's Church and lawgivers rendered it worthy of wholesale condemnation. He, therefore, laid himself open to the charge that he was ready to revolt against the Church on the point of indulgences as a subterfuge for so doing, and his intentions to reform sank into the background, never to be revived or bear good fruit as far as he was concerned.

Luther's attitude regarding the binding force of the Church's teaching and the infallibility of her visible head, the Pope, remained unchanged for some time after he had assailed some of her principal beliefs, and he even insisted upon submission to that authority as incumbent on all who desired to be true Christians. He announces, "We have an authority which has been implanted in the Church, and the Roman Church has this authority in her hands." It was only after the Leipzig disputation, as Father Grisar points out, that he denied the doctrinal authority of general councils and so he became logical and consistent in his revolt, inasmuch as to assail any one belief of the Church's teaching is to undermine the entire doctrinal edifice. With him ecclesiastical authority gave way to private judgment. What the baneful influence of private judgment has been in matters of religious belief is only too well known. Witness the result in the many conflicting doctrines of Christianity, the many forms of Protestantism in its many denominations. Now and then the statement is made that Christian doctrine is essentially one. Is this the case? The supposed truth of this assertion is not borne out by the facts. For it is in the divergency of views regarding the essential doctrines that the erroneous and schismatic position of Protestantism lies. Christ's truth cannot now be this and now that. Christ could not contradict Himself, since He is Divine Truth Himself. Nor could this have been the intention of Christ. Accordingly in founding His Church as a teaching body of His truth, He had to, in the very nature of things and to be consistent, ordain that what was bound on earth should be bound in heaven and what was loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven. And so He commissioned Peter to feed His sheep and His lambs, and giving him the keys of heaven, promised that the gates of hell, the gates of error, should not prevail against His Church. To assail the doctrines of the Church is to assail the nature

and the divinity of Christ Himself, and to contradict Christ is to undermine the foundation and the essentials of Christianity—it is to attempt to undermine the rock itself upon which the Church is founded.

Luther himself said: "The Church cannot err in proclaiming the faith; only the individual within her is liable to error. But let him beware of differing from the Church; for the Church's leaders are the walls of the Church and our fathers; they are the eye of the body, and in them we must seek the light." And this must ever remain true, despite the fact that the Popes themselves may have been bad. For Christ has promised they shall not err in their teaching, and no Pope speaking *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and morals has ever been known to sanction corruption in certain members of the Church or to have promulgated false doctrines.

Christ's gospel is the gospel of truth. When Christ spoke, He meant us to know what He meant. In establishing His Church He meant that organization, as His teaching and soul-saving institution, should properly interpret His gospel and preach it to all the world. This divinely established teaching force is the Catholic Church. She is the Mother Church and she alone claims the infallibility of her teaching head, Peter's successor and Christ's vicar on earth. No other Church has so bound its members and given the assurance that what it binds is also bound in heaven. Nor did the Mother Church cease to be the real Church of God because of certain abuses within or because of Luther's defection. Our vaunted love of "fair play" does not permit us to condemn any institution out and out because of the defection or imperfections or even crimes of some of its members. The institution may be as solid as a rock, if built on firm and sound principles, and it will continue to flourish because of its good members and because of its improvement by getting rid of its bad members. It is exactly so with the divine institution, the Church of Christ. Luther saw the weak members, was shocked by them, forgot the good members, thought himself superior to the institution itself and after beginning aright by really trying to reform it, he ended by daring to break away from it and establish a new church. In so doing, he did not, however, overthrow the old Church, nor did he have Christ's consent to change what He decreed.

The average Protestant mind remains largely an unenlightened mind regarding the true teachings and beliefs of the Catholic Church. The attitude of its clergy is one of ridicule and condemnation, in many instances, towards the Mother Church, and this, of course, does not help towards an understanding of what Catholics practice and believe. Sacred theology as the Catholic clergy know it is to them a closed book. Christ's gospel to them is such as a child might

understand, and every argument "about it and about" only results in their estimation in rendering obscure what Christ never meant to be obscure. But according to the varying and oftentimes contradictory interpretations of the gospel truths, it would seem that the Protestant clergy have been getting on famously by their adherence to the principle of private interpretation and each man his own Holy Spirit. That is why Protestantism is broken up into so many sects, and so these last things of the schism are worse than the first. The inconsistency of the Protestant position with regard to the revelation of Divine Truth itself has time and again become apparent. Hence the Oxford movement and Newman and many notable conversions since that time.

Regarding sin and salvation, this is exactly the condition of Protestantism to-day. If sin is condemned, its condemnation is not followed by any exhortation to confession of sin and penance. Faith alone in Christ and that He will save the sinner is appealed to and with the arousing of religious feeling and the attendance at service, the matter of sin is considered a closed incident and the sinner feels satisfied that he is regenerated. It is his faith alone that has made him whole, but he does not show himself to the priest nor does he care to consider Christ's mission to His representatives: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, Whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained."

Ever charging Catholics with ignorance of the Bible, the Protestants themselves have not learned to respect the whole truth; and if they knew more about the Mother Church and its teachings, they would more readily be able to answer their own prejudices and calumnies and come to realize at last that they only enjoy a smattering of what their forefathers possessed.

Our separated brethren argue that in doing away with ceremonial and turning iconoclasts, they approached a simplicity of worship, the very spiritual simplicity of the primitive Church. They seem to forget that as the Church waxed strong and more beautiful, she grew richer in her ceremonies and her divine service by right of His promise that what was bound on earth should also be bound in heaven. In the attempt of the iconoclasts to get nearer the spirit of Christ, as they considered it, and away from the letter, we know to what fanatical extremes they were driven. But men still honor their great dead with portrait and statue; you must not so honor the saints of God, as if in truth we were no longer in the body, but out of the body. In fact, the emptiness and undignified impressions of a lack of ceremonial in Protestant worship is not inspiring and does not make the appeal to the intellect through the human senses as does the impressive service of the Catholic Church. So much depends

with them upon the preacher, whether he is clever or not as a speaker. And woe to him and his charge if he is a poor preacher. It will take a revival meeting conducted by a cavorting evangelist to weave the spell about them.

If the Church of Christ as an organization has a tangible human side, it must have—to be effective wholly—a human appeal. But it can only have this human appeal through its edifying ceremonials and ritual, which are part and parcel of its sacrifice and its sacraments and its sacramentals—all institutions by Christ Himself, since He ordained its ministers to teach and bind by its teachings what was consistently then to be bound in heaven. And since the means of grace are to be applied to souls by human agencies, namely, by the priests of the Church, they are of necessity surrounded by ceremonial.

The worst canard that has been put forth by our separated brethren of the Protestant persuasion is that the Reformation was as significant in the history of the world's progress as was the French revolution, since it was the beginning of religious freedom, even as the political upheaval in France marked the birth of democracy in autocratic Europe.

Prior to Luther's day men were free to be Catholics, heretics or atheists, as they chose. A time there was, it is regrettable, but the Catholic Church has no apologies to make to Lutheranism concerning it, for Lutheranism did not exist when there was an inquisition. Men were ardent followers of the faith in those days and he who was a heretic was sometimes burned at the stake. Men, however, had different ideas then about defending their religious beliefs against would-be revolters against the true Church of Christ. Had Luther lived in a certain century of the Church's strength, he might have fared badly. But men have become gentler in their dealings with antagonists of truth, but we owe no thanks therefore to the religious liberty inaugurated supposedly by Luther. For, in the days of Elizabeth, the stake was also employed against Catholics. And had not Luther made it possible for Henry VIII. to divorce and remarry, Queen Bess might not have been inspired to burn heretics who were not heretics.

If, then, Luther and his doctrines of revolt against the Mother Church are supposed to have given religious liberty to the world, it must have begun much later than when his revolt proved in very truth to be a revolt by causing the horrible uprisings and bloody wars that followed in the wake of his preachings.

Again, the birth of religious tolerance is in no way bound up with Luther's institution of his own Church, but sprang into being with other good reforms that mark the gradual progress of the

human race. If at any time prior to the colonization of America there was Catholic religious intolerance in Europe, there was also that Protestant intolerance which found its way to the shores of the new world and made the exponents of tolerance the most intolerant. It was the Ark and the Dove that bore the proper spirit of religious freedom to the country that Columbus, the Catholic, discovered.

And yet to this very day in this land of liberty the reptile of prejudice still shows its fangs and Catholics are regarded with suspicion. But steps have been taken to correct these prejudices and properly educate by word and example those who are ashamed to longer impugn our patriotism and our beliefs.

The Protestant takes the stand that a Catholic must be the opponent of liberty because he professes a religion "so confined on all sides." The charge is hurled against us still that we are priest-ridden and believe what we are told to believe, without any question or personal investigation of the truth. This seems to be the main source of suspicion directed by Protestants against Catholics and Catholicism.

No man would enjoy such little freedom as the man without a country. He would be gladly confined by being attached to some organization and directed by some laws. We who are bound to the Mother Church consider ourselves the children of light and we bask in the sunshine of a religion that frees our souls from the bondage of sin as no other religious institution can. We could desire no better freedom. We accept without question the doctrine of Christ that makes for our salvation, the true Christian freedom from the powers of darkness, and we do not profess to understand more than the Church He established to teach us fully and clearly how we may attain that freedom. Nor, finally, do we distort His teachings and make ourselves slaves to different errors regarding those teachings, by attempting to be our own interpreters of what Christ meant when He spoke, despite the fact that He once for all, as was consistent with His divine wisdom, established His Church to teach all nations and to bind and loose on earth what He would thereupon bind and loose in heaven.

It has been pointed out that "Dogmatic controversies have at all times served to place the Church's teachings in a stronger and a clearer light. Moreover, the errors and fury of Protestantism had contributed powerfully to the suppression of certain abuses which had grown up in the Church in times of struggle and through the fostering connivance of temporal princes. Abuses were abolished, modified or replaced by something new, so that a real reformation took place in the Church."

When Luther threw down the gauntlet to the Church, he did not realize that it would be taken up with such zeal by such saints of God as Loyola, Charles Borromeo, Pius V., Philip de Neri, Vincent de Paul, Teresa of Jesus, Francis de Sales and others. And since their day the Catholic Church has been growing stronger and more beautiful and is still giving its saints to God. And to-day while the children of the schism known as Protestantism are celebrating the birth of the Lutheran heresy, the dawn of Christian unity is breaking and the Good Shepherd's promise that there shall be one shepherd and one fold is drawing nearer to its realization.

In the midst of this world-war we are in the throes of a great birth. The death-knell of autocracy is being sounded and the glad tidings of a new era of peace are proclaimed to the peoples of the earth. And with the establishment of that peace we hope religious intolerance and prejudice shall give way to a demand for more authoritative teachings in matters of faith and morals. It will be found only in the bosom of Christ's sacred spouse, the Holy Mother Church of Rome.

Like a bolt of promise out of a clearing sky of controversy came the announcement from Rome recently that Pope Benedict is about to appoint a commission to renew a movement, begun so auspiciously by Pope Leo XIII., looking to a reunion of Christianity and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Anglican and Russian Churches. Considering the close proximity of these Churches to the Roman Catholic Church, this is the initial important step in the direction of the unification of all Christian Churches to which the Christian world has been looking for some time past and which some day must be realized.

Rev. Dr. Aurelio Palmieri, of the Library of Congress, a recognized writer on ecclesiastical subjects, has stated that the new movement will be directed particularly toward the establishment of a reunion of the Russian Church and the Papacy and to a thorough reëxamination into the theology of the validity of Anglican or Episcopal ordinations, which was settled dogmatically in the negative in a Papal bull by Leo XIII. The further establishment of the invalidity of Anglican orders by the commission would bring home to those who wish that it might be shown that these orders are valid, the necessity of aligning themselves on the side of that Church whose ordinations are valid.

In a recent interview Dr. Palmieri pointed out that "The interest of the Vatican in the problem of Christian unity has been aroused by the recent progress of the world conference, the well-known initiative movement of the American Episcopal Church. The movement towards Christian unity started by the world conference ex-

cited interest and sympathies in Rome, and Cardinal Gasparri, in the name of the Pope, wrote to the secretary of the world conference, Robert H. Gardiner, several letters, which seem to reproduce the style and the feelings of Leo XIII. But that correspondence would not have had any tangible results if the conference had not met with a great success in Russia. The official organ of the Holy Synod has praised the initiative of the world conference and exhorted the Russian hierarchy to give their coöperation to it." Professor W. Ekzempliarski, editor of "The Christian Thought in Russia," in a letter to Dr. Palmieri said: "It is with a feeling of joy that Russians see their American brothers take in hand the initiative of Christian unity with energy and assiduity."

"Of course Rome cannot see with indifference the growing friendship between Americanism and orthodoxy," Dr. Palmieri declared, "and consequently the new commission of Cardinals will examine whether American Christianity feels instinctively the need of harmonizing the various tendencies of the Christian mind to form a united Protestantism, which would be the first step toward a united Christianity."

"In this field it is felt in Rome that the United States has a providential mission to fulfill. America is an immense reservoir of Christian energies which cannot now exert their whole influence, for they are scattered. Therefore, the fact that divided branches of Christianity may meet and discuss in the spirit of tolerance the controverted points among the Christian churches is already a great victory over the spirit of intolerance and division."

We are to enter, therefore, upon the dawn of a new era of religious unity. It is reasonable to suppose that after the present war the death-blow will be dealt to those false prophets of our day and generation wherein materialism has been rampant. For by dint of mechanical invention and genius it has been shown forth by the contrivances of war in so deadly an array to what extent mind can prove superior over matter. But matter cannot prove superior in the realm of the spiritual. Just as mind in the very nature of things is superior to matter, so the spirit, which animates the mind, as well as some matter, is superior to both mind and matter. And this is being proved, too, on the bloody battlefields of Europe to-day, where the heroic fortitude of the men in the trenches, their recorded humaneness not only to one another, but even to their enemies during the lull in arms, and their unselfish devotion to duty and their principles of patriotism even unto the dregs of death, brings home to the heart of man the beauty and the strength of which his soul is capable and stirs and decides in him the belief that his spirit is immortal.

And so, after the war, when the conscience-smitten powers that made such a bloody and destructive war possible turn back to God and the things of God, men's minds will once more turn to religious reform. The question why Christianity has failed will be answered by the realization of the fact that it has failed because of that division and dissidence which has caused a corruption or a confusion regarding faith and morals, and men will seek to get together once more on common ground of belief and practice of their religion. They shall seek to upbuild what has disintegrated so disastrously, and it will have to be understood that the religious dissension and revolt was wrought by the launching of the greatest of all schisms the Church of Christ has had to contend with, the schism of Martin Luther.

Wherefore, after having paved the way to a union of Christendom on a common basis by bringing back the Anglican and Episcopal Churches to the fold of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolical Church, the sects whose creeds are closest to the principal form of the Protestant Church will gradually fall into line, and the lesser sects will either join hands in the movement or drift along until they are absorbed by the newer reform movement that makes for unity or remain outside of the pale of truth to their own destructive exclusion. Then shall Elias return to earth and great prophets and saints shall again arise and the Church of God, more resplendent and glorious than ever, shall stand upon the unassailable rock, victorious over the powers of the infernal pit, over heresy and unbelief. The powers of darkness that sprang into being with the first great revolt against God by Lucifer and his rebellious cohorts shall remain to tremble with confusion at the summoning sound of Gabriel's trumpet on that last day when God shall pronounce His final judgment. The Church Militant shall forever pass away and the Church Triumphant live on forever in God's kingdom that is not of this world.

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ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS.

EUROPEAN politics being now in such an unsettled condition, the situation changing from day to day—thrones toppling, revolution in one country, rebellion in another, strikes in several, unrest in all—we do not intend to enter into that vexed question of Armenian politics here, but rather to give a brief description of the country, the people, their character, their circumstances and their religion.

The name of Armenia was first applied to the country in history in the fifth century B. C. The first King of Armenia was Tigranes I., who lived in the sixth century B. C., but the most renowned monarch of his dynasty was Tigranes II., called the Great, who lived from 90 B. C. to 55 B. C. From his days Armenia rose to be a great power, and her prosperity continued until the ardor of the Crusaders began to fail, when she was deprived of the assistance of Western Christendom to protect her against the two great Moslem nations of Turkey and Persia. Under their oppression from 1393, when the last Armenian king died in Paris, her name as a nation was blotted out from history. From then down to modern times massacres, atrocities, tyranny, violence, persecution and oppression of every kind have been her fate. Yet through all these horrors and in the face of incredible sufferings the Armenians have clung to their faith with extraordinary tenacity.

Armenia was the first nation to embrace the Christian religion as a nation. Christianity was established as the State religion in Armenia before Constantine established it in his empire. The Apostle of Armenia was St. Gregory the Illuminator, who, in the year 303 A.D., had a vision at a place called Etchmiadzin, in the Russian Caucasus, and he built a tiny chapel there to commemorate it; this chapel is still preserved by the walls of the Cathedral at Etchmiadzin, which enclose it. The patriarchal See of Armenia is at Etchmiadzin, which means "the Son of God come down," and this was the subject of St. Gregory's vision. The Cathedral of Etchmiadzin stands in the centre of the quadrangle of a monastery, and St. Gregory's little chapel is considered by Armenians as one of the holiest places in the world. In this Cathedral the head of the Armenian Church, who is called the Catholicos, is consecrated.

The Armenian Church is in schism, but there is a body of about 100,000 souls, called the United Armenians, who are in communion with the Catholic Church. They are the only Eastern Christians except the Maronites, who use unleavened bread in the Holy

Eucharist as we do. They are governed by a Patriarch, who is styled the "Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians." He lives at Bezoumar. The United Armenians were converted by Catholic missionaries and united with us under Pope John XXII., but many more conversions were made by the Jesuit Fathers later.

The heretical Armenians are Monosophites, believing that Our Lord had only one nature, the Divine. They reject the mixed chalice to emphasize their heresy, because the water is emblematical of the human nature of Our Lord, so they use undiluted wine. The monks of the United Armenians follow the rule of St. Anthony, those of the schismatic Church that of St. Basil, like most of the Eastern Churches.

Both the United and the schismatic Armenians are strongly attached to their faith. The schismatic Armenians all over the world have the greatest love for their Church, because they have no country of their own, so having no political unity, they crave ecclesiastical unity and a national Church makes up to them for the lack of a national State. In the library of the monastery at Etchmiadzin are contained 4,000 manuscripts, consisting mostly of Armenian versions of the Greek and Syrian Fathers of the Church; some are translations and date from the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. There is a modern academy or university also at Etchmiadzin, which was founded in 1874, and is an important centre of education, students coming there from Turkey for a three or five years' course of study. It is under the government of the Catholicos, who is the head of all Armenians of the schismatic Church. He is elected by the whole people, every diocese being represented by a delegate. Two candidates are chosen, and until the recent Russian revolution the final choice rested with the Czar of Russia. When the present war broke out the Catholicos was George V. Surenian, an old man. His dress is the usual black cowl of all Armenian monks, but he is distinguished by a diamond cross, worn over his forehead, and a Russian order. The Armenian cross differs from all others by the arms being nearer the top and much shorter than in the Latin cross.

The Armenians, like all the smaller Eastern Churches, cling to their Church from patriotic motives, and it is because they are national Churches that they have had to endure so much persecution from the dominant races, and for the same reason they have had strength to resist all attempts to proselytize them, for they feel they are fighting for their national existence as well as for their faith. This point is very important to note, for it is one very great reason why they have refused union as a nation with either the

Catholic or the Orthodox Church. The Catholic Church, which by its very name proclaims that it is universal and for all nations, has always opposed the idea of national churches, so that by joining her Armenians feel they are sacrificing their hopes of a restored Armenian nation to a certain extent. On the same grounds the Armenians, had they joined the Orthodox Church, would have been protected by Russia against Turkey and Persia, but loyalty to their own nation, and as they think therefore to their Church, is their predominant passion, and with them Church and country are bound up in each other.

Besides being national, the Armenian Church is essentially democratic in its government. The National Assembly, which sits at Constantinople (or did before the war; we cannot say what it does now), represents the will of the people and is the final authority on all administrative questions, but in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters the Catholicos has to consult one of two committees formed by the National Assembly, but he has the power to nominate Bishops to their sees in Russian Armenia. Armenia resembles another unhappy nation, namely, Poland, in many respects, particularly in that both countries are under the rule of three powers, Poland of Germany, Austria and Russia, Armenia of Russia, Turkey and Persia.

Armenia Proper, or Greater Armenia, that is the north and north-eastern portion, belongs to Russia, the southeastern part to Persia, and Lesser or Western Armenia, or Cilicia, to Turkey. These three divisions of the country meet on Mount Ararat, which rises in the midst of a vast tableland, varying from 3,000 to 8,000 feet high. Turkish Armenia includes Erzeroum and Diabekr. The rivers Tigris, Euphrates and Araxes all take their rise in Armenia. The traditional site of the Garden of Eden is said to be in the valley of the Araxes.

Armenians all think that if an independent kingdom of Armenia could ever be reëstablished it would have to be in Lesser Armenia, which being on the coast is accessible to the Western powers. There is a great tendency now in Armenia for the Armenians to become westernized, and the Turks are far less of a religious force now the Young Turks are in power than they formerly were. Armenians are all thoroughly Western in their ideas and tend more and more to Occidentalism.

Another note of the schismatic Armenian Church is simplicity of doctrine. They accept only the three first General Councils of Nicea, Constantinople and Ephesus. It is said that when the Nicæan Creed was brought to St. Gregory the Illuminator he summarized their faith as follows: "As for us, let us glorify Him who was

before the Eternities and worship the Father, Son and Holy Ghost now and forever." Their faith in the Incarnation is contained in the name of Etchmiadzin as interpreted above. The Armenian Church has been cruelly persecuted, but it has never persecuted, and is singularly free from ecclesiastical tyranny of every kind. Many of the monks and regular clergy are excellent scholars and critics and well versed in modern Biblical criticism.

In 1903 the Russian Government, jealous of the Armenian schismatic Church, sent a body of troops to Etchmiadzin to despoil it of some of its wealth and treasures, pretending that the Armenians were using their ecclesiastical riches for revolutionary purposes. Troops broke into the cathedral treasury and carried off money and plate, while other soldiers occupied farms and lands belonging to the monastery. All the churches were closed, and the Russians tried to bribe the clergy and school teachers to become Orthodox by offering them double the pay they were receiving, but no one accepted the bribe. It is good to know that at the end of a year all the stolen property was restored and the Armenian Church was once more free.

Mass is only said twice a week, as a rule, in the schismatic Church, and that on Saturdays and Sundays, very early in the morning; on the other weekdays the morning office of the Church is said before 5 o'clock, after which the priest goes to work in the fields and is generally accompanied by his wife, for the secular clergy all marry and are generally ignorant men as compared with the regular clergy, but the Armenians are by no means an ignorant people; on the contrary, they are highly intelligent and have excellent schools; they are very keen about education, and are quite up-to-date on this subject and abreast with Europeans. Every or almost every Armenian village has its school.

The Armenians were the first people to issue a newspaper in the Near East, and the first book printed in any Eastern language was in Armenian. Armenians take more interest in Europe and European politics than any other Eastern race, for they are under the impression that the great Powers of Europe are ever consulting how to help them, and English and Americans are welcomed all over Armenia as possible saviors of their unhappy country with the greatest cordiality.

There are a great number of American Protestant missionaries in Armenia, particularly in Turkish Armenia, where they live in a sort of enclosed town, consisting of a hospital, schools, houses and colleges. To the hospitals the Turks come as freely as the Christians, but leave the schools and missionaries severely alone.

The largest of the American missions is at Marsovan. The missionaries have taught the Armenians English, so there are many who speak a little English.*

Besides the village schools there are a large number of secondary schools, seminaries and academies all over Armenia, and the Lazarian Academy at Moscow, founded by an Armenian named Lazarus, is the best in Europe for Oriental languages. The monasteries also are centres of learning. There are many Armenian monasteries in Cappadocia, where the influence of the early Christian Church still survives to some extent, for this was the country of St. Basil and St. Gregory. There is one of these monasteries near Talas, one of the most mediæval and picturesque of Eastern towns. The monastery consists mostly of cells in caves of high rocks, with a river running below, and some small buildings on the edge of the cliff. The monks are said to be dull-looking men, gloomy in aspect and untoured. The Armenians are the strongest people of Western Asia, and it is probably their great bodily strength as well as their heroic courage which have helped them in their struggle for existence against their cruel persecutors. Armenians and Greeks both hate the Turks as oppressors, but they hate each other still more from jealousy, and will fight on the least provocation.

In the massacre of Adana (the capital of Cilicia) in 1909 between 3,000 and 4,000 Armenians were murdered or burnt alive or butchered in some way. This massacre was partly planned by Turkish Jews from Salonica, but it must also be said that it was also partly due to the unwise and revolutionary conduct of the Cilician Armenians, who openly planned to reëstablish a kingdom of Armenia, although the mass of the Armenian people thought this was folly. No massacre of Abdul Hamid's equaled this one of Adana in ferocity; it began in the Bazaar of Adana. The courage and pertinacity of the Armenian are shown in the extraordinary way in which, as travelers tell us, they settle down again after these massacres, knowing that the merest trifle may provoke another outbreak at any moment, especially in Turkish Armenia. Persian Armenians, notwithstanding the fact that Persia is a Moslem power, are quite contented, although even in Tabriz, the chief city, the poverty of the people, the dirt and insanitation of the city are indescribable. In the great bazaar here weavers may be seen weaving carpets; the shops open to the street, glowing with brilliant colors in contrast to the surrounding squalor.

*These missionaries at first did much good, but they have recently taken to proselytizing Catholics.

Armenia abounds in ruins of ancient palaces, churches, monasteries and fortresses. Ani, the ancient capital, has many castles and 101 churches, now in ruins, reminding the traveler of the time when Armenia was, as Greek and Roman historians tell us, a flourishing country which supplied other nations with flour, wine and butter. The peasants are mostly agricultural, but more in proportion rise to a higher class than in any other country. A large proportion of Armenians belong to the learned professions, the rest to commerce and trade. The chief food of Armenia is milk, dates and curds; this last is always served in a huge bowl, the "butter in a lordly dish," of Deborah, and is said to be most refreshing and nourishing and pleasant to the palate. Barley and millet are more grown than wheat.

Armenian Christians are more cultivated and more intelligent than their neighbors. Lord Bryce considers them equal in industry, intelligence and energy to any European race. They are very patriotic and love their country passionately, but they are not narrowminded, and admire and love other nations, especially Western peoples, as well as their own. They are loyal and faithful to their rulers and have great military qualities; they are noble characters, and are never guilty of treachery such as their neighbors the Kurds and their rulers the Turks practice. They are thoroughly honest, as the Turkish proverb implies. It says: "Eat with the Kurd, but sleep with the Armenian," meaning that the Kurd will rob you while you sleep, but you may trust the Armenian not to do so.

The Kurds, whose country lies to the south of Turkish Armenia, are as dishonest and mean as they are fierce and predatory. The Turk will eat with them because what religion they have, which is very little, is Mahommedanism, but he won't with the Armenians, because they are Christians, and so their food is unclean in his eyes.

Armenian women are not secluded like Mahommedan women; they have had the franchise for some time and are highly honored by their husbands, to whom they are faithful wives, and they are devoted mothers to their children. They are also very brave and have often sacrificed their lives to save their honor from the barbarians with whom they have come in contact in the past. The Armenians are the most artistic people in Turkey; they illuminate and paint well and embroider beautifully. There are thousands of manuscripts in Armenia illuminated with beautiful pictures. They paint well, and Armenian artists have exhibited in all the great European capitals. It has recently been discovered that Armenia had an architecture of her own before the Christian era. The best

examples now are the churches. The style is said to be like the schismatic Armenian Church—extremely national. One feature is the horseshoe arch, which the Arabs have copied. Armenian architects have built mosques for the Turks, and the Turks have converted Armenian churches into mosques. One of the most beautiful mosques in Stamboul was built by an Armenian architect.

The Armenians have a rich store of folklore and folk-songs, which have recently been set to Armenian music. They have also a good many hymns; some of the best were composed in the thirteenth century. The tunes of these are quite unique and have a very strange rhythm; their system of musical notation was invented in the thirteenth century and is quite different from any other; it was improved in the eighteenth century. They have a great love of music and song, and have minstrels called *ashoughs*, who are often blind and go about from village to village singing at weddings and other festivities, carrying their instruments, which are distinctly Oriental, with them. They also sing on the bridges and in the squares of the cities.

The fifth century is styled the Golden Age of Armenian literature. It produced over fifty chronicles and histories, still in existence, written in ancient Armenian, which Armenian scholars describe as the most flexible of languages. The best example of the period is said to be a history of one Faustus Byzand. Another historian, Lazar of Parii, describes the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the wars of the Armenians and Persians down to A. D. 455. A later writer, Gregory of Narek, who lived in the seventh century, wrote canticles which are still sung in the Armenian Church.

The most remarkable example of Armenian genius and culture is to be found in the Mekitarian monastery of St. Lazar, in Venice, or rather on the island of St. Lazaro, in the Lido, given by the Venetian Government to the Armenian Mekitar, a native of Sivas, who founded the brotherhood in 1715. The work of the Mekitarists is to perfect the Armenian language and to translate into it the most important works of other European languages and manuscripts of historical value. From the mother-house of St. Lazar, and the branch-houses at Vienna and Trieste and several Hungarian towns the monks send forth to Armenians in the Near and Far East reviews and translations of works on history, geography, natural science, travels and philology. From Lord Byron's day to our own the monastery of St. Lazar has been the admiration of all travelers who have visited it and seen the industry of the monks. Mekitar belonged to the Catholic Church, and his monks are members of the United Armenian Church.

At Sivas, which was the birthplace of Mekitar, there is the monastery of St. Nishan, in which the Bishop of Sivas resides. This monastery was founded in the thirteenth century. It is described as spotlessly clean, cleanliness being an Armenian virtue, but it is very bare; the walls are covered with plain hangings; heavy, padded-leather curtains take the place of doors to the cells and the wood-work is unpainted; the whole place is warmed only by charcoal braziers.

The Bishop of Sivas has no bed of roses, for he is always opposed by the Turkish authorities on the one hand and by the Greek Orthodox Church on the other. The late Bishop of Sivas was cruelly murdered in the latest Armenian massacre, when he was shod with iron and driven forth and made to march till he succumbed to the torture and died. Sivas is the ancient celebrated city of Sebastea, the old Seljuk capital, and still one of the largest cities of Asia Minor, but by no means an attractive place. It is haunted by memories of Timur the Great, who is said to have buried alive 4,000 Armenians there, in a place still called the Black Earth. But modern Armenian atrocities are quite equal to if not surpassing in horror anything Timur did. Under Abdul Hamid, in 1895 and 1896, thousands of Armenians suffered martyrdom rather than give up their faith for the Moslem religion; 100,000 then perished.

When the Italians took Tripoli the Turks were so enraged that any reprisals they could take against Christians in general seemed justifiable in their eyes, and at a place called Kara Geul a massacre of Armenians as the nearest victims took place early one morning, with burning and pillaging, and here the homeless people who escaped fled to the mountains. It takes very little to initiate one of these massacres. A slight dispute between a Moslem and an Armenian or a Moslem and a Greek will start one; if either of these subject people dare to revenge a wrong done by a Moslem, or if a drop of Moslem blood is shed in a dispute, then the fanatical and racial fury of the Turk is roused and wholesale murders may be the result of a trifling quarrel. The population of a whole village, as at Kara Geul recently, may have to flee to the mountains or be destroyed, and so it happens that Armenian villages are often found hidden in the mountains, or behind cliffs or rocks, or in other inaccessible parts of the country. This gives Cilicia the appearance of being much less densely populated than it is in reality, as the presence of these hidden villages is unsuspected.

Lord Byron, who greatly admired the Armenians, said that their virtues were the virtues of peace and their vices the vices of compulsion. They are apt to be contumacious and quarrelsome, and

from long persecution cringing in their manner to strangers. They are no sportsmen, and for this reason are not popular with English travelers. In Russian Armenia, where they enjoy much more liberty, their best characteristics come more to the fore than in Turkish Armenia, where for the last thousand years their lives have been one long struggle for the right to live, against tyranny of the most diabolical kind, through which they have preserved their faith with extraordinary courage and fidelity.

The Armenian liturgy is derived partly from that of St. Basil, partly from that of St. James. Mass is sung in the ancient plain-song of the Armenians, and is divided into two other parts, as in most of the Eastern Churches: the first part is called that of the Catechumens, the second the Mass of the Faithful. At the Sursum Corda the deacon calls out "The doors, the doors," which is a survival of the ancient custom of closing the doors at this part of the Mass to shut out the catechumens.

The Mass of the Faithful includes the Song of the Cherubim, a canticle unknown in the Western Church. In the Mass the Armenians read a prophetic lesson from the Old Testament as well as the Epistle and Gospel. The final Gospel from St. John has only been said in their churches since the fourteenth century, when it was introduced to them by some Dominican missionaries, who taught them several other Catholic customs. The last Gospel is read in the body of the church at the conclusion of Mass. Armenian churches are not very large; they have massive walls seven or eight feet thick, and very small windows, so they are dark and gloomy. They are square with four apses; in the eastern apse the altar is placed; the tower is polygonal with a short spire. The greater number of Armenians live in Turkey, where they are surrounded by Moslems and Kurds, who are encouraged by the Turks to despoil them, so they are between two fires. Only a minority live in Persia, but there are a good many in the Russian Transcaucasus. It remains to be seen what the fate of this noble, suffering Christian people will be at the conclusion of the present war.

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RELIGION AND MORALITY ACCORDING TO ST. THOMAS.

WHEN St. Thomas in the "Quaestiones Disputatae"¹ maintained that virtue is a mean between two extremes, he was but continuing a very ancient tradition. In taking this stand he appeals to the definition of Aristotle.² But the concept is much more ancient than Aristotle, going back to the dim twilight of ethical speculation. Pindar warns against the excess of insolence, and urges us to understand that "the right time is the best and that all things by nature have their mean."³ The Greek mottoes, "nothing in excess," "the mean is the best," "preserve the mean,"⁴ were guiding thoughts in the ethical tradition that sprung from the almost mythological antiquity of the seven wise men of Greece. The ideal of guiding one's life between the extremes of poverty with its forced abstemiousness and wealth with its wanton profligacy was painted in Plato's description of Socrates, the ideal man of pagan antiquity. He was not a recluse, he did not live in a barrel, he did not withdraw from the haunts of men, nor was he effeminate, nor did he give himself up to rioting and drunkenness. But, on the contrary, he lived among men, he taught in the market-place, he banqueted with his friends. And though they might besot themselves with wine, Socrates preserves the mean in the midst of their excesses, and when they fall drunk beneath the table, he rises and betakes himself to his morning bath and is ready for the work of the day.

This ideal of virtue was taken by St. Thomas and made over and developed into the concept of Christian Morality.

Virtue has for its end the preservation of the *bonum rationis*, the good of reason. What is this good of reason? St. Thomas often contrasts it with all those pleasures to which our emotions impel us blindly. Our soul is like a ship blown about by every blast, certain to be wrecked unless he who holds the tiller guides the bark to the harbor of perfection. How attractive are these allurements of sense! Usually and to the common run of people they are far more appealing than the good of reason. But this is so only in the present order. In the long run, which stretches into eternity, the most attractive good is the good of reason. True happiness and the highest end of man are one and the same thing. And

¹ "De Virtutibus in Communi."—Q. I., Art. XIII.

² VII. Ethics, cap. VI.

³ Quoted from Willmann: "Geschichte des Idealismus," I. pp. 242-3. Pind. Q. A., 13, 46.

⁴ Op. c., p. 248.

man's true and highest end is the exercise of reason and its consecration to the service of God. If we ask for a filling out of the concept of the good of reason, we would find it in the Thomistic analysis of the concept of Justice. It is the perfect fulfillment of man's function in those manifold relations to God and his fellow-man in which he finds himself actually constituted. He who makes himself an intellectual and moral agent perfectly capable of performing his function with maximum efficiency in the service of God and man, he it is who possesses in its fullness the *bonum rationis* and preserves that due measure of moderation in all things that makes a virtuous man.

And withal it is human reason, illumined in the present dispensation of grace by the brightness of the "*lumen veritatis primæ*" which outlines the ideal of morality and delineates the form according to which the model of our lives should be constructed. Reason points to the ideal and at the same time directs our activities in its construction. This does not take place in the Christian dispensation by the unaided powers of will and intellect, but by the grace of God, who illumines the ideals of our minds with a divine light and inspires our wills with a supernatural strength.

It is thus that St. Thomas expresses these thoughts.

"The ideal of man considered merely as man is not the same thing as his ideal when he is considered as a citizen. For when we consider man merely as man, his ideal end is the perfection of reason in the knowledge of truth and the regulation of his lower desires according to the rule of reason. For what is truly proper to man is reason. The ideal of man considered as a citizen is the harmonious fulfillment of his place in the Commonwealth. Hence the Philosopher says⁵ that the virtues of a good man and of a good citizen are not one and the same. But man is not only a citizen of an earthly city, but he also has citizenship in the heavenly Jerusalem whose ruler is the Lord and whose citizens are the angels and all the saints, whether they rule in their glory and rest in the Fatherland or wander as yet upon earth. Thus the apostle says (Ephes. ii., 19): 'You are fellow-citizens with the saints and the domestics of God.' Man's nature alone is not a sufficient title to this citizenship, but he must be elevated to it by the grace of God."⁶

Still we often forget that "we have not here a lasting city, but seek one that is to come." (Hebrews xiii., 14.) We forget our divine destiny in the midst of the things that are of the earth earthy and are in imminent danger of shipwreck amid the perils that surround us. Thus the work of our salvation is like the steering of

⁵ III., Politics.

⁶ "Quæstiones Disputatæ"—"De Virtutibus in Communi," I., sec. 1d.

a bark through the channels of a strait in which there are many reefs, some wholly submerged and hidden beneath the waters, some lifting their heads above the waves which wash over them with ominous gurglings. There are many ways in which the ship of our lives may be driven or steered upon the shoals and the precious cargo, the "good of reason," be lost.

I rather think that Dante had the Thomistic concept of the *bonum rationis* in mind when he described the Souls in Hell as those "*ch' hanno perduto il ben dello intelletto*"—those who had lost the good of reason. Let us pause a moment to consider this idea. What we take care of and guard sedulously is not likely to be lost. What we lose is not thrown away, but slips out of our possession without our knowing it. And so we can save the good of reason by prudence in the management of our lives, or we may lose our hold upon it gradually and imperceptibly. "*Facilis descensus Averni*" and broad is the way that leads to destruction. No one step takes us from virtue to vice, from perfect innocence to mortal sin, from the straight and narrow path to the mouth of hell. For gradual and not sudden is the slope that forms the descensus Averni, and the broad road is a highway of respectable and considerable length. "*Ex minori vitio*," says St. Thomas, "*potest oriri majus peccatum*." And when one does sin, it is always because in some manner one has allowed oneself to be tricked and deceived by false appearance for "no one," he says, "is led to sin except under the appearance of good."⁷

The idea is repeatedly expressed in Scripture. St. Paul warns us to "prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good." (I. Thess. v., 24), to "stand fast and hold the traditions we have learned" (II. Thess. xi., 14). Again he says: "With fear and trembling work out your salvation." (Phil. xi., 12.) In the Apocalypse we read the warning, "that which you have, hold fast till I come" (xi., 25), as if it were very possible to lose the gifts upon which our salvation depends. And our Lord warns us that in the last days many will be deceived by false appearances, and that sanctity alone will enable us to see in their true light the deceits and allurements of the world. "For then will rise up false Christs and false prophets, and they shall show signs and wonders, to seduce (if it were possible) even the elect."

According to St. Thomas the structure of Christian Morality presents a definite mechanism by which the *bonum rationis* and the golden mean of virtue is protected and guarded amid the difficulties that beset us.

⁷ "Summa Th." II., 2. LXXIII., sec. 111, ad tertium.

⁸ "Quaestiones Disputatae"—"De Virtutibus," XXIV., sec. 10, corpus.

He points out the perplexities amid which we labor. The attainment of our end is not easy. From the very dawn of life we feel the blast of those winds which drive us on to destruction—the blind forces of our nature, our unreasoning striving, our turbulent emotions and strong desires. No wind, however favorable, will blow the sailboat into the harbor. It is the rudder alone which guides, and it is the will alone which can lay hold of the good of reason—the moral and spiritual things of life. Their beauty is obscured by the clouds of sense knowledge and the pleasures of life, as the mouth of the harbor is hidden by a dense and impenetrable fog.

Hence it is if man is to attain to his true end and destiny, he must by a voluntary effort seek to know the good, to practise it and to withstand the allurements of his emotional life, which lead him to the good thing which is not real, but only apparent.

Now there is, as I have said, a definite mechanism in the structure of Christian Morality by which this is effected—and this is the apparatus of the cardinal virtues. It is prudence which reveals to us the good of the understanding, and justice, by which we act according to the dictates of reason. But all virtue is not knowledge. It is here that St. Thomas with Plato and Aristotle transcends the Socratic concept of virtue. And it is here, too, where he points out a mistake all too common in our day of placing too much reliance on education as the remedy for crime. In spite of knowledge, well-grounded and thoroughly inculcated, men may, nevertheless, meet shipwreck in the turbulent sea of their passions. Who knows better than the medical student the certain and inevitable consequences of sexual excess and the abuse of drugs? But does that deter them from tasting the forbidden fruits of pleasure and the misuse of remedies whose very use is fraught with danger? Not always. It is not sufficient to know; we must also be able to do.

What hinders us from doing is not the lack of the native strength of action, but rather the impediments that stand in the way of normal voluntary activity. Of these impediments there are two. One is passive—an impediment strictly so called; the other is active. It is less properly an impediment, but might rather be compared to the wild and unruly horse which Plato conceived of as striving to take the bit in his teeth and dash the chariot to pieces. "There are two ways," says St. Thomas, "in which the will is hindered from following the straight path of reason: one in which it is attracted by some delight to do what is contrary to the demands of right reason. The virtue of temperance removes this impediment. The other way lies in this, that the will shrinks from that which is in

⁹ "Summa Theologica." II., 2. Q. CXXIII., sec. 1, corpus.

accordance with reason, because of the presence of something hard. To remove this impediment, there is required fortitude of mind by which difficulties of this kind are resisted."⁹

If you ask now how are these virtues acquired, the answer comes that a virtue is made perfect by its acts. But not any and every act perfects virtue, but only those which are done carefully and with the maximum perfection that we can muster at the moment of action.

Thus stability in virtue is the work of a lifetime. And from the point of view of reason, the exercise of virtue must commence in childhood and be persevered in continually if in this life we are to realize in ourselves the perfect ideal of the moral man. How rare even in old age is moral perfection! How far and in how many ways we all fall short of the moral ideal. And what is worse, we do not know it, and we do not want to know it. Vanity and the pride of life make us dream that we are what we want to be, and thus we esteem ourselves better than we are. For in every mind there shimmers the starlight of moral concepts, and we are drawn by the attraction of virtue even when we listen to the allurements of sin. And by a natural impulse we attribute to ourselves a great deal that we do not possess, but only one desire.

In the Thomistic concept of the allurements of sensible goods and the blinding of the mind to the true ideals of reason, there lurks, it seems to me, something that nowadays we would term subconscious motivation. There is no little evidence to show that men often act upon the basis of subconscious motives. When these facts are presented by some writers, the reader is apt to gather the impression that one may be the mere toy of hidden forces and then lack all responsibility for what he does. But to admit subconscious motives does not necessarily imply the denial of responsibility. This is very important to understand—especially in view of the fact that the subconscious is such an important factor in recent psychology.

A little distinction will clear the way to understanding the difficulty and its answer. It is one thing to feel an attraction for a certain course of action; it is another to know why it attracts. Furthermore, it is not necessary for me to know why this course of action attracts in order to adopt it, or decline absolutely to have anything to do with it. Let me take an example. It has been pointed out by Professor Healy, of Chicago, that a certain number of cases of stealing are due to the fact that from one and the same bad companion a child not only learnt stealing, but also received his first introduction to bad sexual habits. The association between the two was forgotten and did not become conscious until re-

vcaled by a psycho-analysis. Stealing acquired a peculiar indescribable charm, an utterly unreasonable attraction. Supposing that stealing has a subconscious motivation from sexuality, does this mean that the child has lost all responsibility? It may aggravate the temptation, but does it mean that it is irresistible simply because its source is subconscious? Is there not the same responsibility to live up to the moral ideal in spite of all allurements to the contrary? It seems to me that there is. Stealing may appeal with indescribable and inexplicable charms, but granted a normal mind, it can still see that no matter how it attracts, it is incompatible with the moral ideal, and granted a normal will, it is still possible to live up to one's responsibility. I do not mean to say that it would be useless to learn the cause of the unreasonable charm. On the contrary, it has been found that it is very useful, for the attraction dwindles once its source has been discovered.

In the analysis of a few cases of the loss of faith, I have found that the superficial difficulties which appear as the representing symptoms, so to speak, are not the real ones. They may be answered entirely to the person's satisfaction, and have absolutely no effect upon the restoration of the lost faith. I have been so impressed by this fact that I think I have learned a valuable lesson; pay little attention to the apparent difficulties and seek the underlying cause. It will often be found in the moral life of the individual. The reason why these cases run such a chronic incurable course is that to cure them means a moral reformation, an entire making over of the whole personality. Few confessors realize what patience and expenditure of time this means, and fewer still would be able and willing to make the sacrifice that it entails. Now all this is inexplicable if we conceive of faith as an intellectual act determined by the premises and following from them with the necessity of the conclusion. This was not the view of St. Thomas. He argued that Faith is meritorious for salvation, and if meritorious, it must be free. Faith in the last analysis is commanded by the will and not determined by the intellect.¹⁰ If this is so, we can readily see how anything that interferes with the consecration of our wills to the absolute and eternal good must inevitably weaken the groundwork of faith.

If gradually our mind is clouded by the pleasure of sense, if the intellectual virtues of understanding, knowledge and wisdom are weakened and their ideals dimmed, then our mental attitudes undergo a change. Imperceptibly we commence to look at things from an entirely different point of view. What before seemed very

¹⁰ Cf. the author's article, "St. Thomas and the Will."—*Cath. Univ. Bulletin*, 1911.

clear and evident appears wholly without foundation, not because its evidence has grown weaker, but because the eye of faith is dimmed. The "Lumen Veritatis Primae," which after all is the very Essence of God Himself, still shines and throws its light upon our soul, but it is laid down as a spiritual law that the divine light will no more penetrate the mists of sin, than the rays of the sun will pierce a scarred and steamy cornea. And so it is that some men see not, and being blind themselves, maintain that the Sun of Justice shines no longer, and renouncing their citizenship in the heavenly Jerusalem and forsaking their obedience to Christ and deserting the fellowship of the angels and saints of God, they seek purely a human citizenship; they descend to that which is of the earth earthy, and wallow perhaps in the mire.

Let us heed the lesson. All sin is dangerous. It has far-reaching consequences in the structure of our mind. It is no more local in its effects than a drug which is injected into a vein and in a few seconds is distributed to every organ of the body. So sin multiplies the difficulties under which we struggle, penetrates deep into our subconsciousness, stills the good and stirs up the evil, and though for a time we may cling to our moral ideals, they eventually slough away, and faith itself, the very heart of religion, ceases to pulsate and our spiritual life is extinct.

So far the thread of our discourse has moved within the realms of what I may term Thomistic morality, that is to say, morality which has been vivified and spiritualized by grace. Though we have spoken of faith, it has been in relation to the moral virtues and for the sake of illuminating the relationship between them and religion. How different is this Thomistic Ethics from pagan morality! What a superstructure St. Thomas has built upon the foundations of Aristotle. And still it all rests on the *dictum rationis*. The obedience of the moral virtues is still listening to the voice of conscience, is still the submission to reason sitting in judgment upon conduct, is still the steering of a middle course between the extremes of our passions by which we escape the dangers of the world and hold fast to the good of reason.

We now pass to concepts which transcend reason, and because they do so we may regard them as in a peculiar sense proper to religion by which we attain to God Himself, who is infinitely above all reason and all that human intelligence can conceive.

Were we citizens of earth alone and not co-heirs of Christ and fellow-citizens of the angels and saints of God, morality would suffice, or rather it would offer to us the best prospect of happiness that we could possibly find amid the many allurements of the world. But it would not always suffice and there would be times and

occasions when some individuals would find it woefully lacking. Aristotle realized this when he considered the possibility of the pinch of poverty and the calamities of Priam. And so he shrunk from saying that the contemplation of truth would be sufficient in itself to make a man independent and happy. He felt that the wise man must be provided with a moderate share of this world's goods, and shielded from great and overwhelming misfortunes, and granted all this, that he might exercise his mind in the contemplation of truth—not for a day only, but for the whole span of an ordinary life: "For as one swallow does not make a spring, so one day or a short time does not make a fortunate or a happy man."¹¹

And so he recognized the limitations of philosophy and defined the happy man "as one whose activity accords with perfect virtue and who is adequately furnished with external goods, not for a casual period of time, but for a complete and perfect lifetime."¹²

It is precisely here that religion arises to supplement morality and lift the clouds of this world's misfortunes and clear the skies that the Sun of Justice may shine and illumine our minds with the rays of the "Prima Veritatis," the Primal Truth. And so St. Thomas supplements the idea of the *dictum rationis* or the voice of conscience with that of the motions of divine inspiration, and adds to the moral virtues the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The moral virtues make it easy for us to follow the dictates of reason and so lead us to our human end and bestow upon us a natural happiness. But our true end is not natural, but supernatural, not in the world, but in heaven, not man, but God, and so we must be disposed to listen to the voice of God and hearken to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. "It is evident," he says, "that human virtues perfect man, inasmuch as he is by birth subject to the dictates of reason in regard to his internal and external acts. It is necessary, therefore, that there should reside in man higher perfections according to which he is disposed to the movements by which God would direct him. These perfections are called gifts, not only because they are infused by God, but also because by reason of them man is so disposed that he is rendered readily subject to the motions of divine inspiration, as Isaias says (l, 5): "The Lord hath opened my ear and I do not resist. I have not gone back."¹³

St. Thomas speaks here of nothing extraordinary as the inspiration, for instance, of the Holy Scriptures, nor of anything miraculous as locutions and visions made to favored souls. But he refers

¹¹ "Nicomachian Ethics," I, 6.

¹² Cf. Book I, ch. 11.

¹³ "Summa Theologica," Q. I, 2; Q. LXVIII, 1, corpus.

to something that is the common property of all Christians, for every soul in the state of grace shares to some extent in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and so intimately interwoven in the texture of our mental life are the operations of enlightened reason and of grace, that it is hard for us to say that this is of God and that of man. It is something in which we all share, for we are all bound to be not only *moral*, but also *religious* beings.

And so Father Hecker, whose spiritual doctrine was drawn from his constant reading of the Angelic Doctor, was never tired of insisting upon our supernatural destiny and its attainment through obedience to the dictates of reason and the voice of the Holy Spirit. Thus he said: "The aim of Christian perfection is the guidance of the soul by the indwelling Holy Spirit. This is attained, ordinarily, first by bringing whatever is inordinate in our animal propensities under the control of the dictates of reason by the practice of mortification and self-denial; for it is a self-evident principle that a rational being ought to be master of his animal appetites; and, second, by bringing the dictates of reason under the control and inspiration of the Holy Spirit by recollection and by fidelity and docility to its movements."¹⁴

Leo XIII. in his encyclical letter for Pentecost, 1897, refers thus to the action of the Holy Spirit: "Among these gifts are those secret warnings and invitations which from time to time are excited in our minds and hearts by the inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Without these there is no beginning of a good life, no progress, no arriving at eternal salvation. And since these words and admonitions are uttered in the soul in an exceedingly secret manner, they are sometimes aptly compared in Holy Writ to the breathing of a coming breeze, and the Angelic Doctor likens them to the movements of the heart which are wholly hidden in the living body."

The concept is a common one in Scripture. St. Paul tells us of the spirit that speaketh with unutterable groanings and warns us "to grieve not the Spirit." Again he asks us: "Know you not, that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (I. Cor. iii., 16), and our Lord promised the Paraclete, who will abide with us forever, and assures us that we shall know him because he will abide with us and will be in us. (St. John xiv., 17.)

St. Thomas, therefore, is only accentuating a Scriptural concept when he speaks of the voice of God as something distinct from the voice of reason, and he legitimately distinguishes the gifts from the virtues because it is one thing to be obedient to human ideals, but another to be faithful to divine inspirations.

¹⁴ "Life," by Elliott, p. 307.

The Angelic Doctor makes still another distinction between the virtues and the gifts. The traditional concept of virtue is, as we have seen, moderation, the mean between two extremes, the avoidance equally of both excesses and defects, use without abuse. The gifts, on the other hand, break down all restraints of moderation, cast all barriers aside, thread their way no longer through a rocky strait with dangers on either side, but launch out into the deep sea itself, and leaving the world and all its pleasures behind, shape their course directly to eternal life.

The beatitudes are the expression of their mode of action, and what is more unreasonable, from a merely human point of view, than the extreme doctrine of these very beatitudes? They are essentially Christian concepts, wholly unknown to pagan philosophy and comprehensible only to one whose centre of gravity is in the world to come and who has stored up his treasures in heaven.

1. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," said our Lord, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Virtue teaches us to use moderately the riches of this world and accept its honors without vanity and immoderate rejoicing. The gifts teach us to despise wealth, fame, high station in life and all those things on which men set their hearts, to give them up utterly and seek happiness in the imitation of the poor life of Christ, who had not where to lay His head.

2. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land." Virtue restrains us from following too ardently the lure of our passions, lessens their violence and subjects them to will and understanding. The gifts unite our minds and hearts to God, so that we have no other will but His, and rest on the bosom of Christ in perfect tranquillity, in the fullness of peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

3. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Virtue teaches us to endure sufferings with patience; the gifts, to embrace them with joy and even go so far beyond patient and willing endurance that they teach us to seek suffering and contempt, to rejoice in the folly of the cross and to inflict upon ourselves the voluntary suffering of mortification and self-denial.

4. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill." Virtue dictates that we give to every man his just due, to circumvent no one, to neither trick nor deceive nor injure nor revile, but to give every one whatever belongs to him without any show of hatred or partiality. The gifts, on the other hand, make us overflow with goodness and kindness. They make us lose sight of our own rights in yielding to the convenience of others. They make us seek out opportunities of doing good and fill us with a desire, as of hunger or thirst, to be engaged in good deeds towards our neighbor.

5. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Virtue with its worldly prudence dictates that we dispose of our goods where some return at least is to be expected, and so the virtuous man gathers around him his relatives and friends and showers liberally upon them his bounty and kindness. But the gifts move us to give for the love of God, and our charity accordingly is directed by the needs that we perceive rather than by any hope of return or personal affection from the one to whom we give. And so we live up to our Lord's precept: "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind: and thou shalt be blessed, because they have not wherewith to make thee recompense." (St. Luke xiv., 13, 14.)

6. "Blessed are the clean of heart, because they shall see God." No virtue can have as its reward the vision of God, but this is the reward of the gift of understanding—so intimately connected with cleanliness of heart by which all sin and all vain imaginings and all errors of reason are utterly banished from the mind.

7. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." The gifts are the tokens of citizenship in the kingdom of heaven, the pledges that we are co-heirs with Christ, signs of our fellowship with the angels and saints of God. Those who uphold the harmony of the communion of saints and the tranquillity of order and the bond of peace are in very truth the children of God and heirs of heaven. And if in so doing they suffer persecution for justice's sake, little does it matter, for "theirs is the kingdom of heaven." For "Blessed are ye when they shall revile and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you untruly for My sake. Be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven."¹⁵

How wonderfully sublime is the Thomistic analysis of the gifts and the beatitudes. It is only the expression of the doctrine of the Saviour, who came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, not to take us out of this world, but to leave us in it yet not of it. And while it gives ample scope for human charity, it opens the doors to divine contemplation. It justifies at once the Sister of Charity in her hospital, and the discalced Carmelite behind her black veil in the cloister. In fact, it finds its most perfect expression in the folly of the cross. For after all the natural virtues can make us understand most if not all of modern charity. But only the gifts give us an insight into a saint like the sweet and gentle St. Francis of Assisi, who gave up all that he might be like Christ.

Should we not stop a moment and think whether or not in our

¹⁵ Cf. "Summa Theologica," I., 2; Q. LXIX., sec. 3.

innermost hearts we are pagan or Christian, whether we practice morality or religion, whether we participate in the virtues and not in the gifts? And then fix our gaze upon the eternal truths and view all things from the standpoint of Christ and by that divine grace which is always given to him who asks, listen not merely to the voice of reason, but hearken to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and let God lead us whithersoever He will.

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MARLOWE AND "THE HEAVY WRATH OF GOD."

WITHOUT a doubt one of the most stupendous events for any adventurer in literature is a first reading of Christopher Marlowe's play, "Dr. Faustus." This at least is a masterpiece which deserves to be forgotten so that the same thrill and elevation may come with each new reading. That Elizabeth dramatist had a rather meteoric career. Out of Cambridge he came with others who were called the "University wits," flashed for a moment across the darkness of an undistinguished British stage, and lighting an hour or two was gone. He left his imprint, however, indelible upon the English drama. Thereafter the chronicle history play became a heroic work of art, not a mere chronology. Thereafter the blank verse of his "mighty line" sounded sonorously across the boards for many years to come. Thereafter there was power and strength to theatrical literature: Richard III., whatever royal genealogists may say, is a lineal descendant of Barabas, Faustus and Tamburlaine. From the cheap social satire and cheaper buffoonery, from the dry chronicle catalogue of political event and the dryer classical forms of Seneca, he led his art in dignity and grace.

"From jiggling veins of rhyming mother wits
Aud such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,"

he marched in stately measures which Shakespeare was glad to tread and countless other artists anxious to imitate.

Yet, however great his artistic conquests, the chief value of Marlowe to our modern views of literature and life does not concern any meticulous drawing of analogies or presentation of parallel passages, nor in any discussion of purely literary origins. He stands for something far greater. He stands for Tragedy, complete and everlasting. He is a prime example of a man who has gained the whole world and lost his own soul

Back to the Greeks we go. Back to the old Aristotelian definition of tragedy, as the inevitable result of a broken law. In three characters Christopher Marlowe depicted this tragedy of the broken law and the fall of man, no longer the mere fall of princes in the mediæval conception of tragedy as the adventures of the unfortunate great. Tamburlaine was ambitious for military power and sought to be a superman. Barabas was ambitious for gold, "infinite riches in a little room." Faustus was intellectually ambitious for power and sold his soul to Satan for the temporary skill of the magician. Each broke a law and met the just punishment he deserved. Each

gained a passing physical victory, but met a psychic defeat—which was followed by the inevitable downfall. [The spiritual was neglected; the material conquest was achieved; but the spiritual failure came as a final act of retributive justice] Of what avail were the riches of the Jew of Malta, the skill of Tamburlaine "to entertain divine Zenocrate," or Faustus' pleasure in "the face that launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium," when the degradation which these achievements entailed descended upon the offenders against divine and moral law?

Nor is it fantastic to speak thus of Marlowe, as represented in his three greatest plays, [for an almost perfect analogy existed between the characters he depicted on the stage and the character of the man himself. Here was a fresh young university student come up from Cambridge. In London he gained the success deserving to his genius and to his idealism. But at the same time he was gaining that success he was compromising the high ideals for which he had been taught to stand] In his life there lies the material for the most stupendous tragedy, in the Aristotelian sense, that the world has ever seen. It is the old, old theme of a broken law and of the retributive hand from heaven. His degeneration was a double one. [In a spiritual way, Marlowe courted disaster by professing himself an atheist, and only the accident of his death saved him from the persecuting hand of "good Queen Bess."] In a material way, Marlowe degraded himself lower than the lowest rascals, rogues and rakes of London taverns, and his death is supposed to have been the direct result of a clandestine love affair of an illicit nature. He died, we are told, in a tavern brawl—stabbed amid a swarm of outcast knaves with his own dagger, in a quarrel over a disreputable wench. It is, in fact, almost fitting that he should have been killed with his own dagger, for he had himself courted disaster in matter and mind, and had compassed his own ruin. The law was broken, and the stage was set for a tragedy in the ancient sense. Well might it have been he, and not Faustus, who exclaimed:

"O lente, lente, currite noctis equi!"

and later of his soul:

"Think'st thou that I who saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells?"

This was the greatest tragedy of the Elizabethan age: greater than any play was this actual living tragedy completed by what Faustus would call "the heavy wrath of God," and moderns "the moral consequence."

Yet when we skip blithely over a couple of hundred years or more we find a change in the literary ideals of the English-speaking people. We come to the "period"—delightful phrase dear to the academic mind—called the Age of Romanticism which saw the full fruition in letters and in politics of an independent, individualistic philosophy of life, protesting against authority—that philosophy which rose with, or as a part of, or as a result of the Protestant Revolt. In a steady tendency towards simplification by eliminating formal restraints, men walked down the lane of the least resistance and broke into open rebellion at the end of the eighteenth century. Not only to political action do the words of Madame Roland apply: "Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

Back to a pure and unregulated nature did the world see itself marching. In literature there was rejection for the old manners and materials in favor of more independent forms and ideas. They vainly called it a greater sincerity and a slighter formality. According to the romantic ideal, each poet was a prophet, priest and seer who interpreted the things of nature, humanity and his own feelings in his own way. It was the age of introspective individualism. Wordsworth and Whitman are its apostles; the tragedy of the broken law was forgotten because law had been discarded.

Out of this general tendency grew the sentimental romance which may amuse, but also undoubtedly teaches false ideas. There are thousands of examples which might be adduced from nineteenth century fiction, but we shall confine ourselves to the career of Marlowe. And first we must understand his thesis—a thesis which he did not put into personal practice. For not Tamburlaine, nor Barabas, nor Faustus represents Marlowe's own intention so well as Paris in Lyly's play, "Contentment Is My Wealth." Unfortunately, the evils of Marlowe's chief characters were also Marlowe's own, and he, like these characters, fell "to be plagued in hell." Yet this lesson of the three leading personages in Marlowe's theatre was not acceptable in nineteenth century England, which continued to protest against rules and dreaded responsibility. His plays were not very well liked. But the treatment which his life itself has received is even more indicative of the modern mind. In 1837 Richard Hengist Horne published a drama dealing with the tragic end of this most promising of Elizabethan songsters who wasted his genius and proved his own theory of damnation by selfish irrespect for the ordinary moral laws of matter, mind and soul. But Horne went to great pains to make Marlowe's passion for the wench a worthy one and to have the girl change her way of life. It was the typical nineteenth century interpretation, giving an intense story, but one neither true to facts nor plausible. It was the

characteristic refusal to see the tragedy which must result from misconduct. It insisted on false external sentiment. It was romance, and therefore not real. Then, as if to prove that we have not as yet discarded these shifting, irresponsible sentiments, we bought and read and praised two more similar, idealized narratives based on the same tragic career. In 1901 Josephine Preston Peabody (Mrs. Lionel Monks) published "*Marlowe: A Drama in Five Acts*," in which, though in "*The Wolf of Gubbio*" she has shown the true Franciscan spirit and a thorough sympathy with the virtue of rigid Catholic principles, this authoress revels in distorted romanticism and makes Marlowe repent of his sins at the last moment of his life, besides ascribing to him a loftier love than he then felt or deserved. In 1913 Mr. Alfred Noyes published in "*Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*" another narrative of the death of Marlowe, in which he likewise adds an unwarranted repentance and spreads over all an unreal glamour of simulated virtuosity.

Now, no one has a right to dispute with these three writers for painting the figure of Marlowe strange and strong. But the tendency to condone his actions because he was—in the modern romantic sense—a poet is contradictory to right morality and destroys the virtue of his biography. (The tale is the story of failure, self-inflicted because he sinned in a spiritual and in a material way, by denying his God and by associating too freely with dissolute drunkards.) It is the tragedy of the broken law. Yet the moderns dodge the issue and spoil the moral.

This inclination to sentimentalize over genius and to ascribe to it virtue, instead of condemning its vices, is likewise seen in many of our modern romances. Dauville's story of the career of "*Gringoire*" and McCarthy's story of Villon in "*If I Were King*" are examples of the same thing. Ribald taverners with a facility at rhyming as well as murder and gaming are glorified because they defied institutions, because they defied social conventions, because they broke laws whose violation should have involved them in stupendous tragedies. We have, indeed, gone far from the straightforward morality of Aristotle.

This other question of a deathbed repentance is more difficult to handle, but the answer seems fairly clear. The idea of the forgiveness of sins in a definite and exact way is as old as Christianity, yet it is extremely doubtful if Marlowe's repentance for sinning in matters of faith and morals was genuine enough to warrant this forgiveness. Still, our quarrel is not with Marlowe himself, but rather with these moderns who have written him down in such a manner that their fictitious characters of Marlowe could not be convincingly repentant. They end their narratives in a vaguely

romantic way and lack the power of a definite tragedy. Their lesson lacks definiteness and strength.

And here we come to our chief point of disagreement with modern literature: the old, old contrast between the classical standard and the romantic irresponsibility. Ever since Wordsworth and Scott our writers have tended to some degree to be individualists, to preach independence and to slight the definite formality of ordinary laws which have been synthesized and established in Catholic practice out of long experience with problems of morality. In Wordsworth, in Tennyson, in Browning, in Swinburne, in Toghore—our latest fashion—the inclination has been to emphasize individual rather than social origins for our moral motives. Tricked out in pleasing phrase, ideas of an incomprehensible feeling have been put forth as “deep” and “true.” It is pantheism which they teach, and an indefinable and untrustworthy emotional reaction of an unreasonable sort. What the world needs is not a substitution of vague poetic idealism for religion, but a clear consciousness of the difference between the refined and the vulgar, between right and wrong, between black and white. These men of letters condemn exact definitions, and exalt introspection and psychological experience—forgetting that true traditional definitions are the long-standing result of painful mistakes in previous experience. They want to make the mistakes all over again, and fear to look ahead lest they learn that all their experiments may lead them in the end to the same definitions which they now reject.

The threefold temptation of Christ in the wilderness corresponds in some degree to the three plays of Marlowe. Barabas resolved to covet gold, Tamburlaine military and political mastery and Faustus “a world of profit and delight.” Marlowe tried to show the fruitless folly of their choice. And we very much fear that the world of to-day, if it is to be judged by its expressed opinions—as we have judged it from its mistaken conception of the character of Marlowe—would choose to shout in loud tones: “Freedom from restraint!” and follow in the footsteps of Barabas, Tamburlaine and Faustus. It would be individualistic, almost enough individualistic to urge that Christ should have yielded to the temptations of Satan for the valuable “experience” that might have resulted therefrom. But the world must heed the lesson to be read in both the works and the life of Marlowe, that there is no way to hide “from the heavy wrath of God,” that the Aristotelian idea is still sound, and that there is always one inevitable consequence of a broken law—tragedy.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE USEFULNESS OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA.

OUTSIDE of the Catholic Church there is a growing tendency towards what we may call "the weariness with dogmas."

Under the specious pretext of fostering a materialistic culture, of promoting social welfare, of giving greater value to the practical sides of life, speculation on the highest truths of Christian dogmatics is excluded from scientific study and looked upon with a supercilious glance. Dogmas, it is declared, have entirely lost their importance in our busy days. We no longer flock into the hippodrome or stroll around the monasteries of Byzantium, where tumultuous crowds once struggled for the orthodox settlement of abstruse theological quarrels and took an intense interest in the solution of dogmatic riddles. God is believed in our days to be far from our earthly mansions. He lives and reposes in regions which are beyond the reach of any created mind, and therefore it would be wiser to turn our eyes to the trifling things of our daily life than permit our minds to flutter over the clouds which wrap the arcana of the Godhead in a veil of mystery.

Such are the echoes we often hear from the great army which vegetates rather than militates under the banner of religious indifferentism. At times we hear them even from the lips of Christians, unable to understand why, during so many centuries, the most gifted leaders of theological thought have labored over the dogmatic teaching of Christianity and have thrashed out the inner meaning of truths which elude every effort of the mind.

Again, and this time appropriately mingled with blasphemy or sneer, we hear the same voices from those who no longer feel the life-giving warmth and fascinating beauty of Christian faith. Thus, from different sides, we have evidence of the spread of a latent antipathy to Christian dogma, which fills so many pages of the history of the Church, which has stirred up so many controversies, which has nourished so many mystical souls and enraptured so many clever minds. There is considerable value, therefore, in testing the seriousness of these objections against the utility of dogmatic truths and in throwing into relief the rôle they play in the spiritual and intellectual life of Christianity, and thus in vindicating the honor of Christian dogmatics. As Catholics we are firmly convinced that the supreme magisterium of the Church assures genuine progress in the field of dogma by means of dogmatic formulæ. But what is the value of these formulæ? Do they offer us real doctrine, perennial truth, which we could never hope to

pluck from the majestic tree of Christian revelation? Do their terms express an objective reality or a mere apologetic figment? Do they phrase a speculative concept or a practical rule of conduct? By shaping them does the Church aim to clothe with unchangeable words a string of sentences whose meanings vary in accordance with the aspirations of endlessly succeeding generations and with the evolution of Christian consciousness? In a few words, by elaborating her dogmatic formulæ, does the Church aim at establishing a truly revealed doctrine or does she merely intend to soothe to rest interminable controversies which rend the Christian world asunder and waste its energies?

Before answering these questions it will be desirable to sum up the objections raised by modernists and adogmatists against the practical value of dogmas. As far as possible the writer's own words are used.

A notable opponent of the utility of Christian dogmatic formulas is the French mathematician, Edward LeRoy. Owing to his famous book, "*Dogme et critique*" (Paris, 1907), he has become the head of the school of reformers within the pale of the Catholic Church who seek, as they say, to infuse new life into the moribund body of traditional apologetics. LeRoy and his followers attempted to "naturalize" the Christian faith by filling up the wide gulf which they alleged to exist between Church and science and by reconciling modern thought with the rigid dogmatic intolerance of the Catholic Church.

To reach this end LeRoy traces in the darkest colors the pitiful and desperate situation in which dogmas appear to modern society. Modern scientists look upon them as useless formulæ both in the practical arena of life and in the theoretical region of science. They claim for themselves the right of subjecting dogmas to the verdict of reason, to the test of scientific criticism, to the investigations of modern thought. Dogmas are metaphysical entities vanishing in the streams of time.

According to LeRoy, the arguments brought forth by the traditional apologists are of no worth to modern minds. They are received with irony by savants and philosophers. In these days, he says, apologists of Christian dogmatics seem not to understand modern psychology. Both in written and spoken argument they use a language incomprehensible to their contemporaries, and their argument is heard with a smile of compassion or a shrug of the shoulders. To tell the truth frankly, dogmas, "these cold blocks of lava," as Sabatier calls them, clash with the religious consciousness of to-day. And the reasons for that failure of Christian dogmatics can be found, thinks LeRoy.

In fact, what does the dogma offer to modern society? In its very essence it is a proposition, which descended from heaven, though framed in human words. It cannot be explained nor demonstrated; it cannot find root in the domain of scientific research. Even those who subscribe to it feel obliged to avow that they are not able to emerge from the thick cloak of mystery enveloping their act. We cannot give a direct demonstration of dogmatic truths. Even the Catholic Church anathematizes the boldness of those who pretend to handle dogmas as they would the truths of the physical order. If, therefore, a direct demonstration of dogmas is at a variance with their nature, it is no wonder that modern society dislikes them, and that the idea itself of dogmas is repugnant, an object of scandal: "*L'idée même du dogme repugne, fait scandale.*"

The admirers of the traditional apologetics maintain that there is an indirect demonstration of dogmatic truths. But, LeRoy says, that kind of demonstration is quite insufficient. In order that we may be able to force the consent of men to dogmatic truths and to overcome their hesitation, it would be necessary to show that God really spoke to humanity. Hence it follows that the indirect demonstration of dogmas would rest upon an act of intellectual submission to a transcendent authority; that truth would flow into our hearts through the channel of an external source. This being so, dogma would signify a yoke of bondage, a limit imposed upon human reason; it would connote spiritual tyranny, coercion of the will; it would suppress the freedom of scientific research, and, in the last resort, it would dissolve the inner life of thinking men and destroy the principle of immanence which generates that inner life.

Let us grant for a moment, says LeRoy, that dogmas are the rich inheritance of a supreme authority, before which all created minds must bend. Of course, that authority would feel it necessary that dogmas be made intelligible to the believers in them. If this were the case, dogmas would not contain even the slightest shadows of ambiguity, being clearly truths of the highest value.

It cannot be denied, says LeRoy, that dogmas are nothing else than obscure and ambiguous formulas. They are involved in an envelope of metaphysical expressions; they lack a truly objective and definite meaning; they are deprived of a well fixed theoretical value. They are, so to speak, aerial phantoms. Modern society does not need such lifeless tenets, which have the only merit of reminding us of the psychological fashions of ages past. Theologians extoll them as immutable forms, but in fact they have no bearing on the progressive forces of mankind. They comprise transcendental propositions which have wandered from the orbit of modern life. It is in vain that we strive to discover in them a

gleam of light with which to make easier the solution of the problems of our own time. While scientists and philosophers are at work enlarging the field of human knowledge, dogmas remain imbedded in the consciousness of believers—dead formulas, sterile germs, useless theorems. No wonder, then, if they fall into disfavor in an age which sets its values exclusively from an utilitarian point of view. Truths that are really useful for the time being are those which facilitate new outlooks on life or which disclose new shafts of precious ore, and value is to be attributed only in proportion as ideas exert a salutary influence upon the cultural development of society. It follows that dogma as it is conceived by the champions of the traditional apologetics is not reconcilable with modern thought; it is a stumbling-block to the advancement of learning. No authority on earth has the right to force my assent to a proposition which I am not able to understand or to approve a demonstration which seems to me devoid of proofs and logical strength. Dogma might be tolerated as a moral affirmation, but it would be wrong to attach to it any theoretical value.¹

The theories of LeRoy have not even the merit of novelty. A few years before the publication of his book they had been spread in Russia by the so-called Russian adogmatists, Demetrius Merezhkovsky and Basil Rozanov. The school of Russian adogmatism, which traces back its origin to the religious nihilism of Tolstoi, avers that Christian theology runs parallel to philosophical agnosticism. Both culminate in the unknowable. The Supreme Being of agnosticism is as inaccessible as the dogmas of Christian theology. Dogmas are the chains of the spirit, the dungeons of the mind. They do not open to us new horizons, but prisons, whose walls we must throw down to enjoy our spiritual freedom once more. What does the modern man learn from the dogma of the Trinity? How could that dogma be applied to our life or utilized solving the moral and ethical problems of our own time? In a word, assert the Russian adogmatists, there is no point of contact between the dogmas of the past and modern aspirations. Dogmas, says Rozanov, are stones served instead of bread they are the multiplication tables of religious truth; Christian dogmatics are but a meaningless grammar of magical formulæ. It would be wise to close all theological schools and to abolish the study of theology, for then the Christian faith would experience a revival of its genuine and vital forces.²

Thus rapidly surveyed, we see the arguments of both Western

¹ "Dogme et critique," pp. 6, 9, 11, 13—16, 19, 25.

² "Zapiski Peterburgskikh religiozno-filosofskikh sobranii." Petrograd, 1906, pp. 426, 456, 463.

and Eastern adogmatists. We believe it the first duty of a Christian apologist not to conceal or to weaken the arguments of his adversaries. Catholicism is the religion of truth, and as such it looks without fear at the changing face of human error. As Leo XIII. wrote in a letter to Ludwig Pastor, the historian of the Popes: "The Catholic Church needs truth, needs truth, needs truth." However strong may be the assaults of the enemies of Christian revelation, however skillful their strategy against the divinely wrought edifice of Christian truth, we may face their aggression in all confidence.

In order to show the inconsistency of the logic of our adversaries, we have to answer and elucidate a double question: 1. Is it true that dogmas are useless to the modern intellectual life and incapable of answering the needs of our own time? 2. Is it true that dogmas are empty formulæ and lifeless theories?

The adogmatists declare that dogmas are devoid of objective reality. What reason do they advance for this assertion? They have none. And let us note here that we are dealing in this paper only with those who allege their loyalty to Christian faith and who admit the necessity of divine revelation. The admission of the fact of revelation implies that man is taught by a superior intelligence, and the acceptance of revelation means a belief in an order of truth which is inaccessible to any created mind and that revelation brings man in contact with this truth. They are not the product of human speculation; they are a radiation on earth of the divine wisdom. And if we admit not only the possibility, but the existence of those revealed truths, dogmas are the natural outcome of a revealed religion.

The reasonableness of that inference is so plain that even the patriarch of the modernistic theories of dogmatic evolution, Auguste Sabatier, could not refrain from binding the life of dogmas to the life of Christianity itself: "By suppressing Christian dogma," he writes, "you would suppress Christianity; by discarding all religious doctrine, you would destroy religion. How many great and eternal things there are which never exist for us in a pure and isolated state! All the forces of nature are in the same case. Thought, in order to exist, must incarnate itself in language. Words cannot be identified with thought, but they are necessary to it. The hero in the romance, who has said that he was able to think without speaking, was not so ridiculous as was once supposed, for that hero is everybody. The soul only reveals itself to us by the body to which it is united. Who has ever seen life apart from living matter? It is the same with the religious life and the doctrines and rites in which it manifests itself. A religious life which did not express itself would neither know itself nor communicate itself. It is, therefore, perfectly irra-

tional to talk of a religion without dogma and without worship. Orthodoxy is a thousand times right as against rationalism or mysticism when it proclaims the necessity for a Church or formulating its faith into a doctrine."³

But the necessity of dogmas being frankly asserted, are we right to say that there is no content, no reality in dogmatic truth? From a religious and a natural point of view the answer can only be negative. Still more, we assert that dogmatic formulæ are full of meaning and sense; they are the true expressions of truths which spring up from the fullness of the Essential Truth. Certainly, would it not be absurd to say that the only realities which we know are those we touch with our hands or those we see with our eyes? Were it true, we would deny the Supreme Reality, which is the source of created realities. In a like manner we cannot affirm that empirical truths, which rest upon our personal experience, are the only truths worthy of that name. If God exists, if God lives in Himself and is the source of life, we cannot fail to acknowledge that there are truths which concern the uncreated being, the eternal life, the almighty activity of God. And it is precisely those truths, those divine mysteries which are expressed in the dogmatic definitions of Christian faith. Dogmas reveal to us the plans of Divine Providence for the government of the world and define for us the divine significance of the incarnation of the Son of God and of our redemption; they point out the final destiny of human souls. They give us, therefore, a system of truth which mirrors the very life of God, which broadens the horizon of our knowledge of God, which leads us straight to the portals of the sanctuary of God.

To say, therefore, that dogmas are empty, high-sounding phrases would mean that a fuller knowledge of God, a more intimate acquaintance with His supereminent beauty is useless; that theology deserves to be rejected as a frivolous pastime of indolent dialecticians.

When I affirm that God exists, I utter a truth which I can arrive at in a natural way—that is, by human speculation. Now, that truth augments the patrimony of our learning. Science, in fact, does not evolve in the constant flux of external phenomena, but in the realm of ideas. If we would limit the dignity of science to those departments of learning which either exploit to our own profit the natural forces or aim to increase our material welfare, undoubtedly the scientific patrimony of humanity would be a very small one.

When I affirm that God exists, I utter at the same time a theological and a philosophical truth—a truth which is known to me by

³ "Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History" New York, 1902, pp. 249-250.

reason and by revelation, a truth which raises me from the obscure valleys of the earth to the lofty summit of heaven, and which, in a different way, descends from heaven into the depths of my soul. By saying that God exists, I am firmly convinced that I express a truth which belongs to philosophy and to religion, a truth which contains no empty words, but an objective reality, the affirmation of the existence of God. Now take one of the dogmas of the Christian faith, which came to our possession only by the way of revelation. I say that there are three Divine Persons in the indivisible unity of the divine essence. What does that dogma contribute to the patrimony of my knowledge? No doubt it gives to me a clearer, a fuller notion of the Divine Being and of the inner life of the Godhead. My reason is unable to penetrate the ineffable arcana of divine life. But this innate weakness is healed by the love of God for men. It is God Himself who bends towards me, who endows me with the splendors of His infinite wisdom, who through Jesus Christ and His Apostles teaches me and reveals to me a reflex of His divine beauty. And if we do not consider as useless philosophical speculation which clears up for us the notion of God, which in a natural way draws us near to the Divine reality, it is quite evident how grave an error we would commit in belittling divine teaching which enables us to enjoy a deeper insight into the mysterious life of God.

In short, we follow two paths in our ascent towards God. One leads us to Him by the light of human reason; the other by revelation makes us adoptive sons of God and sharers of the Infinite Wisdom. By our labors we possess the lesser science of God, a science which is not beyond the limits of our natural powers. By the goodness of God we are called to share that light which . . . "comes down from the Father of light." (St. James i., 17.) The former science enunciates philosophical truths and is the origin of natural Theology; the latter gathers up the revealed truths, which are defined and systematized in dogmatic formulas. It follows that any one who denies the utility of those dogmatic truths denies at the same time the utility of a higher knowledge of God and criticizes God Himself, who in His love for man revealed to Him a facet of His divine beauty. And if we declare useless the data of divine revelation of God, there is no reason why we could not equally well criticize that section of philosophy which in a natural way deals with God, His divine attributes and His government of the world.

To come closer to our problem, it may be said that those dogmas which have merely a speculative content do not speak either to our intellect or to our heart. For instance, according to LeRoy and Rozanov, the dogma of the Holy Trinity is of no use in our life.

Christian faith is above all the practice of Christian virtues. Christian faith is life rather than teaching. No one could maintain, says LeRoy, that the dogma of the Holy Trinity fosters the development of scientific thought or the moral training of the heart.

Let us grant for a moment that speculative dogmas do not exert any influence on the spiritual life of a Christian. Yet it cannot be denied that they give a powerful contribution to our intellectual life by bestowing upon us a better and clearer knowledge of God. But that is not enough. We can boldly assert that even mere speculative dogmas while enlarging the horizons of our scientific knowledge of God burn our hearts with the flames of a purer and more ardent love of God.

Christian dogmas have their own beauty, for they disclose to us some hidden features of the beauty of the Divine Being. It would be beyond our purpose here to dwell on the superhuman beauty of Christian dogmas, on the æsthetics of Christian dogmatics, all the more since that subject is fully treated in an admirable work of F. Lingens, S. J. But it is a recognized fact that the most gifted and heroic souls of the Catholic Church, S. Augustine, S. Bonaventure and Saint Theresa, tasted an ineffable joy and sweetness in the meditation of those sublime mysteries which are scorned at as fruitless in the writings of the above quoted adogmatists. Once more, it is a recognized fact that our love of God increases in proportion with our knowledge of God; the more closely we gaze at this divine beauty, the more ardently our heart burns with the flames of this love. By means of dogmas God is no longer hidden from our eyes by a veil of thick clouds, nor does He vanish in the mists of philosophical abstractions. We gaze up into His divine Being at the light of a supernatural revelation. We contemplate Him as Wisdom, Life and Love; we approach nearer to Him; we feel the supreme joy of intimate possession of Him, and that joy is great enough to show that dogmas really contain an element which nourishes our Christian life. Of course, that intimate possession of God gained by a deeper insight into His mysteries is not a common prerogative of all Christian souls. It gets away from those who flatter themselves that they are attaining the highest summits of enraptured contemplation of God on the wings of labored human speculation. But the souls in which the supernatural faith is deeply rooted, the souls which do not pretend to penetrate the mysteries of the Infinite Being by the pale light of human understanding, those souls will know the things which God hath prepared for them who love Him (I. Cor. ii., 9.)

Among the dogmatic truths which LeRoy classifies as fruitless in our Christian life we would mention the dogma of transubstan-

tiation. But that dogma, when viewed by the light of revelation, discloses to us the greatest marvels of the love and almighty power of God. To our mind that dogma points out that there are no limits binding the Divine Omnipotence and that His love for men achieves prodigies which cannot be conceived by human reason. As a Catholic, I am firmly convinced that my faith in the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist makes known to me a truth which I could not possibly have reached without the superior light of revelation. The knowledge of that truth widens the extent of my knowledge of God. That dogma is not equivalent for me to a barren theorem. A practical value is inherent in it. It does not only furnish food to my intelligence, but a refreshing draught to my soul athirst for God. Since I am convinced that Jesus Christ is really present in the sacrament of His love, I go nearer to Him, as to the source of my inward religious life; I search for Him and the dogma of the Real Presence reveals to me that even in my earthly life "I can make of Him the flesh of my flesh, the blood of my blood," to quote a beautiful saying of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

It follows, then, that the dogmatic formula which expresses to me the Eucharistic mystery is the source and the inexhaustible spring of ineffable joys. I feel, I taste, I experience what the Catholic dogma enunciates to me, and when I pray before the Blessed Sacrament, my Christian consciousness opens to me the realities which underlie the dogma of transubstantiation. Jesus attracts me to Himself by the fascination of His all-conquering love: I believe that He is present in the Eucharistic bread, and my heart ascends to Him. And while my reason, enlightened by faith, contemplates the marvels of His love, my heart, following the ecstasy of my mind, raises up to God its voice of ardent prayer; and that prayer, which is the practical outcome of a dogmatic truth, softens my sorrows, stills the discordant cries of passions, makes smooth the rugged paths of my daily life, strengthens my soul in the fulfillment of Christian duties, keeps me afar from the allurements of vice, and, so to speak, fastens my heart to that of my Saviour.

How many souls were spiritually born anew at the feet of Jesus, which the Catholic dogma declares present under the form of the Holy Eucharist? How many passions have been subdued and crushed in a closer contact of our soul with Jesus become our sacrifice in the Blessed Sacrament? How many tears have been dried by the softening hand of our Saviour, hidden in the mysterious token of His love? How many sighs of sorrow have been transformed into cries of joy after a prayer to the Eucharistic Lord? How many noble deeds, and great enterprises, and productive

apostleships, and admirable sacrifices, and voluntary crucifixions, and sanctified lives, and heroic deaths have been begotten, matured and achieved by the union of truly Christian souls with Jesus living in the Eucharistic memorial of His love? The best proof of my thesis is to be found in the lives of the saints, whose unrivaled moral perfection directly flowed from their prayers to Jesus, the victim of His love for men in the Holy Eucharist.

If, then, the history of the Catholic Church contains so many instructive pages with regard to the fruitful influence exerted by Catholic dogmas upon the intellectual and practical life of Christian souls, how could one without a flat denial of a recognized truth fling discredit on Catholic dogmas, as if they were empty formulæ and fruitless statements? If the dogma of the Transubstantiation did not express, to quote a saying of LeRoy, "*la réalité sous-jacente*" of the real presence of Jesus Christ, doubtless all the marvels of moral restoration and elevation of souls to the sunlit heights of holiness would be an insoluble riddle. The savant, *a la moderniste*, affects to laugh in his heart at the simplicity and superstitious credulity of the faithful who believe that Jesus Christ is really present in the Holy Eucharist, and who are willing to give up their lives for the defense of the Catholic dogma. The Holy Eucharist, to his mind, is only a symbol, a moral stimulant. He would even allow a tribute of adoration to the Blessed Sacrament, as if Jesus Christ were present in it, but in the inmost recesses of his heart he would say to himself: "The real presence of Jesus in the Holy Eucharist is a myth, a moral figment, a purely theoretical formula, *pure nonsense*."

But, it may be objected: We have not a direct demonstration of dogmas; we do not know at all what their terms define; we are defenseless against the rationalists who ask for the reasons of our belief in the Trinity of Persons in God and in the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

We grant that a direct physical and evident demonstration of dogmatic truths is out of the reach of our faculties and of human possibilities. No doubt, we grasp the meaning of the terms which clothes dogmatic formulas, but we are not able to take in their logical connection. We know, for instance, by revelation that there are three Divine Persons in the unique divine essence; but the mystery itself of the life of the Divine Persons in God is above and beyond the thinking powers of every created mind. So far as the natural life is concerned, we shall never sound the unfathomable abyss of the divine life.

* Sermon XXII.—"The Truth of Religion."

Yet we ought not wonder at this. Even in the fields of our natural knowledge we meet with truths which are beyond our reach. What evidence, for instance, have I of the victories of Marius upon the Cimbri and Teutones? None; I accept them on the authority of those who witnessed the historic events. In other words, I believe the man who down through the course of centuries has brought me the record of those victories. And if I believe in the testimonies of men, why should I not believe in the infallible testimonies and true words of God, who reveals to me the impervious arcana of His life? Why should man enter a claim to having logically and fully demonstrated those truths which are above our understanding, when daily experience teaches him that numberless truths of the physical order are firmly believed, adhered to and accepted, although they have not a direct and evident demonstration of their credibility?

The argument upon which we rest is frequently invoked by Christian apologists. It furnishes to Massillon a page of inspired eloquence, to which we cannot refrain from referring here: "In all the world around us we find nothing but enigmas; we live as strangers upon the earth and amid objects we know not. To man, nature is a closed book; and the Creator, as it would appear, in order to confound human pride, has been pleased to overspread the face of this abyss with impenetrable obscurity. Lift up thine eyes, O man! Consider those grand luminaries suspended over your head, and which swim, as I may say, through those immense spaces in which thy reason is lost. Who, says Job, has formed the sun and given a name to the infinite multitude of stars? Comprehend, if thou can, their nature, their use, their properties, their situation, their distance, their revolution, the quality or the inequality of their movements. Our age has penetrated a little into their obscurity, that is to say, it has perhaps better formulated its conjectures than preceding ages; but what are its discoveries when compared to all of which we are still ignorant? Descend upon the earth and tell us, if thou knowest, what it is that keeps the winds bound up; what regulates the course of the thunders and of the tempests; what is the fatal boundary which places its mark and says to the rushing waves, "Here you shall go and no farther;" explain to us the surprising phenomena of plants, of metals, of the elements; find out in what manner gold is purified in the bowels of the earth; unravel, if thou canst, the infinite skill employed in the formation of the very insects; give us an explanation of the various instincts of animals; turn on every side, nature in all her parts offers nothing to thee but enigmas. O man! thou knowest nothing of the objects, even under thine eyes, and thou wouldst pretend to fathom the

eternal depths of faith! Nature is a mystery to thee, and thou wouldst have a religion which had none! Thou art ignorant of the secrets of man, and thou wouldst pretend to know the secrets of God! Thou knowest not thyself, and thou wouldst pretend to fathom what is so much above thee! The universe, which God has yielded up to thy curiosity and to thy disputes, is an abyss in which thou art lost; and thou wouldst that the mysteries of faith, which He has solely exposed to thy docility and to thy respect, should have nothing which surpasses thy feeble lights. Oh blindness! were everything, excepting religion, clear and evident, thou then, with some show of reason, mightst mistrust its obscurities; but, since everything around thee is a labyrinth in which thou art bewildered, ought not the secret of God, as Augustine once said, to render thee more respectful and more attentive rather than more incredulous?"⁴

God spoke to man, and I believe in His word. We cannot directly demonstrate the inner meaning and connection of the formulæ which express the dogmatic truths of the Christian faith. But we know that we can submit an indirect demonstration of their credibility. And this precisely is the task of Christian apologetics, which demonstrates the full credibility of the divine revelation, and which shows clearly that Jesus Christ revealed to us the secrets of His Father, the mysteries of the divine wisdom. I believe in the teaching of Christ. The word of the Saviour is a word which fills the pages of history, which echoes in the course of centuries, which moves all ages to tears and contrition, which inaugurated the era of Redemption. Were we to deny the historic reality of that word of life uttered by the lips of Jesus, we should be forced to reject and repudiate the most certain testimonies of history.

Add to that the fact that Jesus Himself spoke to us as God. We do not find on His lips the word of "a transcendent authority." His divine authority is and it will always be real and living. We know that God spoke through Him, because He Himself acted in His life as the Son of God. He bore witness to His divinity.

"But I have a greater testimony than that of John. For the works which the Father had given Me to perfect; the works themselves, which I do, give testimony of Me, that the Father hath sent Me.

"And the Father Himself who hath sent Me, hath given testimony of Me; neither have you heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape. (St. John v., 36-37.)

"Jesus answered them: I speak to you, and you believe not; the works that I do in the name of My Father, they give testimony of Me." (St. John x., 25.)

He gave a practical demonstration that He was the Son of God. He showed to men that He was invested with a divine mission and

that He had the power of confirming His claims with marvels. He was able to fulfill His works in the name of the Father. By His miracles Jesus Christ gave a direct demonstration of His Divinity, and if we are not to reject His miracles without open contempt for the most positive historical documents, we have no further need of direct demonstrations of the dogmatic truths of Christian faith in order to accept them.

My understanding, so limited in power, cannot embrace the infinite ocean of the Divine Wisdom. I believe in the assertions of a learned teacher even when, in my ignorance, I cannot grasp their inner truth. In a like manner, if the Divinity of Christ is shown to me directly by irrefutable arguments, if I am fully convinced that Christian dogmas are the faithful expression of those truths which Jesus Christ revealed to us, I firmly believe also in the truths which are included in the deposit of divine revelation, although I feel incapable of comprehending them. To grasp them inwardly, to demonstrate them directly, my intellect would need to participate in the purest act of the vision of God, that is, it would become itself a Divine intellect. But to learn of their existence, to profess them with the strongest conviction of my mind and the firmest adhesion of my will, it will be enough for me to know that Jesus Christ is God, that He revealed those truths to man, and that He has made it man's duty to accept them and believe in them as the infallible word of God. This, then, marks the scope of the task of Christian apologetics, and simple common sense declares that this will suffice to justify my firm adherence to the dogmatic truths of the Christian faith.

Besides, it is a plain falsehood that the dogmas of the Holy Trinity, of the resurrection of Our Lord, of His real presence in the Holy Eucharist are devoid of significance in our minds. Doubtless he who looks at the formulæ expressing those dogmatic truths does not grasp the intimate connection of their terms, the inward reason of the mystery, but he finds that there is nothing indefinite in their phraseology. If we question a child who has thoroughly studied the catechism of the Christian faith about the significance of the dogma of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, he will promptly answer that immediately after the death of Our Saviour on the Cross His soul reëntered His body. He will clearly distinguish between that dogma and the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, for the concepts included in the terms of the former dogma are quite different from those included in the latter. And if we state that the concepts of the dogmatic truths are distinct from each other, it follows that dogmas are not obscure and senseless formulæ. If experience shows to us that it is impossible to confuse one dogma with another, if the statement of a dogma awakes

in our minds a series of concepts which are not set forth by the other dogmas, it is evident that the dogmatic formulæ are clear enough to give no ground for doubt as to their content, although they are not directly demonstrable. A truly Christian soul is satisfied with knowing that there are Three Persons in the unique divine essence. With unwavering faith he adheres to that truth sanctioned by the authority of Jesus Christ, who speaks to us as God. He needs not and he dares not turn his myopic eyes towards the unfathomable abyss of the divine life. Such a Christian lives a life of supernatural faith; an evident and perfect knowledge of the mysteries of God would wrest from him the merits of that virtue.

We must not forget, however, that if every attempt at a direct demonstration of Christian dogma is at variance with the Catholic notion of revelation, it is also no matter of doubt that human understanding, under the light of faith, is able to arise, to a certain extent, to a relative comprehension of dogmatic truths. By stating this, we outline a doctrine which was set forth by the Vatican Council.⁵ Still more! With Cardinal Franzelin we can say that if by means of analogies we were unable to reach a limited comprehension of those revealed truths which the magisterium of the Church proposes to us as truths of faith, we would also fail to have explicit faith in them; for the material object of our faith does not consist in the terms framing the dogmatic truths, but in the truths themselves, which are expressed in dogmatic formulæ.⁶

When speaking of God we use terms and expressions which directly refer to created things, to finite and perishable objects. But, on the other side, when applied to God, these terms and expressions do not convey the same meaning as when they refer to creatures. When they are used with regard to God we eliminate from their inward meaning whatsoever imperfection which bears the impress of human limitation and impotence. We use such phrases, with reference to God, *supereminenter*, as theologians say, that is, in a manner which indefinitely surpasses all that man is able to imagine. One may object that a knowledge of God, which proceeds by way of negations, the *via negativa* of Christian mystics, is an imperfect one. But it is to be noted that that imperfection is not inherent to

⁵ Ratio, fide illustrata, cum sedulo, pie, et sobrie quaerit, aliquam Deo dante mysteriorum intelligentiam eaque fructuosissimam assequitur, tum ex eorum, quæ naturaliter cognoscit, analogia, tum et mysteriorum ipsorum necne inter se et cum hominis fine ultimo. Denzinger, "Enchiridion symbolorum," ed. X., p. 478.

⁶ Profecto, nisi aliquo modo notionibus saltem analogicis apprehenderemus, quid sit illud, quod revelatur et credendum proponitur, neque fides explicita in talem veritatem locum habere posset; non enim vocabula, sed res seu veritates verbis significatae sunt objectum materiale fidei. "De Scriptura et traditione," p. 98.

the divine truth, nor derived from it. It is only the outcome of the limited and finite nature of our mind. But it furnishes to us clear proof that there one may arrive at a more certain and extensive grasp of Christian dogma by human speculation, that is, by analogical cognition.

The unbelievers have no right to wonder at what has just been stated. Is there not an imperfect knowledge and much hypothetical demonstration even in those sciences which in our day boast of having changed the face of the world and of having caused man to take gigantic steps along the road of progress? And if we meet with limitations and imperfections in human sciences, why should we claim a perfect vision, an evident demonstration of the truths concerning God? Why should we pretend to have dissipated all the mysterious shadows which envelop the knowledge of God so far as we are concerned? If we hesitate and waver very often in the field of human sciences and if our theories in these fields rest on simple hypotheses, which sometimes crumble like card-houses, we ought not be amazed at our impotence to rise up to a higher plane of cognition of the supernatural truths.

Certainly, those truths, when considered in themselves, share in the eternal immutability of the Divine Being. For us they rest upon a firmer ground than that which supports the most evident truths in the order of nature, for in God, who revealed them to us, we cannot imagine the slightest shadow of error. But if we look upon them from a subjective point of view, that is, as far as they refer to our intelligence, we cannot pretend that they appear to us in their full and bright luminousness.

We know that the sun radiates light and warmth; but we enter into the realm of hypotheses whenever we attempt to discover out the nature of the source from which that light and warmth flow. In a like manner we perceive God as an eternal source of truth and love. Even with the pale ray of his reason, man can grasp God as the light which illuminates to him the passing beauty of heaven. For this reason the Christian apologists, headed by Clement of Alexandria, extolled philosophy as a preparatory step to the fullness of Christian truth.

Christian revelation comes to fill the gaps of our understanding. It unveils to us many hidden aspects and mysterious realities of that everflowing source of supreme truth and infinite love. But in spite of that higher knowledge of God, which we receive by way of Christ's revelation, we are riveted to the natural incapacity of our created being. Our eyes gaze at the brilliant light of the sun in the middle of its course; but they are blinded by the vividness of its dazzling rays. Likewise, the eyes of our minds turn towards

God, and when their power of seeing is strengthened by revelation, they can penetrate a little more deeply into the bosom of the Divine Being. But that higher light of revelation does not dispel the natural mists of our understanding, nor lessen the infiniteness of God, nor constrain Him within the narrow limits of our human comprehension.

No doubt the sparkles of the Divine beauty, which faith brings down to us from heaven, opens new horizons to our knowledge of God and kindles the fire of divine love within our hearts. They give a large development to our spiritual life, and they exert a powerful influence on our moral life. But they do not bridge the gulf of infinite distance between God and man; between the divine immensity and human littleness; between the uncreated wisdom and the ignorance of the created mind. With eyes raised heavenward and with a feeling of deep humility, a truly Christian soul repeats the words of St. Paul:

"O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways!" (St. Paul, Romans xi., 33.)

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WHAT ABOUT BAZIN?

SOME one has beautifully said: "Every man has two countries, his own and France." Especially should this be true of Americans, for no intelligent student of history can remain insensible of the debt we owe to our fair sister for the blood and treasure she so unselfishly expended in aiding us to form our national entity or be unmoved by the countless examples of disinterested friendliness with which we have been favored in more recent times. However, many a thoughtful person sojourning abroad has in the past found cause for deep mortification in the antics of his compatriots from the land of the free while engaged in the pleasant pastime of "doing" Europe. There are many among us who, while they appear to be sticklers for conventionality, are at heart great rebels, and in response to the necessity they felt for antithesis, embarked upon an orgy of unreason almost before the gangplank was withdrawn and the Statue of Liberty faded from view. Seeing life as it is, to them meant to see it upside down. They were the roistering Americans one noticed, for instance, in the gilded hells of the Place Pigalle; it was their staggering footsteps which kept the grass from growing on the sidewalks in front of the low theatres of the Boulevard Montmartre. Such individuals presumed to judge Paris and the Parisians by the viciousness of a few blatant music halls which existed merely because the unruly natures of tourists created a demand for them, by the ribald atmosphere of its cheap cabarets and the sordidness of its underworld in general. They could not see the grand old Cathedral of Notre Dame on account of the gargoyles. This strange phenomenon, like certain laws in biology, cannot be adequately explained; it can merely be observed. On account of it a most pernicious tradition has grown up in America concerning things French. French husbands are considered risky propositions, French girls are said to be flirtatious, French children are believed to be abnormally sophisticated and French novels are declared to be immoral.

It is not imaginable that the perpetrators of such wholesale heresies would be disconcerted by a little thing like the present war, with its shining revelation that France has a soul, and though we have lately been deluged by a literature that is passionately Gallomaniac, it is a literature that retracts few of the false impressions which our omniscient travelers have disseminated, and it is a literature, moreover, that fails in a curiously inept fashion to reconstruct the France of the French since the beginning of this century. Yet nothing is now easier. The war has given us a magnificent vantage

point from which we may view the period which it closed as completely as if it were the end of an epoch. How may we discover the subjective interests which occupied the French before the war? I answer, by examining the books then written, and more particularly the books of fiction. The attitude of the moment is always accurately reflected in contemporaneous fiction. A novel is an intimate thing; it speaks from heart to heart. Its influence is tremendous. Time was when, through the prevalence among us of a certain lawless school, the term "French novel" stood for all that is vile in literature. Balzac, Flaubert, Maupassant, Zola, Anatole France—all these have known the witchery of words, yet used them poorly to express what is in the minds and hearts of their countrymen. They were like artists who set out to describe the intricate glories of a cathedral window and ignore the sunlight which alone endows the bits of glass with beauty. The beams illuminating French life and character are, I need scarcely mention, those irradiating from the Catholic faith, which, in spite of unutterable travail, still sheds its lustre over the land. It would be interesting to know in what measure literary ghouls are responsible for the submerging of France in the twilight waters of religious indifference—surely not a small one, for the pen still rules the world, and the power of the writer, and more especially of the writer of fiction, simply cannot be estimated. Since 1914 the pages of our press have been filled with stories of the extraordinary revival of religion throughout that nation in agony; Agnosticism, we learn, has been consumed in the Pentecostal fire of faith which has inflamed the people. Was France before this conversion a frivolous wanton or was she in the serious mood of Agrippa when he said: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian?" Investigation establishes her high purposes. These are clearly mirrored in the fiction of the time.

The novels written and read in the France of fifty years ago are an index of the decadence which then thrived. These novels lowered the whole moral standard of the reading public, they destroyed all sense of modesty and repulsion for the unclean in the minds of their numerous readers, and, of course, the generation which followed paid the penalty. This generation and its successor was beginning to realize how pitifully it had been deluded, how vast was its degradation when the great war broke out and beached them safely on the shores of the ancient faith, secure once more in the harbor of her faultless, authentic taste in literature, art and life. Then it was that they apprehended what the Abbé Dimnet has said in one of the illuminating passages of his "France Herself Again:" Nobody is expected to be especially attentive to his manners in an inferior society, and when the realistic novel does not introduce us to unde-

sirable company, it at least makes us familiar with that part of ourselves of which we are the least proud. If we take pleasure in it, this pleasure will be a sort of confession, the admission that whatever may be the weaknesses and uglinesses of our nature, we think them quite as capable of being made interesting as our nobler sides." France had gravitated from one extreme to another, from intense religious conviction to free-thinking and back, from absolutism to republicanism and back, and now once more she is "white for bliss and blind for sun and stunned for liberty."¹ Our writers have failed to give a satisfactory explanation of this remarkable change that has come over the French spirit because they have virtually ignored the strong Catholic school of French novelists which has happily sprung up to mould the intellectual tendencies of their time as they struggled to the surface of the social consciousness. For if in the past fifteen or twenty years there has been a beneficent revival of spirituality in France, it is because the Catholic mind has begun to dominate the field of fiction in French scenes. Brunetière, Bourget, Bordeaux, Barrés, Boileslève, Bazin, and to descend a few thousand feet—such writers as Coppée Pravieux, Dombre, Mathilde Alanic, Jean de la Brète, Mme. J. Reynès-Monlaur—these are the real stars in the literary firmament of the new France. I am not here concerned with the yeoman service of her fine group of Catholic poets whose leader is Paul Claudel. Of the busy B's of France, Bazin stands out as the foremost writer of to-day. Bazin is a true secretary of French society, and his books are but an inventory of its forces—forces he has incarnated and called human beings. From his serene heights he surveys the movements of these galvanized figures, records their attractions and repulsions, pulls them apart and shows us their insides. He is an expert swimmer in the multifarious cross-currents of the age and his books give a birds-eye view of modern France as far as the beginning of the war, supplying the key to the amazing phenomena we have been witnessing. At the present time his vogue in France is tremendous, unprecedented. The reason lies not far to seek. Bazin has never been in sympathy with false pacifists like Victor Hugo, who love to read and hear of war, and obtain from it interior pleasures of imagination, but are not ready to risk their skins in it, men who are the spiritual brethren of our own precious Gardeens, "invincible in peace, invisible in war." He has consistently preached the staunchest patriotism. Moreover, his tales are happily free from tragedy in the Greek sense—that sense of brooding disaster, of cruel and immutable fate, of the eternal meaninglessness of life which mars so much of the work his compatriots have produced. His integrity of purpose, his zeal for nationalism,

¹ "Lepanto," in *Poems*, by G. K. Chesterton. London, Burns & Oates.

his dauntless courage, his intuitive insight into the impulses of human nature in the bulk, his gift of characterization, his eagerness in the pursuit of a high ideal, his faith in the possibilities of the latent energy in the individual will, are optimistic. Life, to him, is pregnant with holy meaning, and with thrilling vividness he sums up its significance. The prodigal experiences of life are but the workings of God on souls; human sorrow is but the "shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly;" human joy is but a foretaste of the happiness of the blessed, who through earthly paths of pain have sought and found Him, grasping with the fingers of faith and love the blissful reward all may attain through the unifying mystery of Grace. God and Country are the Alpha and Omega of existence. For these must every Frenchman yield his all. This is the passionate substance of his message. To bring France back to her once proud position as the most valiant daughter of the Church is his deathless impetus. "She is not dead, but sleepeth!" he has been pleading for a decade, in the words of Christ raising the daughter of Jairus. The war has been a vindication, triumphant and complete, of this thesis. His fellow-citizens have indeed feet of gold, they are indeed worthy sons of

"France, whose armor conscience buckled on,
Whom zeal and charity brought to the field
As God's own soldier!"²

In one of his brilliant essays, John Addington Symonds called attention to three successive phases of criticism, pointing out that critics had first set up as judges, delivering opinions from the bench with smug and solemn phiz, then they were metamorphosed into showmen, dwelling chiefly on the merits of the works they were exhibiting, and finally that they had become natural historians, studying, in the fashion of the comparative biologists, "each object in relation to its antecedents and its consequences" and acquainting themselves "with the conditions under which the artist grew, the habits of his race, the opinions of his age, his physiological and psychological peculiarities." It is through this last mentioned method that I shall endeavor to present in some sort the genius of René Bazin—a flowering too little known and appreciated among his American brethren, who possess their full share of that unfortunate national characteristic—a lack of æsthetic curiosity. Whatever the virtues of our much-vaunted self-sufficiency may be in other fields, they most certainly do not obtain in the realm of Catholic imaginative literature. In England, as in France, the Catholic novel may truly be said to have attained an honorable place. Cardinals Newman and Wiseman, Mon-

² Shakespeare: "King John," Act II., scene 2.

signor Benson, Canon Barry, the late Canon Sheehan and a splendid troop of talented layfolk have given salutary lessons in the gentle art of how to be interesting though clean, and having forcibly demonstrated the fact that sound Catholic fiction of literary worth is always assured of an appreciative audience that extends far beyond the pale of Peter. But this world of American Catholic novelists—what is it? I will tell you. It is a very dreadful place. It is a circus where all the animals have the pip, where all the acrobats are stuffed with sawdust, where all the clowns tell jokes out of Joe Miller, where even the ringmaster needs a hair-cut—a strange universe peopled with tentative men and women, alleged lives, souls barely basted to a body, attenuated suggestions—a clarion-voiced menagerie with caudal, tin-can appendages. Be assured, I am not forgetting that veteran joy-bringer, Anna T. Sadlier, or Maurice F. Egan, or Mary T. Waggaman, or Richard Aumerle Maher, or Molly Elliot Sewall, or Christian Reid. But subtract the noteworthy converts who devote themselves to the literary craft and also the goodly company of lesser lights among the men and women in religion and what have you left in the way of lay Catholic effort? More persons than can be counted on the fingers of one hand whose work will be read a quarter of a century hence. Catholic imaginative literature in this country, then, may still be said to be in its swaddling-clothes. The best is yet to come. Recent work shows that the greatness of its future is beyond all prophecy. While waiting for this millennium of our imaginative literature, readers weary of the artistic pabulum served up by native merchants of mediocrity can find royal feasting in the novels of such writers as René Bazin. When I was literary advisor to the Devin-Adair Company, I noticed that if one of the finest of his works in translation, namely “Those of His Own Household,”³ was in demand at all, it was largely due to the interest of non-Catholics in the academician’s art. I have frequently had the gratification of seeing his works read in the subway and in libraries, but candor compels me to state that such appreciation has been chiefly Jewish. Through this indefensible apathy regarding the literary triumphs of their foreign co-religionists, American Catholics deprive themselves of much civilized pleasure.

What a land is France! Without her civilization would be like a man without a soul. Whether we take her for her ideals of government, for her literature, for her science, for her sanctity or her song or for her intensely humanistic and democratic qualities, France tells us of leadership; she is a radiant prophetess whose visions illuminate the whole world. In advertising her charms, Bazin has adapted the

³ “Those of His Own Household” (Mme. Corentine). New York, Devin-Adair Company. By René Bazin. Translated by L. M. Leggatt.

Japanese mode of floral display to his needs. Just as we apprehend the beauties of nature more clearly by contemplating, in the Japanese manner, a single flower in an appropriate setting, so, too, Bazin has wisely decided we can learn more about his incomparable France by considering the aspects of her varied life singly; just as the visitor to a picture gallery retains a much stronger impression of the merits of different painters by seeing the works of only one at a visit, so, resolved Bazin, the flavor of France would be best remembered by presenting the psychology of her provinces with an individual treatment for each. If Mistral was the Virgil of Provence, Bazin is the Homer of France. French geography has affected the people as well as the French climate and French architecture. Though the former provincial boundaries have been abolished, the characteristics of the people of those erstwhile divisions, racy of the soil, remain, and in each lives a fiery pride of place, with idiosyncrasies of speech, costume and custom peculiar to it, just as in architecture one finds the explanation of some of the great ecclesiastical and public buildings of France in the geographical conditions of their locations. Each province has its individuating note, some feature distinctly its own, that fixes it indelibly in mind and makes of it a thing apart. Bazin gives a warm-toned picture full of high lights, touched with the gold of grain, the ruddy tiles of ancient roofs, the mad profusion of poppies, the tawny flood of rivers and the white glint of the sea—all these prodigal nuances, these amazing inebrieties of color, are caught with deft fingers and transferred to his pages with the faithfulness of a Meissoner and with a spiritual insight into the relation of nature to her Creator which vitalizes details. Though, as I have said, the people differ widely in language, in appearance, in costume, in habits, the wistful, other-worldly Breton, the sedate, ruddy-faced Norman, the vivacious Burgundian, the stolid, harsh-voiced Auvergnat, the dashing virile Savoyard, the blasé Parisian, the jaunty, seafaring Boulonnais—they are all French. This polyglot race may still be classed in the three traditional groups—the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Through their almost hierarchical structure one may perceive the native characteristic of French temper which is least evident to foreigners in general. In spite of the country's tempestuous history, the French passion for doing all things "decently and in order," the domestic conservatism of French impulse has kept the superstructure of French private life far more persistent and inflexible than one is apt to imagine. I do not admit, as some have done before me, that those who people the artistic and educational circles form a fourth class; these are in the main merely the flotsam and jetsam of the bourgeoisie. They mingle, according to their origin, on the frontiers of both aristocratic and peasant society,

frontiers which the war has to a certain extent effaced. It is a commonplace that the middle class must be the core of any nation, comparatively spared from the overripeness of aristocracy and from the crudity which must everywhere be the lot of the lowest class. It is the average man, after all, who makes up the nation, not, to use M. Van Tichelen's felicitous phrase, the "*savants de cabinets et historiens en pantoufles*." Therefore, a nation is learned in one way only—through contact with its common people, at their work and in play, in office and in street, in leisure and at charity, by their rebellious shouts and through their humble prayers. One must listen, if one would know, listen to the medley of their voices, listen to the symphony swelling at the bottom of their hearts. The better one comes to know this comprehensive middle class—the bourgeoisie—of France, the deeper one's conviction grows that a nation with a social class so solidly, so profoundly, so quietly, so admirably in earnest, a nation of which the core is so sound, must be essentially wholesome.

M. Bazin is *sui generis*, and not on that account are his books less interesting and captivating, by any means. The secret of his technique is that his raw materials are the passions and wills of human beings. He has an absolute disregard for academic, dramatic attitudes. His personages are commonplace, yet like Browning's meanest soul, they have a human side to show us. Protean in his mental and spiritual activities, a hater of shams, more symbolist than realist, he is in assent with Goëthe, that no material is unfit for poetic treatment. Accordingly, he does not exalt the virtues of the French people or assert their preëminence on the qualities of their nobler souls or of their gifted intellects; his favorite concern is the ordinary daily life of the average Frenchman. He realizes that it is with such that the welfare of society rests. If actions are the result of ideas, then the man one meets on the street must be given true ideas. If the Church is to prosper, the millions must know the truth about her. So runs Bazin's formula. He does not realize the Church in the mystical, mediæval manner of Huysmans, though the white soul of the Middle Ages frequently gleams through his writings; he is chiefly engrossed with the actual, intensely practical Church *ici-bas*. Always he is a dogmatist, a supporter of tradition and authority. His erudition is vast, varied and accurate and always ready at hand, though his books are never permeated by an atmosphere of heaviness. Impelled by a vigorous polemic temper and bringing to bear all his logic and the whole battery of his solid learning, he wages a relentless war against all those who stand for a vagabond dilettantism. He never wants for a word or a thought. Like Emerson's famous bird, he is always in full breath. Constantly fighting for some prin-

ciple or some truth, he marshals his facts and arguments like a general in battle, and he wins the day, often annihilating the enemy completely. While each of his tales has a moral, it is always unobtrusive. Verily, *ars est celare artem*! Psychological penetration, a sympathetic regard for humankind, uniform purity, steady purpose and virile strength color all his novels. They have the additional charm of a polished and refined style, free from the disfiguring leprosy of foreign idioms and adorned with a wealth gleaned from the innermost recesses of the author's lingual arcana. Their ethics are founded upon the stable canons of Catholic morality and their beauty of conception makes them classic works of indubitable genius. As a Catholic, M. Bazin has shed more light upon the religious questions of France than any other modern writer. In his books the soul of France stands revealed in all its radiance; her people are depicted in their true light as an intelligent, thrifty and progressive race, simple in their tastes, industrious in their habits, devout in their beliefs, unselfish in their social relations and in the fine little details of accomplishment, of impulse, of manner, second to none.

The various aspects of the reactionary movement in France have had individual expression in the foundation of the royalist society known as l'Action Française by Charles Maurras, who thus precipitated the harrowing scenes amid profaned sanctuaries described in Bourget's "l'Emigré," in the preaching of a gospel of energy in a series of novels grouped under the title of "Energie nationale" by the somewhat chauvinistic Maurice Barrès, and in the high religious values of the prose epics of René Bazin. Bazin is passionately devoted to France, not so much for what she is, but for the splendid past and for the glorious era he believes is to come. A realist in many of his methods, he is by impulse and outlook an idealist, almost a visionary. And since without vision there could be no future, Bazin is emphatically the French novelist of the future. And herein lies his power to influence the minds of the present. He has offered the people of his generation not what they wanted, but what they needed. He has shown them "the soul of their country, its character, its vocation, its national aspect."⁴ He recalls to them "all the tenderness of our fathers which has lived in the poems of the people since the eleventh century, and in their hearts since long before."⁵ In answer to the question, "Why is France gentle?" he tells us: "She has been called so because of her courtesy, her purity, her glad and noble heart. But gentleness is neither weak nor fearful. Gentleness is strong. Gentleness is armed for justice and for peace. She does not brandish her sword needlessly, but carries it at her side, the hilt in her steady

⁴ Author's preface to "Gentle France" ("La Douce France"). By René Bazin. Translated by Mary Dougherty. P. 6. Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son.

⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

palm. Without her there is naught but violence. She may be recognized at once by the victories which she wins. She has pity on the vanquished; she conciliates them; she knows that men will not behave as they should unless there is a power to rule and to punish them, but she knows, too, that they cannot be happy unless their souls are conquered, charmed, free in their love, recognized in their love, recognized as great powers, treated as immortal. France the dispenser of justice, France the warrior, France the conqueror, is still gentle France."⁶ He has brought together, in a most fortuitous concurrence, all the diverse atoms of nationality found in the various provinces, amalgamating them into one magnificent whole, one glorious France. Thus in "Madame Corentine"⁷ he shows us Brittany, the "land of pardons," a bleak, wind-swept peninsula full of quiet, undemonstrative folk, who live by the harvest of the sea; in "Donatienne,"⁸ we have a picture of the simple Bretons of the wooded interior; in "En Provence,"⁹ we see quaint Normandy, Ernest Dowson's "land of silence and apple blossoms," with its shimmering silver streams and its towering acacias; the Vendée is celebrated in "les Noëllet,"¹⁰ "la Terre qui meurt"¹¹ and "Davidée Birot";¹² Savoy lives again in "Croquis de France et d'Orient,"¹³ Picardy in "le Blé qui lève,"¹⁴ Craon in "Ma tante Giron,"¹⁵ Alsace in "les Oberlé,"¹⁶ Lyons in "l'Isolée,"¹⁷ Boulogne in "Gingolph l'Abandonné,"¹⁸ and so on. Bazin's patriotism is ubiquitous. Even when he writes of other lands he cannot forget his dear France. If he is dealing with Italy, it is Corsica that interests him; if Africa enters his thoughts, they are concentrated on Algeria; if his gaze wanders across the Atlantic to America, it is riveted on the Canada of the French. Always he seeks out the influences of his native land, ever preaching in words of flame the love of France. Her most terrible

⁶ Ibid., p. 6, et sequi.

⁷ "Those of His Own Household" ("Madame Corentine"). By René Bazin. Translated by L. M. Leggatt. New York, Devin-Adair Company.

⁸ "Donatienne." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

⁹ "En Provence." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

¹⁰ "les Noëllet." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

¹¹ "Autumn Glory" ("la Terre qui meurt"). By René Bazin. Translated by Mrs. Ellen Waugh. London, Jarrold & Sons.

¹² "Davidée Birot." By René Bazin. Translated by Mary D. Frost. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

¹³ "Croquis de France et d'Orient." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

¹⁴ "The Coming Harvest" ("le Blé qui lève"). By René Bazin. Translated by Edna K. Hoyt. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

¹⁵ "Ma tante Giron." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

¹⁶ "The Children of Alsace" ("les Oberlé"). By René Bazin. Translated with a Preface by Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport. London, Stanley Paul & Co.

¹⁷ "l'Isolée." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

¹⁸ "Jilted" ("Gingolph l'Abandonné"). By René Bazin. Translated by Hugh Anthony Allen, M. A. New York, Devin-Adair Co. (In preparation.)

vicissitudes have not shaken his belief in her ability to achieve a glorious destiny. As far back as 1909, certainly an unpromising year, while addressing the alumni of Montgazon College in sunny Angers, he said: "Gentlemen, when I was young we were ardent Frenchmen, and we so remain. Before 1870 we believed France invincible; after, seeing her wounded, enfeebled, we had that calmness, at least, of the beloved knowledge and of already hearing it said: 'She is born again, she is saved!' It was true. You, gentlemen, you see a sickness other than that of war, and more grave, a sickness that lies in the depths of souls. Around you, among all classes, even the good, you hear talk of the decadence of the country, of her approaching death. Never accept these words! Protest! Be indignant! It is not the first time that France is betrayed, in peace or in war. She is always escaping from ambushes and perplexing the prophets. In her mission, more necessary than ever, she is not the designed successor; she is again a grand Catholic nation, generous, disinterested, rich in workers and in works, that, perhaps well for those who intercede on high, is full of more and more prayers and sufferings. I do not know if you will see her reestablished in her splendor, but I am sure that you are close to evidences of the greatest promise."

To Bazin the most consoling sign of the times is that the peasantry, in spite of a certain restless trend toward the cities, are in the main still unspoiled. In a conference on "*les Missions Rurales*" he gives this striking portrait of his favorite hero: "In the rural class one still meets with some recognizable traits and occasionally with faithful and living portraits of the ancient French peasant. The peasant of whom I speak was one of the chief works of Catholicism and of French royalty; the one had slowly formed him with her doctrine and ornamented him with her virtue; the other had understood the immense benefit that the State always derives from this Christian formation of the man, and she had seconded this secular work of evangelization and favored, whenever she was able, the progress and organization of campaigns. The more one studies, the more one will recognize that the rural question has been decided among us marvelously during the centuries. I do not consider that the laborer of the rugged lands of France, the man who held the plough, merely made sowings and reaped for himself and a few neighbors a supply of wheat. He had a rude life full of vigilance and of struggling against innumerable enemies of his welfare; he cursed it and loved it at the same time, and if he was enriched, he remained poor of house and clothing solely to augment the number of his cattle or of his fields. He was slow of spirit, but altogether solid, judicial, bold in his repartee and instructed in two necessary

things, the things eternal and those of his state. He was not at all servile because he had a conscience, but he had respect for the hierarchy, being respected himself in his family and in his firmness, and he ignored without doubt the catalogue of his rights, but he exercised them more and made another figure than that rural elector of to-day, who suffers the children to be robbed by a school of which he does not approve. Above all, he had the traditional intelligence of the faith; he knew his religion, and those who have spoken of routine and of superstition have not said the truth for the great rural mass. It is of his blood, a thousand times baptized, and has not had a denial; it has found an outlet and is finding an outlet again in the priests of our parishes and in the majority of the religious of our communities, who are nothing else but a glorification of the peasant by God Himself." Such is the model he sets before his countrymen. He is *en rapport* with the "Professor of Heroism," Charles Péguy. "The faith alone is able to make a head perfectly sane and a heart perfectly strong; it is the firmest guardian of good sense and the tenderest counsellor of fraternity."¹⁹ He would have them know "that charming virtue, which consists in knowing well what talents and energy one possesses and is able to give a good account of their use,"²⁰ for "we remain in the world the most ephemeral of all things, flying with rapidity, and responsible for their lustre."²¹ "Without doubt it is not necessary to abandon any form of action. But the essential is the labor that is obscure, a daily devotion to the religious cause, the habit of doing the day's work as well as a Christian should; the rest will grow out of this, if it is pleasing to God."²²

Though he does not scorn absolutely the drama of urban life, he has a special predilection for ruralities. He is an adept at bringing out the strength of peasant and bourgeois prejudice, and as an interpreter of village life has no peer. He is a perfect master of small town psychology, with a nice knowledge of the subtle laws that bless and damn in the hinterland. Bazin is a latter-day Balzac without Balzac's grossness. He does not go to the bagnios of Paris for his plots. He never descends to meretricious aids in order to give us a picture of life as the normal man beholds it. He busies himself with life's primal sanities. His characters behave like ladies and gentlemen; his dialogue is bright and decorous. His stories reflect the wholesome home life of clean, honest persons who have their own problems to face and to work out. Through them we may enter into the very life of France, may feel the fury of the storms

¹⁹ "La misère des esprits," a discourse given at Liège before the Union des Etudiants Catholiques, December 20, 1907.

²⁰ "Pages Religieuses," p. 17.

²¹ "Pages Religieuses," p. 17.

²² "Les bonnes chances de la jeunesse, Pages Religieuses," p. 210.

which rage about her coasts, her peacefulness when the storms have passed, the beauty of her heather-covered cliffs and the charm of her quaint customs. He prisons landscape in a phrase and infuses so much personality into natural objects that one feels the very atmosphere of the country, visualizing its scenes as one beholds them in the paintings of Millet. What Bourget achieved severely and heavily and Champol attempted rather timidly, Bazin has accomplished with a sureness of touch and an unerring taste which compel our admiration as the sun compels the flower. One realizes more and more as one reads Bazin that the "Boulevard Montmartre" is not France any more than Broadway is the United States, and that the dalliance along either thoroughfare in no way represents the life of the real people who form the genuine sinews of either nation. Take, for instance, that incomparable series of vignettes grouped under the title of "Gentle France." There are impressions for you, veritable slices of life, an elaborate pageant, the drama of "Everyman" upon a superbly mounted stage—sketches inimitably succinct, sympathetic, archetypal and penetrating. France, he would have us know, is "a nation whose civilization and renown are ancient, which has given so many examples of saintliness, of military courage, of work, of genius in arts and sciences, of charity in life," which has scarcely a parish where some great personage has not lived or died." Accordingly, he darts down the avenue of the past long enough to give us the stories of such worthies as Jeanne d' Arc, Pasteur, Millet, the Curé of Ars, the saints and heroes associated with the Cathedral of St. Denis and the stout hearts that made New France. Then in colorful procession through his living pages pass the priest, the nun, the soldier, the sailor, the peasant woman and such sons of toil as the laborer, miller, shepherd, butcher, fisherman, weaver, blacksmith, chair mender, flower gardener, chimney sweep, boatman, postman and lace maker. If France is gentle, such as these made her so. Hal-prais, the slate-cutter, a practical Catholic, is jeered at for his piety by some one of his mates, products of the de-Christianized French schools, but he goes serenely on his way, scheming to obtain their conversion: "You see, sir, what we need is priests of extraordinary power. That is why we should redouble our prayers at the time of their conversion." That God has not ignored such prayers is abundantly proved by the presence to-day of over twenty thousand valiant priests and religious in the armies of France, strong men of God all, for the French clergy have no sinecure, as Huet, a vine-grower, well observes when his son asks his leave to become a priest: "My boy, if you had asked my permission some ten years ago, when the life of a priest was not lacking in comfort, I should have advised you to wait, to give the matter a little more consideration; but now—

adays, when the life of a priest offers nothing but sacrifice, I say 'yes' at once." The younger generation, indeed, shows the greatest promise. Some children were listening to the story of the Passion which the priest ended with "Judas was seized with despair and hanged himself," whereupon one little chap piped up: "Were I Judas, I would have hung myself around Jesus' neck." The French cathedrals are splendid flags, symbolizing the faith and chivalry of the people, and they have never been lowered—except by the modern roundhead distainers of beauty, *les Boches*. Though materialism's foul blight overspread the nation, they persistently nurtured a vision of better things. The French have been like tea leaves; their real strength and goodness did not fully come out until they got into hot water.

By precept and example Bazin has helped his people to hope. He shows whether by harmony or discord, the beauty of the Christian ideal, apart from which all is illusory. Each of his books leaves an impression of virile strength, of dauntless perseverance, of splendid faith. The divine breath of God vibrates within them, and so they break upon us like a flood. "L'Isolée," "De toute son amé, Donatienne"²³—these are radiant with hope and courage. In the striking gallery of portraits he has given us some of the most charming are those of priests and nuns. These latter, wholesome, delightful creatures, glide busily through most of his books as in life, and are just as pleasant to meet. His analysis of the feelings of the father and of the daughter who is about to leave him for God, a poignant, beautiful thing, is true the world over. His priests are especially noteworthy; they are neither the senile fogies nor the obese buffoons of American fiction, but inspiring figures, full of simple dignity and solace, who pass among their fellows like a breeze on an August afternoon. Who, on acquaintance, can forget the good curé in "Ma tante Giron" or the Abbé Roubiaux in "le Blé qui lève?" His characters are as clear-cut as cameos and stand out as sharply silhouetted against their fictional backgrounds as the great personages of history. With a steady rhythm they move toward the light of true righteousness, perfect in their genre. Names throng. Marie-Anne Lageat, "humble little Marie-Anne, the little peasant of Perros," who was "destined to spread over whatever lives she came in contact with, her own atmosphere of peaceful fireside joys and gentle mysticism;" splendid Marie Limerel, so wise in her love, so noble in her sacrifice; generous, big-hearted Henriette Madiot, thrilling with eagerness to ameliorate human sufferings; austere Rosalie Lobez, woman of indomitable energies, of a thousand sorrows and one joy, her religion; Reginald Breytolds, who gave up all at the command of

²³ "De toute son âme." By René Bazin. Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

conscience; Gilbert Cloquet, the poor laborer, who saw in the teachings of Christ the one remedy for the social needs of the hour; fine, idealistic Michel de Meximieu, and finally, to end the endless, that "man without a country," Jean Oberlé. Bazin has written many stories of Alsace-Lorraine, "that gem wrenched from the imperial diadem" in the seventeenth century and reset in the nineteenth, the general tenor of which is that this ornament should once more adorn the so beautiful brow of France. In consequence, he has been excoriated by some critics, who believe with men of the law that "he who seeks equity must come into court with clean hands." One does not forget how France came by Alsace-Lorraine in the first place. Alsace was the bribe most ignobly accepted in return for her services to the Protestant princes of Germany and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, the object being to weaken the Catholic power of Austria and Spain, to enrich Prussia and make it independent of Catholic Poland. In an amazingly short period, France changed the people of these provinces into beings as Gallic as any Frenchman. When Prussia reset the jewel still again in 1870, their subsequent Germanization did not include any attempt to "blot out the stars in the heavens," to rob the school children of their Christian heritage or to persecute the Church and the multitude of holy persons consecrated to the service of God. All of these things have happened within memory in France itself, with the result that large numbers of Alsatians and Lorrainers turned their backs on France. In "*Les Oberlé*," his most important work woven about this territory, which is frankly propaganda designed to bring back the "lost tribes," the author tells us nothing of this. Yet how beautifully he writes! How his sentences hiss and sing! What an ear he has for vivid, vibrant French! While under his mesmeric spell one simply cannot feel resentful.

The spiritual significance of Bazin's novels, though preëminently French, applies not only to the land of the fleur-de-lis, but is universal in its appeal, spreading its wistful message wherever Christian idealism has or is struggling to obtain its beneficent sway. In such avowedly religious books as "*The Coming Harvest*," "*Davidée Birot*," "*The Nun*"²⁴ and "*The Barrier*,"²⁵ Bazin has handled in masterly fashion the pressing religious problems of our time, indicating with clairvoyant power their only satisfactory solution. He tells us, in writing of "gentle France": "The men earned the bread of the household, the women looked after the homes; they obeyed the law of God; and that suffices to make a life noble,

²⁴ "*The Nun*." By René Bazin. London, Eveleigh Nash.

²⁵ "*The Barrier*" ("*La Barrière*"). By René Bazin. Translated by Mary D. Frost. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

useful to the neighborhood and to the whole nation." How simple and yet how comprehensive! If such a condition obtained to-day, the elements of flux and disintegration which are penetrating the life of our age would sink into oblivion. Catholicism, permeating the individual, inspiring the individual in all the relations of life, Catholicism spreading its blessed haven from the individual throughout the State—such is the panacea Bazin prescribes for all the ills of this poor, sick world. I pass on rapidly, hitting only the high places; any one of the above mentioned novels is enough for a longer essay than the present. In those works where the author's chief subjective interest is less pronounced, where the religious note is struck in a minor key, where the theme is more personal, so to say, their substance attains most fully to that aim of all true literature—the elevating and broadening of the mind and heart. Such a one is "Gingolph L'Abandonné."

In many respects this novel, though far less ambitious in scope, challenges comparison with Romain Rolland's cyclopean "Jean Christophe." Bazin has this writer's gift of subtle psychological analysis, of vivid description, of robust idealism, with nothing, however, of the same despondent or rather pessimistic outlook upon life. "Gingolph" is written with such supreme art that all criticism must be silent before it. The story has not the rugged, forceful horror of "The Nun" nor the huge play of irresistible forces of "The Coming Harvest;" it is in keeping with Bazin's gentler moods reflecting its author in a more pleasing and charming way. If you have yet to get acquainted with Bazin, this is an excellent novel to start with, since it shows modern France in its most human phases—those of family life, a family life which in this instance has its being in the neighborhood of Boulogne, Boulogne with its gleaming white sand dunes that make an iridescent fringe along the sea. Some French novelists, notably Henry Bordeaux, cannot write a dozen paragraphs without becoming involved in more or less recondite snarls of speech. One cannot read "Les Roquevillard," to give a random example, without having at one's elbow a dictionary of the terms peculiar to French legal procedure. Now, the vocabulary of a French sailor is a fearful and wonderful thing, yet how intelligible and expressive Bazin has made this argot seem! One had thought that Joseph Conrad had written the symphony of the sea, but believe me the best of Conrad could borrow to advantage from Bazin. The case against Conrad is the same as the case against Algernon Blackwood—their writings provide princely entertainment, but they get you nowhere, the Universe being to both men "purely spectacular." Bazin, on the other hand, sees the big issues of life with crystalline clearness. He knows whither we are tending, and without being

an annoying pietist, he gives us much to help us on our way. Therefore, in writing of the sea, he does not lose sight of its divinely appointed place in the scheme of creation, but gives us revealing glimpses of its supernatural aspect. Bazin is passionately fond of the sea, and he is never so happy as when he is telling us of the sturdy fisherfolk of the French coasts. With Swinburne, he seems to exclaim:

"I will go back to the great sweet mother,
Mother and lover of men, the sea.
I will go down to her, I and none other,
Close with her, kiss her and mix her with me;
Cling to her, strive with her, hold her fast;
O fair white mother, in days long past
Born without sister, born without brother,
Set free my soul as thy soul is free."

"Oh, the sea, what a jade she is! Never twice alike!" growls bluff old Captain Guen, beside himself over the wreck of La Jeanne,²⁸ but he promptly repudiates his heresy. The sea may have her hoydenish moods, but taken all in all she is a perfect lady in the estimation of these hardy mariners who thrive on the harvest of the deep. Scores of passages scattered through his various novels bear testimony to the filial and fraternal piety evoked in Bazin by the sea, its ships and its men. The number and sumptuous beauty of these is an overwhelming beguilement to the pen. Bazin has supplied a really impressive group of sailors, at once wholly of the craft and wholly themselves, placed, in steadfast loyalty to a simple ideal, against the background of the immortal and unresting sea. Many of his landscapes are really seascapes. To him the sea is infinitely various, the land limited in comparison, so that he must needs render it occasionally in terms of what it lacks of the sea's attributes. The chapter in "Gingolph" entitled "The Blessing of the Sea" presents an impressive picture that does not soon pass. Throughout the novel the soft, sweet diapason of the sea acts as an accompaniment to the unfolding of a singularly moving story, a tone harmony full of subtle shadings. One might compare a Bazin novel to that great French standby, the *pot-au-feu*; into it goes a little of everything and it is always delicious. The foundation of "Gingolph," to be sure, is little more than the ancient tale of Romeo Montague and Juliet Capulet, but Bazin has dexterously fixed new wheels to the old machinery, added two magnetos, as it were, and developed characters that will impress themselves indelibly on the mind.

²⁸ "Those of His Own Household," p. 126.

He knows how to conceal a sob in a snicker, to sow smiles and reap tears. Gingolph Lobez, a seafaring "Huck Finn," and his mother, a French "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," have touching vicissitudes, but there is much delectable humor in this narrative of their momentous affairs. In Rosalie Lobez, Bazin has achieved one of his finest studies of the quiet, great-souled women of France, the norm of the nation, whose "Ave Marias take the straight road to heaven" to "fall far off, like the lightning and the dew," sowing mercy in unknown hearts. Knowing her, one is able to realize what Miss Aldrich meant in her charming book, "A Hill-top on the Marne,"²⁷ when she asked a young French wife whose husband had just left to join the colors: "Do you not grieve at losing your husband?" and the unselfish woman replies: "I am only his wife; France is his mother." It is this noble spirit of motherhood more than the inspiration of her military commanders that has exalted the patriotism of the whole nation, enabling its sons to afford "imperishable visions of intrepidity and of heroism as fine as any in the records of knight-errantry or in the annals of Homeric days."²⁸ And Gingolph? He helps us to understand what happened on the Yser. One follows this golden lad through his various adventures, from one's first meeting with him as the cabin-boy of the diminutive *Mouette* to the day, when like Belfast, he decided "to chuck going to the sea forever and go in a steamer," with unflagging interest. His love affair with the wealthy Zaybelle Gayole is exceedingly well related. Meeting her casually, while singing New Year's carols in the streets of Boulogne as a child, his passion for this exotic creature fills the formative years of his life. In the hands of this fair professor, Gingolph is as a lump of clay. The families of both oppose the match, but finally, when his prospects seem to warrant, after a typical French courtship, they become engaged. Yet, though she really loves him, whenever the frivolous Zaybelle thinks of marriage and its humdrum economies, she trembles, as Mulvaney used to say, like an asp on a leaf. Gingolph goes to serve his term in the navy, and his absence proves a relief to her. When he returns, it is to find himself jilted. For an oaf of a fellow Zaybelle, his boyhood sweetheart, the loveliest girl in Boulogne, has thrown him over without a qualm. Such, in crude outline, is the highly specialized story told. The denouement is entirely and delightfully French, quixotic, surprising, full of romance. I will not deprive my readers of the pleasure of finding it out for themselves. Bazin wrote this tale as a man of middle age, reminis-

²⁷ "A Hilltop on the Marne." By Mildred Aldrich. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co.

²⁸ A. Platt Andrew in Introduction to "Friends of France," p. 18. New York, Houghton, Mifflin Company.

cing with joyous understanding of the memorable moods that come to people in the springtime of life, and in it he rises to genuine interpretation, illuminating a universal experience by the light of a profound philosophy. "Gingolph" is full of the jauntiness of youth, the alluring charm of youth, the high hope of youth, but its magic is more than its palpable authenticity, more than even the fervor of the telling; the story exceeds its own perfection as a lyric rapture of abstract youth; it is the threnody of a past that was beautiful, a past that has vanished.

René Bazin is a true Frenchman, a staunch patriot, a scholarly litterateur and a fearless standard-bearer of the faith. He is always each and every one of these. He is a commanding moral and intellectual power. He has won his place by the moral and intellectual force of his personality. He has insisted on taking literature—and himself—seriously, and has compelled others to do so. He is a genuine apostle, and his supreme art is worthy of the lessons he undertakes to teach. His works stand out like the chiseled products of the sculptor, a series of real classics which we can put in the hands of our young sons and daughters to their lasting benefit. One wishes to read and reread these stories; one desires that the artist may be given length of days wherein to create many more such moving pictures to show forth the white nobility inherent in the solid Catholic folk of France, in Catholics throughout the world wherever the sublime wisdom of the Church prevails in human affairs, and one trusts that the school of René Bazin, sadly depleted by the war, may soon grow strong again and flourish like the bay tree, for surely he is of

"Christ's troop, Mary's guard, God's own men."²⁰

HUGH ANTHONY ALLEN.

Netcong, N. J.

²⁰ "Stars," in "Trees and Other Poems." By Joyce Kilmer. New York: George Doran Company.

AN UNWRITTEN PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

I HAVE read many books on the history of education and found much in them that is very valuable, interesting and instructive, and in some of them not a little bigotry. The rise and progress of education in the Old World and in the New are dwelt upon with more or less detail, but when we come to the New World, these books are devoted to extravagant laudation of the superior work done by the English-speaking people. They tell us that they were the first to establish schools, colleges and universities on this continent; that the most advanced methods of teaching found birth in the prolific Anglo-Saxon brain, and nothing was to be conceived as having had an existence until brought forth from that wonderful repository of gray matter. Why look further?

Perhaps, if we were the only people on this continent, we might be satisfied with the information given us up to this time, but if we are students of American history and can imagine America means something more than English America, we are apt to want to know what, if anything, was done elsewhere. Of course, we are told, with full details—very full details—how French and Spanish colonies were founded. We have had the cruelties practiced by the Spanish conquerors upon unoffending natives served up to us with every imaginable sauce and with the minutest detail, but little or no reference is ever made to that other class of Spaniards who denounced these cruelties and who came to conquer souls to God and to bring Christianity and civilization to a newly discovered people.

Far be it from our purpose in this paper to belittle the efforts made by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the work of civilizing and educating the native races of our continent, but we must in justice give credit to those who built the first schools and colleges, hospitals, asylums, etc., on our continent, and this back in the sixteenth century.

The average American reader who consults our histories of education will form the idea that Catholics were slow in entering the field of education in this continent, and there are many Catholics who, through neglect of making proper research, will accept this idea. If these Catholics had consulted original documents instead of being satisfied with quotations from second-hand authorities, they would find that far from having any reason to blush they have every reason to be proud of the position of the Catholic Church during the period of discovery and colonization of our country.

The glory of having discovered America, of having established the first colonies, the first missions, the first colleges and seats of learning, and the first charitable institutions in North America as well as in Central and South America belongs entirely to Catholic effort. Laval College (now Laval University), in Quebec, was founded by Bishop Laval ten years before Harvard College (1638) was opened near Boston. *Fifty years* before this the Catholic college of Mexico was in existence. In addition to this we may add the University of Lima, founded in 1551; San Domingo, 1558; Bogota, 1572; Cordoba, 1613, and Sucre, Bolivia, 1623. Just as in New England in Colonial days the teaching of theology was the original purpose of the universities, so it was in Spanish America, but civil law was also taught and there was usually a chair of medicine.

The average student of American history has some knowledge of the French and English missions in the northern portion of our continent, but the work of the Spaniards in the Southern parts is almost unknown, and when referred to shamefully misrepresented. Their cruelty to the Indians is dwelt upon at length by New England writers, who find it convenient to forget that Hawkins and his royal partner, Queen Elizabeth, in the slave trade were no better than the Spaniards. But the great work of the Spanish padres in counteracting their barbarity, in converting, instructing and civilizing the natives are seldom referred to, if at all, by English-speaking historians of our day.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the Catholic people have every reason to be proud of the work done by the Spanish friars—Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits—in the way of educating and civilizing the aboriginal inhabitants of the West Indies and of Central and South America.

During a recent visit to the library of the Hispanic Society of America (Broadway and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth street, New York City) I came across some very valuable and highly interesting works on early Spanish America, among them several by that gifted Mexican author, Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, and it occurred to me that I had in my own library a little volume which the learned doctor had sent me a short time before his death. I am indebted to this little volume¹ for the greater part of information contained in this paper.

Before entering into a detailed notice of the educational work of the "friars" I may be permitted to quote one or two non-Catholic

¹ "Obras," de D. J. Garcia Icazbalceta. T. I. Opusculos varios.

authorities who set forth the general impression regarding education as given by the Spanish colonists, and which loose writers, ill-informed and prejudiced, have sought to impose upon their too gullible readers. Again referring to my library I found in a copy of *Scribner's* for May, 1907, an article by Mr. Sidney Lee, in which he says:

"Especially has theological bias justified neglect or facilitated misrepresentation of Spanish rule in the sixteenth-century drama of American history. Spanish initial adventurers in the New World are often, consciously or unconsciously, overlooked or underrated in order that Spain may figure on the stage of history as a benighted champion of a false and obsolete faith which was vanquished under divine protecting Providence by English defenders of the true religion. Many are the hostile critics who have painted sixteenth century Spain as the avaricious accumulator of American gold and silver to which she had no right; as the monopolist of American trade of which she robbed others, and as the oppressor and exterminator of the weak and innocent aborigines of the new continent who deplored her presence among them. Cruelty in all its hideous forms is, indeed, commonly set forth as Spain's only instrument of rule in her sixteenth century empire. On the other hand, the English adventurer is credited by the same pens with a touching humanity, with the purest religious aspirations, with a romantic current which was always at the disposal of the oppressed native.

"No such picture is recognized when we apply the touchstone of oral traditions, printed books and manuscripts concerning America which circulated in Shakespeare's England. There a predilection for romantic adventure is found to sway the Spaniard in even greater degree than it swayed the Elizabethan. Religious zeal is seen to inspire the Spaniard more constantly and conspicuously than it stimulated his English contemporary. The motives of each nation are barely distinguishable from one another. Neither deserves to be credited with monopoly of virtue or vice. Above all, the study of contemporary authorities brings into a dazzling light which illumines every corner of the picture the commanding fact of the Spaniard's priority as explorer, as scientific navigator, as conqueror, as settler." Mr. Sidney Lee might have added as civilizer and Christianizer.

Until quite recently it has been the custom of writers on the subject of American education to attribute every move made in that direction to the intense love of learning and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose real interest in education, as we shall show later

on, did not begin until the age of steam. To the mind of the honest searchers after truth who have consulted original documents rather than second-hand authorities (?), the work of the Catholic Church in the establishment of public and higher education on this continent comes more clearly to light.

Another non-Catholic writer, Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne,² says: "Early in the eighteenth century the Lima University (Lima, Peru) counted nearly 2,000 students and numbered 180 doctors (in faculty) in theology, civil and canon law, medicine and arts. . . . Some of the professors, notwithstanding the vast distance, gained the applause of the literati of Europe. The Jesuits," he continues, "contributed much to the real educational work in America. They established colleges, one of which, the little Jesuit college at Juli, on Lake Titicaca, became a seat of genuine learning."

In striking contrast with what the general reader has been in the habit of seeing in books called histories, Professor Bourne's comparison of early English and Spanish education on our continent is not a little surprising. He says: "Not all the institutions of learning founded in Mexico in the sixteenth century can be enumerated here, but it is not too much to say that in number, range of studies and standard of attainments by the officers they *surpassed* everything existing in English America until the nineteenth century. Mexican schools made distinguished achievements in some branches of science, particularly medicine and surgery, but preëminently in linguistics, history and anthropology. Dictionaries and grammars of the native languages are an imposing proof of their scholarly devotion and intellectual activity. Conspicuous are Toribio de Molina's 'Historia de los Indios de Nueva España,' Duran's 'Historia de las Indias de Nueva España,' but most important of all, Sahagun's great work on Mexican life and religion."

That the Spaniards were far more interested in the scientific study of the New World than were the English is evident in the fact that the eminent Dr. Chanca, for many years "physician in ordinary to the King and Queen of Spain," accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to make scientific notes. He published a little volume dealing with Indian medicine, the manners and customs of the natives, their knowledge and working of metals, some reference to their zoölogy and kindred subjects, showing the interest evinced at that early period in the scientific studies of our continent. He also wrote an account of Columbus' second voyage which the writer of

² "The American Nation," Vol. III., by E. G. Bourne, professor of history at Yale University. Edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, professor of history at Harvard University.

this paper translated for a publication entitled "The Voyages of Columbus—Story of the Discovery of America as Told by the Discoverer" (and published by the U. S. Catholic Historical Society of New York).

The facts above quoted would seem to indicate the necessity for re-writing certain phases of American history and doing justice to the work of the Catholic Church in the field of early American education. So far from being unprogressive and keeping education away from her people, the very opposite is the case, notwithstanding the untrue method of historians in English-speaking America. However difficult it may be for the people of North America to believe that their Southern Latin neighbors were ahead of them in the field of education, there is no doubt as to the absolute truth of the fact, and Professor Bourne does not hesitate to tell us that "if we compare Spanish America with the United States one hundred years ago, we must recognize that while in the North there was a sounder body politic, a purer social life and a more general dissemination of elementary instruction, yet in Spanish America there were both vastly greater wealth and greater poverty—more imposing monuments of civilization, such as public buildings, institutions of learning, hospitals—more populous and richer cities, a *higher attainment* in certain branches of science. No one can read Humboldt's account of the City of Mexico and its establishments for the promotion of science and fine arts without recognizing that whatever may be the superiorities of the United States over Mexico in these respects they have been merely the gains of the age of steam."

The friars, so often described by "godly" New England writers as an obstacle to progress, as the most earnest advocates of ignorance and abject submission, as the worst enemies of the people, especially in Spanish countries, have, nevertheless, been the first, in the order of time, and the most assiduous, if not the only ones, in all periods of history, in the work of educating the masses, of promoting science and literature, of struggling against unscrupulous governors and tyrants in all lands, of conquering oppression and of vindicating the rights of justice and liberty.

It is a fact that cannot be denied, that the very *first school*—a primary and gratuitous school—ever opened on the soil of the New World was opened by the Franciscan lay Brother, Fray Pedro de Gante (Peter of Ghent). Though a simple lay Brother, he was a kinsman of the Emperor Charles V., and had accompanied Cortes on his expedition to Mexico. He and Frays Juan de Tecto and Juan de Ayora, both Franciscans like Fray Pedro, were the first ecclesiastics to set foot on Mexican territory.

In a letter written by Pedro de Gante to his imperial kinsman in 1523 he says: "I have undertaken to teach the children to read and write and to sing . . . and in order to do so a school has been built on the grounds adjoining our house, with sufficient capacity to accommodate from five to six hundred children who meet daily." In 1531 this same friar established a school for girls of noble birth, whether natives (*de caciques*) or of mixed race. These zealous friars also established a hospital for the sick and helpless.

Whatever interpretation may be given to what has been termed *Astec civilization*, it is certain that it did not in any way contribute to our idea of culture and literature. Little progress in the way of intellectual culture was to be expected from a people who had no alphabet and no written language, as we understand the term. They were obliged to depend for their knowledge on tradition and hieroglyphics. Schools, properly so called, were unknown. "Colleges" for males and females were usually attached to the temples, and were more like houses of "retreat," founded and conducted by the priests for their own benefit. The girls looked after the temples, keeping them clean and in order, and were engaged solely in hand work. It is true that they were taught good and moral lessons, but nothing calculated to develop their mental faculties. On the other hand, there was, unfortunately, an institution known as the *Cuicoyan*, a "seminary" for chorus and dancing girls, or rather an official house of prostitution.

The youths were divided into two classes, those who attended the *Calmecac* or the *Telpuchcalli*. The former was a sort of school for nobles, the pupils of which also gave their services to the priests. They were instructed in the complicated ritual of the nation; they learned the songs in which were preserved the memory of the principal historical events and they learned to write the hieroglyphic text. In the *Telpuchcalli* youths of the middle classes of both sexes received a similar, but much more limited education; it was mainly a military school. In all of these houses, with a few exceptions, perhaps in the *Telpuchcalli*, we find the severe discipline of the Aztecs.

When the first Spanish missionaries arrived in Mexico they found a vast multitude of people gentle, in a way, but uncultivated, and in many cases embittered against the whites because of the cruelties they had suffered at their hands. The spirit of their seraphic founder burned in their hearts. In spite of all difficulties they began their work, and the day came when the land was filled with institutions and professors for the education of youth, from the elementary grades to the university courses. At first there were

only twelve men for the vast army of children and adults who clamored for light—a light that could not be denied them, because they were not simply asking for human culture, which, important as it is, does not always hold the first place, especially when there is question of opening the eyes of the blind to the truths of eternal salvation. Grave, indeed, seemed the task of the missionaries at the very outset in their careers, and so it was in reality, as the new teachers had never heard the language, we might well say the languages and dialects, of their pupils. It was not long, however, before these zealous men acquired a working knowledge of one language after another, and when unable to understand the words of their pupils they guessed at their meaning, and eventually succeeded not only in converting them, but in instructing and assisting them. It is evident that the pioneer missionaries and their immediate successors were no ordinary men; most of them were men of learning. Many among them, like Fathers Tecto, Gaona, Focher, Veracruz and others, had earned fame in the chairs they had occupied in their mother country. Some of them were of high noble birth, and three of them, Friars Witte, Daciano and Gante (Ghent), could boast of royal blood. They renounced all the worldly advantages they possessed; they seemed to forget their toilsome labors in the acquisition of knowledge to devote themselves to teaching the rudiments of education to the poor benighted aborigines.

The Franciscans erected churches and chapels to the worship of the true God wherever the opportunity presented itself, and by their side they built schools for the children. To their principal convents they gave peculiar features; the church was built running east and west—"from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same"—while the school with its dormitories and chapel completed the square, running north and south. To complete the picture there was a large patio or court, where adults were taught the catechism every morning before going to their daily work. It was also used by the children of the *macehuales* or plebeians, who came to receive religious instruction, as the school building was reserved for the sons of the nobility, but this distinction was not very rigidly observed.

At first the friars found great trouble in getting the children to attend the schools, as the Indians were not yet able to understand the importance of education, and they obstinately refused to allow their children to attend, until it became necessary for the authorities to interfere. This was the first attempt at compulsory education in the New World. Many of the upper classes, not wishing to send their children and yet not daring to disobey the law, offered to

send the children of their servants and vassals as substitutes for their own. But as time progressed they saw the advantages the children of the common people gained over their "noble" sons and they begged to have their sons admitted into the school. The pupils occupied rooms provided for them adjoining the school, some of them quite spacious and affording accommodations for between eight hundred and one thousand pupils. The friars gave special attention to the children, as they were more docile and more apt, on account of their age, to grasp the instruction given them, and these young people soon became useful auxiliaries to their teachers. The adults, who came from different directions, brought by their employers, spent the hours devoted to instruction in the patios, after which they went to their daily occupations. They studied in groups or classes, one of the younger pupils, because of his knowledge of the language and his aptness, imparting to his "group" the lesson he had learned from the missionary.

It was in the natural order of things that religious instruction should hold the first place, as the missionary's first duty was the conversion of his pupils to Christianity. Now, as teachers and pupils could not always understand each other, the "friars" adopted a rather peculiar plan; they taught the Indians the four principal prayers, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the Salve Regina, in Latin, and we find these prayers in that language in many of the *doctrinas*, or books of religious instruction of that time. Such a plan may seem strange to us, but it was probably adopted to familiarize the natives with the prayers and help them to recognize them when they heard them during the Mass and other devotions. They supplemented their teaching by means of signs, but this method, while useful to a certain extent, was slow indeed. To remedy this the friars hit upon another idea. Knowing that what is acquired through the eyes is more easily impressed on the mind, they resorted to reproducing on canvas pictures of the principal mysteries of religion. The French Father Trastera was the first to adopt this system. Though ignorant of the language of the Indians, he drew upon the canvas what he wanted to teach, and with the aid of some of the more advanced pupils who possessed a little knowledge of Spanish he was able to make himself understood. The other fathers soon followed his example, and this method was practiced for a long time. This was followed by hanging pictures on the walls of the class rooms and indicating with a "pointer" the objects it was intended to teach. The Indians, who were accustomed to picture-writing and hieroglyphics, in time adopted this method in writing catechisms and prayer books for their own use, but vary-

ing the earlier forms by the occasional introduction of words written in European letters. This resulted in a new sort of mixed writing, some copies of which are still preserved as curiosities. The use of pictures was so popular among the Indians that it lasted during the whole of that century and part of the next. Some of these methods are resorted to as new by modern educators.

It was not long, however, before the first missionaries acquired a knowledge of the language and were able to communicate with the natives. As they progressed they translated text books, and thus gave a new impetus to education. As we have shown, religious instruction predominated in the beginning, as of necessity, but the natives were not long deprived of instruction in other branches.

In 1524, when the missionaries first arrived in the country, there was not a single native who knew how to read, as the soldiers, had they been capable of doing so, never dreamed of taking the trouble of teaching a heathen. A few years elapsed before the missionaries were able to take up this branch of their work.

The work of the famous friar, Peter of Ghent, a kinsman, as we have said, of the Emperor Charles V., deserves special mention. He was not the founder of the College of San Juan de Letran, as generally stated by writers of the period, but of the Gran Escuela (High School), of San Francisco, in Mexico, over which he presided for half a century. In this school were assembled some one thousand children who received a religious and secular education. Later on he added Latin and vocal and instrumental music. Not satisfied with this, he founded a school of fine arts and of trades. The work performed by the pupils was utilized in decorating the churches; it consisted of pictures, wood carvings, embroidery and occasionally of feather work, for which the Indians were noted, and of many other objects used in divine worship. Then, too, the work of the pupils was useful even in the building of churches, chapels and schools, for the trade school turned out painters, wood carvers, stone cutters, plumbers, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and other tradesmen. The good Brother looked after every one and directed everything. The work of this man was really wonderful when we consider time, place and resources. In addition to the school he founded and supported for many years a hospital for the sick natives. In a word, we may say he built a fine church, a hospital and an institution which served as an elementary school, or high school, a school for religious instruction, an academy of fine arts and a trade school.

Nor was the zeal and solicitude of good Bishop Juan de Zumarraga in the cause of education inferior to that of his clergy.

He looked beyond the purely elementary and religious education so necessary during that formative period. He aspired for something higher for his poor Indians, and so great was his interest in their intellectual advancement that he wrote to the Emperor: "The matter which most fills my mind and my desire, and to which my best efforts are directed, is that in this city and in every diocese there exist a college for Indian boys where they may at least be taught grammar (language) and a large convent capable of accommodating a goodly number of Indian girls." The Bishop realized his desires in spite of many difficulties, and on January 6, 1536, he opened the famous Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco for boys near the Franciscan convent at that place. The school opened with sixty pupils, and this number increased rapidly. Besides religion and good manners, the course included reading, writing, Latin grammar,³ rhetoric, philosophy, music and Mexican medicine. Among the professors were such eminent names as Fray Arnaldo de Basacio, a native of France; Fray Garcia de Cisneros, one of the first twelve Franciscans and their first provincial; Fray Andres Olmos, the learned polyglot missionary and companion of Bishop Zumarraga, who died in the odor of sanctity; Fray Juan de Gaona, a distinguished alumnus of the University of Paris, as humble as he was learned; Fray Francisco de Bustamente, the greatest preacher of his day; the French friar, Juan Focher, who received his degree of doctor of laws from the University of Paris, and "oracle" of the primitive Mexican Church, and the venerable Fray Bernardino Sahagun, the distinguished author, who devoted his life to instructing the Indians.

With such a faculty as this it is not surprising that the institution turned out students who proved of the greatest value to the colony. Some of them were in time qualified to occupy chairs in the college, while others were competent to teach the younger "religious," thus filling the scarcity of "lectors" and leaving the older clergy to devote themselves to the spiritual care of the natives. As this latter class of instructors were not admitted to the "habit," it would seem that the pupils were, of necessity, Spaniards or Creoles, and that the aboriginal race was furnishing teachers for their conquerors, and that without exciting envy or jealousy. The missionaries discovered among their students men capable of teaching the Mexican language, and who were able to do so all the better because of the

³ The insistence on Latin grammar, prayers, etc., in those schools may be accounted for by the fact that in the sixteenth century Latin was much more of a living language than it is in the secular colleges of to-day. A certain knowledge of the language was also necessary for a proper understanding of the Mass and of the ceremonies of the Church, which were new to the aborigines.

knowledge they had acquired of other branches of instruction. They also found amanuenses (we would call them stenographers) and most useful collaborators in editing their works; and even compositors, like Don Diego Adriano and Agustin de la Fuente, who "set the type" much more correctly than the Spanish printers. Bishop Zumarraga had brought the first printing press to Mexico⁴ (1556), and before the end of the century the college at Tlalatelolco had also its own press.

We must not forget to mention the provision made for the education of Indian girls. In the early days they were assembled, like the boys, in the patios, and assigned to different classes. The boys who were capable taught them Christian doctrine. In a short time quite a number of the older girls were able to do the catechizing. But as the friars soon recognized the inadequacy of this system, they founded houses in which girls and young women were placed under the care of Spanish matrons; prominent among these houses was the one at Texcoco. Bishop Zumarraga founded schools for girls in eight or nine towns in his diocese in 1530. At his request the Empress sent over six *beatas*, pious women who acted as teachers. In 1534 the Bishop brought with him from Spain six other ladies. The school was situated in the centre of the city, as directed by the *Corte*, which was highly displeasing to the Indians, as it was their custom, especially among the upper classes, to rear their daughters with great seclusion, and they were averse to having them live surrounded by the noise and confusion of the Spanish populace. This accounts for the reluctance with which they gave their daughters and the eagerness with which they seized upon every excuse for withdrawing them. The teachers, too, not being "religious," were easily lured away by offers to teach in the private families of the Spaniards.

The Bishop was deeply grieved to see so many of the young girls grow up without education, and even sometimes becoming the objects of infamous traffic. In conjunction with the other Bishops of the province he besought the Emperor to grant permission for the foundation of a convent in a retired place and that a religious community be sent over to take charge of the education of Indian girls, and even offered to assist the work from his slender resources. The Emperor did not accede to the request at this time, as he deemed it unnecessary, inasmuch as the parents, being now converted to Christianity, were able to teach their girls at home.

The education of girls became, at this time, a very serious problem. The license peculiar to military life in new settlements and the scar-

⁴ A printing press was set up at Lima, Peru, in 1586 and at Cambridge, Mass., in 1639, the first book printed here being the Bay Psalm Book.

city of Spanish women in the course of a few years brought forth a race of *mestizos* (mix-breeds), in most cases the offsprings of vice. These unfortunates were ignored by their fathers, while the mothers, being too poor to provide for them, sometimes destroyed them or allowed them to roam loosely among the pagan Indians, so that many of them died for want of care or were sacrificed at pagan shrines.

This evil increased to such proportions that the Spanish Government in 1553 decreed that the *mestizos* be concentrated in places assigned to them, along with their mothers, and where the fathers were known they were to take their children and provide for them. The decree was repeated in various places, and the Viceroy, Mendoza, in order to provide for these unfortunates, founded the Colegio de San Juan de Letran. In this institution were gathered together not only the abandoned *mestizo* children, but others brought there by their parents "to learn Christian doctrine, reading and writing and to acquire good manners." The crown granted this school a limited subsidy and a constitution, and the school, as it progressed, became not only an asylum for abandoned children, but it was expected that the teachers trained within its walls should be capable of founding other such schools in different parts of New Spain. In a word, it became a sort of normal school. It was conducted by three professors selected by the King, one of whom served as rector for one year, the other two acting as counsellors. One of these professors was to teach the people Christian doctrine on certain days; in this he was assisted by the more advanced pupils. The other "counsellor" was to teach Latin grammar and prepare the most promising among his pupils to enter the university. Finally, it was the duty of this "faculty" to translate into the aboriginal languages, and to "make grammars and dictionaries" in those languages.

The students of the "Letran" were divided into two classes. Those who showed no capacity for the higher branches were instructed in the elementary school and taught trades. They were kept in the school for three years. Pupils who showed greater intelligence made a course of six and seven years.

We have seen that provision was also made for the care and education of the girls of the *mestizo* class. These required more care than the boys. Don Antonio Mendoza, the Viceroy, founded an asylum for their protection. Cervantes, in his "Dialogos," written in 1554, tells us that "the girls, who are under the strictest vigilance, are instructed in female occupations, such as needlework, embroidery, reading and writing and the Christian religion, and they marry

when they attain a proper age." It appears that this institution was also an asylum for girls of the Spanish "raza," "lost souls who roamed at large." These unfortunates were placed under the care of virtuous matrons, who instructed them in the duties of life and enabled them eventually to go out into the world and form respectable alliances. They were even given dowries by the Government so as to secure these alliances.

The progress of time brought into existence a third race—the *criollos*, or children of purely Spanish parents born in Mexico. The marked division between these different races and the contempt with which one regarded the other made it impossible for the *criollos* to sit on the same benches with the *mestizos* and the Indians.

The need of teachers for this class soon developed a body of Spanish instructors who, for a given stipend, taught reading and writing in private schools or at the homes of their pupils. The public records (of the Ayuntamiento) make mention of several schools for "teaching boys to read and write," and they also mention that "care was taken to prevent these private instructors from walking off with their fees without giving the lessons contracted for." According to the "chronicler" Gonzalez Davila, as far back as 1536, the King appointed the Bachellor Gonzalez Velasquez de Valverde to "teach grammar in Mexico at a salary of \$50 a year."

The Franciscans had chairs in their convents on ecclesiastical subjects, as specialties, but the Augustinians were the first to establish houses of study, as such, to which students, whether Spaniards or creoles, could attend. The oldest of these was the one at Tiripitio, founded in 1540, and later on removed to Atotonilco. Father Alonso de la Veracruz founded the great College of San Pablo in 1575. With no resources save the donations of the faithful, he purchased houses and lots, equipped the first building and collected a select library, to which he added an assortment of globes, maps and scientific instruments. Father Alonso also established libraries in the convents of his order in Mexico, Tiripitio and Tacambaro.

It is a notable fact that at the close of the first twenty-five years of the existence of the City of Mexico that capital could boast of institutions of learning and asylums for Indians, *mestizos* and *creoles* of both sexes. Up to this time the three races followed separate courses, but as in all of these schools, with the exception of the one at Tlaltelolco, the higher studies were inadequately provided for, it became necessary to make provision for that need by opening new avenues for the now numerous and alert youth that was growing up. The thirst for knowledge had become so developed and the number of youths seeking to complete their higher educa-

tion in Spain had so increased as to alarm the Dominican Fathers because of the scarcity of young men who remained at home. They appealed to the King, but the remedy lay solely within the reach of the well-to-do families, and it was necessary to have home-trained professors, because bringing them from Spain was "distasteful to the people and not to be depended upon."

So general had the thirst for higher education become that the city petitioned the crown to found "a university for all the sciences in which the *natives* as well as the sons of Spaniards might be instructed in the things relating to our holy faith and in other faculties." Observe that in this petition *all* classes, Indians and Spaniards, there was no mention of mestizos, who were regarded as inferior to the Indians. They did not wait for the royal reply, for even while this petition was on its way to the mother country Viceroy Mendoza, at the solicitation of the citizens, appointed professors to teach the sciences most esteemed in those times, at the same time encouraging them with the assurance that there would soon be a university with a full faculty. This enlightened Viceroy did not remain in Mexico long enough to see the realization of his hopes, as he was transferred to Peru, but the glory of having inaugurated the movement undoubtedly belongs to him.

Finally, on September 21, 1551, the prince, later on Philip II., issued the royal *cedula* decreeing "the creation of the University of Mexico," and the solemn opening took place on January 25, 1553. The different chairs were started at once, but not opened at the same time; only one after the other, as the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, and the civil judges, anxious to show their appreciation of letters, desired to be present at the opening of each class. It was not necessary to bring professors from Spain to fill these chairs, as they were to be found here. The Auditors Rodriguez de Quesada y Santillana became rector and superintendent; the chair of theology fell to the lot of Fray Pedro de Peña, O. P., who later on became Bishop of Quito, and was succeeded by the learned Don Juan Negrite, A. M. (University of Paris), and archdeacon of the metropolitan church; the chair of Sacred Scripture was filled by the famous Augustinian, Father Alonso de la Veracruz, who later on taught scholastic theology; Dr. Morones was professor of canon law, while Dr. Melgalejo taught decretals. The chair of institutes and laws was filled by Dr. Frias de Albornoz, a pupil of the great jurisconsult, Don Diego de Covarrubias; the canon, Father Juan Garcia, had the chair of arts; that of rhetoric was filled by Dr. Cervantes Salazar, and grammar was taught by the Bachellor Blas de Bustamente. These may be mere names to the general reader,

but the chairs they occupied and the schools from which they graduated will give an idea of the standard of the university. Chairs of Indian linguistics, medicine, zoölogy and sciences were added, and it was not long before this university was equipped in all departments. We shall refer to it more in detail later on.

The 28th of September, 1572, is made memorable in the annals of education in Spanish America by the arrival of the Jesuits. Their beginnings were very modest and they had to be satisfied for some time with a poor church and a still poorer rectory. They established themselves just beyond the city in uncomfortable rooms in a farm house placed at their disposal by the rich but eccentric Don Alonso de Villaseca. The good fathers were not long, however, in improving their surroundings, thanks to the generosity of pious souls. The Tacuba Indians built their first church—a straw-thatched building. The historian of the times tells us that they had “only one set of vestments and they said Mass with a chalice and patten made of tin.” They began their labors by preaching, at which the Rev. Father Diego Lopez distinguished himself, and by teaching the catechism to the children. Their neighbors and the good nuns of the Immaculate Conception helped them in their hour of need. The treasurer of the metropolitan church, Dr. Francisco Rodriguez Santos, applied to the father provincial, Don Pedro Sanchez, for admission into the society with all his possessions. Father Sanchez dissuaded him from doing so and did not accept his generous offer, but urged him to carry out the object he had originally in mind, of founding a college of higher studies for promising but poor young men. His advice was followed, and the treasurer opened the school in his own house on November 1, 1573. Such was the origin of the College of Santa Maria of All Saints. The generous founder, moreover, established ten scholarships, open to young men who had distinguished themselves and had completed their studies with honor, but were unable to pursue them further for want of means; those “failing to enter at once upon their respective careers would be reduced to extreme want.” In this college students were provided with board and lodging, and being thus relieved from all care and anxiety were able to give themselves up entirely to the more profound studies. In 1700 this college obtained “major privileges,” and it turned out distinguished pupils until 1843, when it was suppressed by civil law.

While Father Sanchez was building additions to his college he decided to found first a seminary, and for this purpose he preached a powerful sermon, which made such an impression on his hearers that a number of burses were at once subscribed. With these he

founded, on January 1, 1573, a college dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, but as this building could not accommodate all who applied for admission, the years 1575 and 1576 saw the opening of the *petits seminaires* of San Miguel, San Bernardo and San Gregorio. These seminaries, established at convenient points, remained under the care of the Jesuit Fathers for some time, and were finally consolidated into their College of San Idelfonso.

By the end of the century the Jesuits had established other houses for educational purposes outside of the City of Mexico. Among these was Pázcuaro, at that time the seat of the episcopal See of Michoacan. This, after Mexico, was the first place in which the schools met with any success. The fathers also took charge of the old Seminary of San Nicolas, which had been founded by Señor Quiroga. Another foundation was established at Oaxaca, which passed through a "sea of troubles" before it reached success. Puebla had its College of Espiritu Santo, founded in May, 1578. In addition to this there was at old Vera Cruz a college or school for all classes, and in the present city of Vera Cruz, then called Ulua, a number of fathers were engaged in teaching seafaring people and caring for the sick. At Guadalajara the fathers established a "residencia," as they had not the means for supporting a regular school.

It will be noticed from what we have said thus far that all education was in the hands of the Church, and even had not the spirit of the times required it, circumstances would have compelled it. The conquerors had subjugated the bodies of the natives, but the conquest of souls was the task of the religious orders. They took the Indian and instructed him in religion as well as in secular matters. The clergy were the only people capable of teaching anything, as the laymen in the colony were seldom sufficiently educated to undertake such a work, and the public revenues were insufficient to provide free public schools.

The conditions in the New World at the end of "the conquest" made religious instruction an absolute necessity. We can only refer briefly to its beginnings, interesting as a detailed account might be, but we are writing a paper and not a volume.

At first all instruction was necessarily oral, as the pupils were unable to read, and if they had been, the teachers had no books to give them. Teachers and pupils seemed to keep pace with each other, the Indians in learning the forms and meaning of European letters and the missionaries in learning the language of their pupils. Once the teachers acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language they began to write text books. These books became of far greater

utility to the teachers than to the pupils, as they were all in manuscript, and the pupils had been taught their letters in print. Then again, the number of books was necessarily limited. It was not deemed expedient to send these manuscripts to Europe for printing, as there were no competent proofreaders who understood the Mexican language. A few attempts in this direction proved disastrous. We have records of a "Doctrina," in Mexican, by Brother Gante, printed at Amberes in 1528, and another by Father Juan Ramirez, O. P., printed at Sevilla in 1537. Viceroy Mendoza and Bishop Zumarraga were not slow to recognize the need of a printing press in the New World, and they soon realized their desires. The first printing press in America was set up in Mexico, as already stated, in 1556 (eighty-three years before the first press was set up in English America at Cambridge, Mass., in 1639). The first work of the Mexican press was devoted to the need of the times; primers, for teaching the natives the art of reading catechisms in Indian and Spanish; in a word, such text books as were of first necessity. Encouraged by the powerful aid of the press the missionaries plunged at once into their philological tasks, passing from catechisms to the preparation and publication of grammars and "vocabularies" of the different aboriginal languages. These works undertaken in charity are of inestimable value to-day. We may add that the authors of doctrinal works did not translate current text books, but they made adaptations calculated to meet the genius and capacity of their students. The grammars served for the formation of new teachers of both races; the *confesionarios* and "sermons" assisted the labors of the younger clergy, while the vocabularies were of use to all classes.

The higher studies commenced in the college at Tlaltelolco called for suitable text books, and the "friars" of that period were obliged to write the text books for the chairs they taught, in the style of commentaries on the standard authors.

Father de la Veracruz, O. S. A., was one of the voluminous writers of that day. He had held the chairs of "arts" (as philosophy was then called), and among his works may be mentioned his "Recognitio Summularum," 1554; "Dialectica Resolutio," 1554, and "Physica Speculatio," 1557.⁵ It must be admitted that while Father Veracruz wrote his works with the intention of simplifying the language and making the matter clearer and within the grasp of his pupils, he was in some cases as obscure as the authors he sought to explain. Nevertheless, he gave evidence, even in his day, of being a progressive teacher.

⁵ "Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo," XVI., pp. 44-46.

Father Veracruz was not the only writer among the first professors of the university. Doctor Frias de Albornoz wrote a "Treatise on the Conversion of the Indians." He also wrote "Arte de los Contratos," which was printed in Valencia in 1573.

Cervantes Salazar, professor of rhetoric, besides his "Historia Crónica de la Nuevas España," left us his curious "Dialogos Latinos," in which he "lent a signal service to letters and to history." The work was reprinted in Spanish, with notes, in 1875. In this work the author describes the university, the City of Mexico and parts of its surroundings as they were in 1554. If his descriptions are not as full as they might be to satisfy the reader of to-day, we must not blame the author, but consider the brevity exacted by works intended for his pupils rather than for the general public.

The Mexican youth was, at this time, made up, to a great extent, of the sons of the "conquerors" or of those of wealthy merchants. The career of the soldier no longer offered them a field of activities, as there were no more lands to conquer. Commerce was regarded with contempt by the very people who had made their fortunes out of it, while mechanical trades were considered vile, and with few exceptions were confined to Indians, mestizos and mulattoes. Wealth abounded, and if the young people were not to be given up to idleness and vice, their only recourse was to follow the career of letters, which led to public preferment. Then, too, there was a great need of boarding schools, especially for students from a distance who repaired to the City of Mexico to continue their studies and who were exposed to all manner of moral dangers for want of proper lodgings.

The Jesuit Fathers, always far-seeing and practical, were not slow in recognizing this condition and providing for it. Their colleges admitted internes and gave full scope to the study of humanities. (The discussion of the pagan classics, at one time, reached an exciting but not dangerous pitch in the Mexican schools.) At the "Colegio Maximo" the Piedmontese printer, Antonio Ricardo, found a welcome for his press, which was noted for the cleanliness of its productions. While this press remained at the college (it was subsequently removed to Lima) the Jesuit Fathers printed some text books as well as some of the classics, among which may be mentioned the "Emblemas de Alciato," and some fragments from Ovid, an introduction to Aristotle's "Dialectica" and other works.⁶ From one of these books we are led to believe that free scope had been given by the authorities for the printing of all books the Jesuit Fathers might deem necessary for the use of their stu-

⁶ "Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo," XVI., pp. 212, 213, 228.

dents, and mention is made of the following: Fables, Cato, Luis Vives, Selections from Cicero, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Eclogues*, the *Sumulas* of Toledo and Villalpando, *Elements of Christian Doctrine*, some of Cicero's epistles, the *Ovid of Tristibus et Ponto*, Marcial (*expurgated*), *Flores Poetarum*, together with other minor works, such as *Orthographical* and *Rhetorical Tables*.

It must be borne in mind that all these works were *printed* in a new country, on a new continent, by Spanish "padres," and most of them before the first printing press was set up in English-speaking America.

In estimating the literary movement in Mexico in the sixteenth century we must bear in mind that many of the products of the genius of that time never reached the press, and, as manuscripts, were either lost or forgotten—buried in the old libraries after being well worn. Others, though printed, were lost and their very titles forgotten; some few have survived the calamities of flood and fire, of revolution and theft and the indifference of their possessors, who because of the scarcity of paper sold them to paper makers. Many of these works, too, found their way to other lands, to adorn the shelves of the great libraries of literary centres, notably the Congressional Library in Washington, the great New York Library (Forty-second street and Fifth avenue), and the library of the Hispanic Society of America, One Hundred and Fifty-sixth street and Broadway, New York City).

In reviewing the brief and imperfect account of the work of the "friars" in the field of education as set forth in these pages, what a vast prospect opens up before us as we contemplate the linguistic and historical labors that mark the sixteenth century on this continent. When the missionaries first set foot on Mexican soil they were confronted by a language entirely unknown to the people of the Old World, and as they progressed in their apostolic labors they realized with regret that this land seemed to have fallen under the malediction of Babel, for they found it abounding in divers tongues of every form and construction, some more or less polished, others barbarous, and for which there were no interpreters, no teachers, no books, and not even cultured people who could speak them. These obstacles were enough to discourage the most intrepid, but there was nothing that could deter the courageous missionaries, nor daunt the fire of the charity that urged them on. They fearlessly attacked this many tongued monster and conquered it. To-day the study of a group of languages or even of a single one makes the philologist famous as he pursues his studies in the peaceful solitude of his library and with all the advantages derived

from a knowledge of other kindred languages. In these days the missionaries had to learn or rather to guess everything, even the first principles, yet some of them would undertake to master five or six of those languages with no analogy, no common affiliation, no known alphabet, nothing that would facilitate the task. To-day such studies are made amid "all the comforts of home"; in those days they were made in the forests, along roads, under an open sky, amid the weary labors of the apostolate, of hunger and thirst and untiring vigils. They had but one object in view, and that object they attained. "Go and teach all nations" was the command they had received, and this command they prepared to obey.

The Universities of Lima and Mexico, together with the *printed* work of the sixteenth century, will be referred to in our next article.

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A MISSIONER-BISHOP.

WHEN the history of the Catholic Church in Canada will be written, a large space will have to be devoted to the labors of the missioner-Bishops who were the pioneers of Catholicity and Christian civilization in the Canadian Northwest. Chief among these was the saintly Oblate, Monsignor Grandin, the first Bishop of St. Albert. His life was a record of heroic deeds. It was a continuous martyrdom, a daily sacrifice, a complete oblation in its abnegation, its self-surrender, its patient endurance of cold, hunger, fatigue and trials and difficulties innumerable, borne with a courage that never faltered and a zeal that never flagged. It was a life that, like the diamond, has many facets, or, like the prism, has varied hues. He has been compared to St. Francis Xavier as a missioner whose expeditions on land and sea, in bark canoes, in dog-drawn sledges or other rude conveyances were equivalent to eight or nine journeys round the globe; to St. Vincent de Paul for his compassion for the suffering members of Christ's mystical body; to St. Francis of Sales by his kindliness of heart, which made a poor, illiterate Indian say: "O great priest, how good must the Great Spirit be since, to come to us, He has assumed thy good semblance;" to St. Peter Claver in his marked predilection for the most abandoned savages; while Louis Veuillot, likening him to the beggar-saint, Benoit Labre, has drawn a pen-portrait of him in a character-sketch, entitled "*L'Evêque Pouilleux*," in allusion to the humiliating torment which he endured in common with the French mendicant as a mortification, and which was the result of his close contact with the poor Indian tribes whose mode of living he shared that he might draw nearer to them, gain their confidence and save their souls. The mendicant of the Coliseum and the *evêque pouilleux* of North America," said the Catholic publicist, "belong to the same family, that of heroes and of saints." He often said of him: "That Bishop of the snows makes one realize how cold burns."

Born on February 8, 1829, at Saint-Pierre-la-Cour (now Saint-Pierre-sur Orthe), in the Diocese of Laval, he came out of one of those French Catholic homes where, despite revolutions and irreligionism, the faith has been preserved in all its pristine purity, safeguarded like a precious family heirloom. When his brother John first expressed a wish to be a priest, his father said to him: "You're not yet sensible enough to think of such a vocation. A priest ought to be a saint! I'd rather see you die a simple tiller of the soil than see you a troublesome or even useless priest." But it was no passing thought, and when he told his farmer-father that his object was to devote himself to the good of souls, the reply

was: "My child, if you regard the position of a priest as the avenue to a life of ease, wealth and honor, I should say no, a thousand times no; but if you simply desire to sacrifice yourself for the poor, the sick and sinners I cannot oppose your vocation. Go, we'll do our best to help you."

The family were not well-to-do, and the privations imposed by straitened means told upon Vital's frail constitution and he became seriously ill. The prospect of realizing his wishes seemed to recede. To console him his confessor said: "My child, you wish to be a priest. The good God is giving you the education the priest needs. Now the priest ought to be personally acquainted with suffering, because it should be his mission to console those who suffer." Like many great souls, many strong characters, he was formed for the life he was destined to lead in the school of adversity. "I was born and grew up in poverty," he afterwards said. "All my trials were Providential graces. I would be a great saint if I had profited by them." During his course at the *petit séminaire* he was afflicted with gastritis, neuralgia and spitting of blood, and was given up by the doctors. When he recovered he felt a strong attraction towards the foreign missions and entered the Paris seminary of the Missions étrangères, but was rejected on account of his inability to learn the Oriental languages. It was then he found his true vocation and all that he yearned after in the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, to which he was admitted in December, 1851. On the eve of his oblation he wrote to his brother: "The name Oblate which I am to bear tells plainly enough what I am undertaking. I am to be a victim, and a victim not for a moment, but for every day. It is also what is really signified by the cross that will hang round my neck and which, at every instant, will remind me that the life of the Oblate is a life of continual sacrifice and immolation. Up to this martyrs are wanting to our congregation. If I could have the happiness of being the first Oblate martyr! What a joy to me! What a happiness to you, my very dear brother!" After receiving all the orders from the founder, Monsignor de Mazenod, who ordained him on April 23, 1854, he prepared to set out for the North American, or Canadian missions, for which he had received his obedience. He first thought of leaving Europe without seeing any members of his family, his sensitive and affectionate nature dreading the pain of parting. When told of it, Monsignor de Mazenod said: "I don't like mortifications which mortify others. Let this young priest go to see his family." Alluding to his brother Jean's desire to likewise devote himself to the foreign missions, his father said in presence of a number of priests: "I am very fond of my two abbés, gentlemen, but I prefer

to see them priests and go out on distant missions than to see them both prefects of the Sarthe and the Mayenne." Such was Father Vital's weak state of health at the time that the doctor, whom Monsignor de Mazenod consulted, gave it as his opinion that he would hardly be able to endure crossing the ocean. But he endured it, and much more in the sequel, reaching St. Boniface on November 2, 1854. Then and there began that apostolate to which he consecrated his whole life.

At the time he landed on the banks of the Red River, what is now the flourishing and populous city of Winnipeg was Fort Garry, one of the chief trading centres of the Hudson's Bay Company, surrounded by two or three houses. He spent a year learning the Indian dialects from old missionaries, preaching and visiting the sick. His apprenticeship to the missionary life in the Northwest was a violent contrast to his peaceful preparation for the priesthood. He had his ears frozen while officiating at an interment, and when visiting the sick was pursued by two wild Sioux, owing his life solely to the swiftness of his horse. The next year he journeyed to the mission on the borders of Lake Athabasca, a long and toilsome expedition, covering about 2,100 miles.

This mission has a history worth telling. One winter's night in 1844 two young Canadians, Antoine Morin and Baptiste Saint Cyr, employés of the company at Fort Chippeweyan, to the north of Lake Athabasca, were discussing their critical situation, regretting the deprivation of all religious succor. What disturbed them most was the thought of hell. A young Indian woman, the wife of a Metis or halfbreed, overheard the conversation. "What is hell?" she asked. They told her what they knew of it. "I can't believe you," she replied. "You wish to make game of me. When my husband returns I shall ask him." Three days afterwards Tourangeau, her liege lord, came back. As soon as she saw him, she put to him the question: "Is it true there is a hell?" "Yes," was the decisive response. "Why didn't you tell me that?" she queried. "My children and I don't want to go to hell. I thought you loved me; I see you don't." "Ah! if we had priests as in Canada!" he murmured. "What do you do every morning and night?" she asked. "You kneel and seem to be speaking to some one." "I pray to the good God," he said. "You pray to the good God! That is well. You know what must be done not to go to hell. You say you love me and you didn't tell me that," she added reproachfully. "If you really love me you'd show me how and lead me with my children to where there are priests that we may not go to hell." It was not easily done. The priests were far away on the Red River, over two thousand miles off. It meant throwing up his employment,

undertaking a long journey with his wife and three or four children and finding the means of living in an unknown land. Tourangeau, however, was a man of courage and resolution. He went, spent a winter at St. Boniface, where his family were baptized and instructed in the Catholic religion, and returned to Athabasca, where his good example led to the introduction of missionaries into that distant region, where Father Taché was the first to bring the glad tidings of salvation, baptizing 184 natives in the space of three weeks. Several of Tourangeau's children were still living in 1903, one of them being an inhabitant of St. Albert.

When Father Grandin arrived in 1855 the mission was being served by Father Faraud and Brother Alexis. The former became later Vicar-Apostolic of Athabasca-Mackenzie and the latter was murdered by an Iroquois. To Christianize, and at the same time to civilize, the tribe of the Montagnais was the work which fell to his lot. It was a work which called for great patience, prudence and perseverance mingled with meekness and charity, but as these qualities were possessed in no ordinary degree by the missionary, he soon won his way to their hearts. "The God thou preachest," said one of them, "must be good, since thou art so good." It was also a repulsive task from a human viewpoint, for these poor savages were covered with vermin. While on the one hand they were the quietest and most accessible of all the northern Indians, on the other hand they were so devoid of sensibility that they abandoned their kindred in the midst of the forests when age or infirmity prevented them from following. Other tribes killed the aged or left them to die. Orphans were treated cruelly and women little better than dogs. It was the Blessed Eucharist that transformed these wild nomads into rational beings. They called it "the medicine of the good God which renders the heart strong." Another would say: "I am weak because I have not communicated, but if you grant me this favor my heart will be strong and I shall no longer weep." Many of them earnestly desired baptism. "Father," they said, "it is very dark in our hearts; give us the water that will make our souls white." He had often to carry the Viaticum great distances, and when this occurred during the terrible northern winters, with the thermometer sinking to 45 or 50 degrees centigrade, it is easy to imagine how painfully difficult was the duty he was called upon to perform. Still his buoyant spirits did not slacken. "My health," he wrote to his parents, "is equal to my joy. Without bread, without wine, without cider, without coffee and without beer, in a cold of which I can give you no idea, laboring much in mind and body, I am happy." Fish, without any other seasoning than the appetite, was his principal food, varied occasionally with a little

piece of buffalo, cariboo, beaver, bear or pemikan when hunting was successful. Pemikan was a compound of bison flesh dried in the sun, beaten with a flail until it was reduced to a powdery substance, mixed with melted fat and enclosed in the animal's skin, a viand noisome to sight and smell, which repelled newcomers. Only God's grace, the supreme end in view—the salvation of souls—and the indomitable spirit of a true missioner, a true apostle, would embolden a man to live such a life as Grandin and his co-workers in this arduous apostolate had long to endure; as their successors are enduring still in the far north among the Eskimos. More painful and soul-trying still was the awful isolation, when for months in the spring he was condemned to relative inaction, the sun being too pale to harden the snowy ground, too hot to allow of traveling over the ice. Sometimes the sledge would overturn and the luckless traveler over these wilds would be half-buried or blinded by the thick-falling flakes while the keen, cold wind lashed him in the face.

Monsignor Taché, Bishop of St. Boniface, finding it difficult to direct the northern missions from the Red River, nearly 3,000 miles distant, decided on postulating for a coadjutor. The Canadian Bishops whom he consulted left the choice of a candidate to Monsignor de Mazenod, who wisely selected Father Grandin as *dismissimus inter dignos*. Rome approving, on December 11, 1857, he was preconized coadjutor of St. Boniface, with the title of Bishop of Satala *in partibus infidelium* and consecrated by the founder of the Oblates on November 30, 1859, at Marseilles. Monsignor de Mazenod had previously written to him: "Infidels for infidels, the Pope dispenses you from concerning yourself with those who inhabit the part of Asia where your diocese is to devote yourself entirely first to the conversion and later to the sanctification of those you have been seeking in the icy regions of North America. I see you from here prostrate with your face to the ground shedding tears and rejecting in your humility the Pontifical crown that is going to be placed upon your brow. Be reassured: It is imposed upon you by obedience, and besides to you, in the midst of the painful labors of your ministry, it will rather resemble our Lord's crown of thorns than the diadem of the emperors of this world." His humility and amiable simplicity touched the aged Bishop of Marseilles, who, as he expressed, *ne pouvait se rassier de son fils*. Seeing that Monsignor Grandin had a pronounced appetite for bread, a thing they scarcely ever saw in the Northwest, he had himself served with a double quantum. "Poor children," he would sometimes say, "when I think of their privations, the fork falls from my hands." In presenting the young Bishop to people in Marseilles he said: "I want to show you an apostle."

Before he returned to the missions he fell so dangerously ill in France that they dreaded a fatal termination. It was forty days before he could get on his feet again, and though still ailing when he reached St. Boniface, and Monsignor Taché wanted to retain him there until the spring, nothing could restrain him from going to the Indians at Ile à la Crosse. He had to be actually carried from his bed to the vehicle that was to take him to the place of embarkation. He took with him some energetic missionaries, men of his own type, including the Abbé Grouard, who became Bishop of Iborá and Vicar-Apostolic of the Athabasca, and grey nuns whose concurrence was most valuable. As types of Christian womanhood in its highest expression, the latter personified that elevation to which Christianity had raised the sex to which the debased Indian females belonged, whom their presence, teaching and gentle influence raised in the moral and social scale.

At the beginning of June, 1861, Monsignor Grandin began an extensive tour of the residences of his missionaries scattered along the banks of the great rivers as far as the sixty-sixth degree of north latitude. The fur traders had established their forts along the water-courses and on the borders of the lakes. The missionaries' stations were founded near these forts, as they were frequented by the Indians who went there to dispose of their furs. The forts, which had no resemblance to citadels, as the name might imply, consisted of two or three houses, a store and a shed, all constructed of wood, surrounded in some places with palisades or stakes. Monsignor Grandin kept a journal of his long visitation, which he sent to Monsignor de Mazenod, having oftenest no writing desk but his knees and no roof over his head but the sky. His only beverage on his wearisome way to the Slave River was muddy water. What is facetiously described as his "episcopal palace" at the mission of Our Lady of Good Hope, 1,136 miles from Athabasca, was a hut made of the trunks of trees, which served alternately as a church, a choir, a recreation room, refectory, dormitory, kitchen and workshop! Strained parchment, with a small pane of glass in the centre, were the only windows, and they had to say their office at night by the light of a log fire. The ceiling was so low that they could not stand upright, except between the two joists. When at rest they saw the aurora borealis through the chinks of the roof, which let in the snow and the cold wind. All the furniture was comprised in an old chair, a bench, which served as a dining and writing table, a few boxes and an alarm clock. There were no bedsteads, for they slept on the floor. It was bitterly cold. The thermometer registered from 35 to 45 degrees centigrade; at one time it went so low as 47, while on the river it was from 50 to 52 degrees. They

could hardly go a hundred paces from this house or hut without being frozen. During the long winter of 1861-62 provisions failed and distress was acute. A family who had not for a long time tasted food devoured two pairs of shoes left in an encampment by an employé of the fort. A starving father killed and ate his little daughter of four or five, but she had happily been baptized. Father Grollier, who had long lived in the inhospitable regions of the extreme north, died shortly after Monsignor Grandin's departure, in the greatest poverty without any medical aid, almost without food, trying to subsist on fish. In his last illness he said faintly: "If I had a little milk and a few potatoes I might have a chance of recovery." There was none to offer him. Father Seguin having intimated his intention of burying him in the place where they contemplated erecting the church, "No, no," he said, "bury me with the Indians, between the two last who died, with my face turned towards the cross." He expired with his eyes fixed on the tabernacle. His last words were: "I die content, O Jesus, now that I have seen your standard raised even at the extremities of the earth."

These journeys through banks of snow and icy dunes were fraught with innumerable dangers. One day, more fatigued than usual, Monsignor Grandin sat for a moment on the snow, when a large number of ravens hovered around him: their wings already touched him, and if he had not promptly risen, he would infallibly have been picked to pieces. These birds often follow caravans and devour the dogs who succumb to fatigue or ill treatment. They do not even wait for the death of their victim. A brother went to raise one of his horses who had fallen; before he could do so the ravens had plucked out its eyes. He killed him to deliver him from further sufferings and prevent the ravens eating him alive. If Monsignor Grandin had been unable to defend himself, he would have shared the fate of the horse. He suffered severely from ophthalmia, caused by the reverberation of the solar rays in the snow, his eyes being in a deplorable state, so that it was painful to open them opposite a fire or light. Still he continued to labor, making no account of the obstacles or of his delicate health, baptizing hundreds of savages as he wended his way from mission to mission, leaving behind him blood-stained footprints in the snow. He not only had to do missionary work, but to work at house or hut building, and was alternately mason, carpenter, tailor and agriculturist, besides washing and mending his own linen and that of his companion. His "episcopal palace" at La Providence was a counterpart of that at Good Hope—no floors, no doors, no beds, no chairs and parchment windows, the dining table being the carpenter's bench, and a barrel, which he called "his curule chair," the episcopal throne! "If we

are in want of anything," he wrote, "it is certainly not poverty. Many things we expected from St. Boniface have not reached us. We, consequently, want tools to work with, paper to write, hosts to say Mass (we are trying to make some) and garments to clothe me. We have neither watch nor clock among us; we all follow our own rules: we eat when we are hungry, we regulate our prayers and meditations by the clock of our fervor or rather my fervor, for it is I who give the signal; so judge how all goes on well. Our great trouble is in getting up. If the brother sees the stars, he is pretty sure of the time, but the stars are often hidden by thick clouds. We rise rather regularly between two and six; we only burn one candle at Holy Mass; we use fish oil in our long vigils, hoping thus to save the candle for the whole winter. If the episcopate dispenses me from the vow of poverty, it does not leave me under the necessity of needing it." Lacordaire says "the apostle is Christ's nudity in all its simplicity and in all its eloquence." Monsignor Grandin was such an apostle. Poverty is always a cross, but the Oblate missionary-Bishop was one who "embraced the cross, despising the shame." The Indians, poor nomads, living from hand to mouth, despised the white man who was so destitute of everything "that he hadn't even tobacco" to offer them, and withdrew from the mission. Like a good shepherd he followed his flock and lured them back. He went alone into the midst of them and in a loud voice chanted a canticle in their dialect. They gradually gathered round him, and then he addressed a few touching words to them. "It wasn't to give you tobacco," he said, "I came so far. Other strangers might come to you for your furs and give you in exchange tobacco and clothes, but I have come on the part of God to teach you the way to heaven. I learnt how unhappy you were in this short life, and I would have wished that at least you should be happy in a life that will never end. See, now, nine years ago I embraced my old father whose head is as white as snow, with no hope of seeing him again except in heaven. It cost him much, too, to see me go, but through pity for you he consented. When, from Ile à la Crosse and Athabasca, I wrote him that the Montagnais were faithful to my voice, that they followed the law of the good God to go to heaven, my father was consoled and did not regret my departure. Soon the whites will pass this way to send your furs into their countries. I shall avail of it to write to my old father, and I shall tell him the savages with whom I am now don't come to hear me and despise me. And my old father will die of grief. See my hands; they are hardened by work. I am building a house of the good God for you, and you leave me alone! You, too, will die, and will render an account to God of your bad life

and of the contempt you have shown for His envoy. Ah! you complain that I don't give you tobacco. You will go to smoke with the bad spirits, a misfortune I would have wished to spare you." With such simple exhortations he regained his ascendancy over these children of nature. They all followed him back to the mission to his great consolation.

It was at La Providence, on November 21, 1863, he received the vows of his cousin, Father Grouard, who acquired the Indian dialects with surprising facility. Monsignor Grandin overheard Protestants remark on the occasion of his first sermon: "It is very extraordinary: these Catholic priests learn the Montagnais language as they wish. Two came last year, and this spring one was able to give a mission by himself alone at Slave Lake, and now we hear this young father speaking here like a real Montagnais, while the minister, after spending five years in the country, can hardly make himself understood."

One winter's night, when he had to cross the great Slave Lake, he was caught in a furious snowstorm and lost trace of his traveling companions, having only with him young Brother Baptist. They were freezing with the cold, the mercury having gone down to 40 degrees centigrade. They prepared themselves for death and, kneeling in the snow, recited the *Sub tuum*, the prayer to the guardian angel, and a heartfelt act of contrition, the poor child crying as he made the response. "Oh, what a night!" says Father Jonquet, "I do not know if the history of the Church presents many scenes comparable to that of the night of the 14th to the 15th of December, 1863! This Bishop, wandering in darkness, upon an ocean of ice, in company with a weeping child and dogs howling with the cold, offering his life for his beloved savages, there is a picture worthy to tempt a great painter." After hearing the boy's confession at his entreaty, feeling the cold gaining on them, they resumed their painful journey, fleeing from the death that was pursuing them. "We thus journeyed long,"¹ related Monsignor Grandin, "only stopping when we were too cold, but my little boy was beginning to get drowsy despite himself and despite me. I knew that the only means of saving his life was to try and camp again." They did so. The fathers of St. Joseph's mission were much troubled about them when they learnt from the English traders that they had been left on the lake; they thought the Bishop was doomed to certain death and made an ineffectual effort to get into touch with him. Meanwhile he felt the horrors of his perilous position. To raise the child's drooping courage he tried to sing, but tears mingled with his

¹ Monsignor Grandin, Oblat de Marie Immaculée, premier Evêque de Saint Albert par le R. P. E. Jonquet de la même Congrégation.

song, while both struggled to keep off sleep which would have been their last sleep on this earth, their reawakening being in eternity. Their feet were so frozen that they could not keep on their snow-shoes, when at last they were rescued. When Monsignor Grandin reached St. Joseph's the fathers were saying Mass for the repose of his soul. To camp in the midst of the lake in winter and without fire was regarded by the natives as being in imminent danger of losing one's life; it was to expose oneself to inevitable death.

On another journey to La Providence in midwinter the guide missed his way. At one time they thought they discerned some islands in the distance, but when they drew near they found that it was the effect of a mirage. Their provisions gave out; the dogs were starving; they were contemplating boiling parchment and, failing that, killing one of the dogs for food. The Bishop's companions knelt and asked his blessing; they recited the rosary in common, and then the prelate, kneeling, renewed his vows, it being the anniversary of his profession, offering to God the sacrifice of his life. The whole of the first day in January was passed in marching and countermarching over the snowy desert with its disconcerting mirages. They were over 1,500 miles from any centre of civilization, isolated, without any communication, very often without any of their brethren in such journeys, destitute of every resource, having only their faith to keep up their courage. At night, benumbed with cold, always fasting, they had to sleep in the snow. On the 2d of January the Bishop said to his companions: "On such a day as this the three wise kings went to seek the Divine Infant; a miraculous star was their guide. Well, let us promise the good God we'll sing a High Mass of thanksgiving at La Providence if we'll be able to celebrate the Epiphany there." They found their way at last, and in the afternoon reached the fort. On the 5th Monsignor Grandin was at La Providence. Although he lost his paten he continued to say Mass daily for several months. Telling this afterwards to Cardinal Barnabo, the Prefect of Propaganda said: "But do you think, Monseigneur, that the apostles had patens like us? I could understand your metropolitan's hesitation (alluding to a conversation on the subject Monsignor Grandin had had with Monsignor Taché) if you hadn't a chalice, and yet you, being a Bishop, could consecrate a vessel of some sort."

When at Marseilles he had frequent colloquies with Monsignor de Mazenod on the ministry of souls in the Northwest. Having expressed his grave regret at seeing most of the Christians die without the Holy Viaticum, because, traversing long distances, the missionaries could not always carry with them what was necessary for the celebration of Mass, the founder counseled him to carry the Blessed

Sacrament secretly with him, to communicate them or himself when he could not celebrate. This he did when, in January, 1862, he set out on a long and dangerous journey, giving himself Communion at dawn on the feast of St. Joseph, while his young companion slept. In the sequel he no longer permitted himself this liberty. "During the terrible night on the Slave Lake," he said, "I congratulated myself on not having about me the Blessed Sacrament because it would have been impossible for me to open the pyx with my benumbed hands. This simple operation would have frozen my fingers and the Host would have been lost."

After a visitation which occupied three years and a half and involved a journey of thousands of miles, performed under the most painful conditions, trying to soul and body, Monsignor Grandin arrived at Ile à la Crosse in mid-August, 1864. One of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, moved to enthusiastic admiration by his heroism, wrote to him: "The noble abnegation, the tranquillity, the wonderful energy with which you have borne with difficulties, surmounted obstacles and endured sufferings of an exceptional nature are beyond all praise. For my part, although I have spent fifteen years in these savage regions, have experienced and felt myself many of the vicissitudes of life in the extreme North, I would have recoiled before such long, multiplied and continuous privations as your Lordship has endured on the banks of the Mackenzie River. If your friends far off had seen you, as I have, in a 'palace' built of some shapeless trunks of trees, laid one over the other to the height of six or seven feet, lit only by some coarse pieces of parchment, which alone served as windows, with only the frozen soil for a floor and some badly joined planks, through which the snow and wind penetrated every minute, as a door; for a bedstead some pieces of wood on trestles; for habitual nourishment food that the meanest servants in France would have contemptuously rejected! If they had seen your long and painful journeys, often in a half-fasting condition; if they had seen you with no other companions but barbarians, who have none of the habits or sentiments that civilization inspires, those friends certainly would have shed tears of compassion. I know your unexampled patience and your unalterable courage have excited the admiration of all the officers of the district, not to speak of the affectionate esteem which your Lordship's personal qualities have inspired all classes of the inhabitants of the Mackenzie River."

While the Bishop of Satala was traversing the Arctic regions of Mackenzie and Athabasca, the Holy See had come to a decision having an important bearing on the missions in the North. The Diocese of St. Boniface was divided, the Mackenzie and Athabasca

districts being erected into a separate see, Father Faraud being nominated Vicar-Apostolic of those immense territories, with the title of Bishop of Anemour *in partibus infidelium*. This was followed by other and more important changes in the event. Meanwhile Monsignor Grandin, after a long illness which nearly cut short his career by a fatal termination, accomplished a gigantic work by constructing, with the help of some Indians and halfbreeds, a road through the forest of Carlton as far as Ile à la Crosse, where, in 1867, the mission buildings were totally destroyed by fire, leaving the Bishop, with a priest seriously ill, three lay Brothers, one of whom was an invalid, and nineteen little boys houseless, in from 20 to 30 degrees of cold. "I had not even a handkerchief to dry my tears, and I had the weakness to shed many," said the prelate dolefully. A journey of nine hundred miles through snow and ice brought him to St. Boniface, where he told Monsignor Taché of the disaster.

Crossing the ocean to attend the chapter general of his congregation, he was one of the five hundred Bishops who assembled in Rome for the celebration of the eighteen hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, after which he quested Europe in aid of his missions in the Northwest. It was on that occasion that Monsignor Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, who was destined to suffer martyrdom at the hands of the Communists, called the Oblate missionaries "the zouaves of religion, always exposed to death and ever ready to endure martyrdom," and that Louis Veuillot had his interview with the *evêque poilleux*, which he so picturesquely recorded in *l'Univers*. Before leaving for America he had a private audience with Pius IX., who was already acquainted with his arduous work in Canada. Among other things he asked the Pope's permission to reserve the Blessed Sacrament without a lamp. "But I can only grant such a thing in case of persecution, and, thank God, you are not yet in such a position," objected His Holiness. "Most Holy Father," replied Monsignor Grandin with emotion, "we are not persecuted, it is true, but we have so much to suffer! It often happens to us to be unable to celebrate Holy Mass except with a single light. If you deprive us of the good God, what will become of us?" "*Ad impossibile nemo tenetur*. Keep the good God." "Most Holy Father," pursued the prelate, "it sometimes happened in my distant journeys that I put the Blessed Sacrament in my valise to preserve it, not from profanation, but from the indiscreet curiosity of the Indians." "I repeat: *Ad impossibile nemo tenetur*," replied the Pope. "You have such need of Our Lord! My dear Bishop of Satala, in your life, all sacrifice and deprivation, you have the merit of martyrdom without its glory."

When the Provincial Council of Quebec, in 1868, discussed the formation of two new provinces, those of Toronto and St. Boniface it was decided to erect the Vicariate of Saskatchewan² into a diocese, with the young mission of St. Albert as its see, separating it from that of St. Boniface, with an administration apart therefrom and a certain independence. The new vicariate confided to Monsignor Grandin, more than twice the size of France, was then a vast solitude, wooded in some places and in other parts covered with wild grasses and heather; large cities have since been built on it. Its native inhabitants, different from the peaceable Montagnais, were chiefly the bellicose Crees and Blackfeet, always warring with one another, when they were not hunting the bison, whose disappearance coincides with the disappearance of the Indian tribes, supplanted by the white races.³ When Monsignor Grandin arrived the vicariate contained only twelve missionaries, including four lay Brothers, scattered through six residences, some of them being separated by enormous distances. St. Albert, the Bishop's residence, had been founded in 1861 as a mission to serve the humble chapel of St. Joachim at Edmonton, and was called after the late Père Lacombe's patron saint. Seven years afterwards it was frequented by four or five hundred Metis and some Indians. The ministry imposed on the missionaries varied and laborious occupations, one of the most difficult being to accompany the Indians over the prairies. These expeditions were generally composed of several hundred hunters, who took with them their wives and children, and involved all the miseries and vicissitudes of camp life.

The founding of these missions was the Church taking possession of the country. Monsignor Grandin, whose zeal knew no bounds, ambited evangelizing the whole interior of the continent, and at once civilizing and Christianizing the entire population. His work was impeded by many mishaps. In crossing the north branch of the Saskatchewan River he lost his chalice, a ciborium given him by Pius IX., several sacerdotal and episcopal ornaments, a handsome mitre, the gift of the clergy of Marseilles, ampullas to contain the holy oils and several other valuable things. It was a cross, but, as he said, "the heavier the cross, the more necessary it is to arm ourselves with courage to carry it to the end. May the hand of God which smites us be blessed! Better to have sustained this loss than to have committed a venial sin." He found

² An abbreviation of the Cree words, *kisiska-tchewan*, signifying rapid current.

³ Monsignor Taché in 1869 calculated that for twenty-five years not less than a million bisons had been killed annually.

consolation in the unwavering fidelity of his coworkers. "If I had every reason to be discouraged," he wrote, "seeing my great personal misery, my too evident incapacity, my absolute poverty, I had a right to be confident, for, besides the help of God upon which I could the more count, the poorer and the more powerless I was I could rely on the devotedness and abnegation of my missionaries. From the first of the fathers to the least of the lay Brothers none has recoiled before sacrifice; all were admirable in their zeal and devotedness. In their good spirit, by their charity, by all the religious and apostolic virtues, they have been my strong support, and they have founded the Church of St. Albert." They all had to practice poverty in the spirit and the letter. They were as badly off at St. Albert as elsewhere. He could hardly officiate with his mitre in the chapel, into which the rain, the snow and the wind penetrated, while his episcopal palace was a poor log cabin. Seven occupied one room, which was parlor, secretariat, workshop, etc. A buffalo skin laid on the ground with one or two woolen coverlets was their bed; mattresses and sheets were unknown luxuries. They only ate bread in small quantities on feast days. This was varied by hard pemican broken into pieces with a hatchet. Another meat, as hard as leather, taxed their powers of mastication. Tea without sugar was their beverage.

When Monsignor Grandin began the visitation of his immense vicariate an epidemic of smallpox ravaged his flock. It brought out into full relief the heroic qualities of the chief pastor. Protestants as well as Catholics recognized this. A few days before his arrival a Protestant employé had died of it; before his death he had asked for his minister, who resided at St. Albert, but instead of coming, the reverend gentleman simply wrote exhorting the patient to have confidence. The Bishop of Satala personally tended the sick, whom their own relatives and friends were afraid to approach. The Protestants were greatly edified by the courageous conduct of the Catholic prelate, who spent his days and nights among the dead and dying. The fort became such a source of infection that the inhabitants to escape death camped in the open air. Monsignor Grandin followed and ministered to them. Corpses were abandoned even by the nearest relations of the deceased. The indefatigable missionary-Bishop discharged the last duties to the repulsive remains of the unfortunate victims; on one day he buried seven bodies in the same grave. Not only this, but in compliance with an urgent appeal from Père Lacombe, who was himself similarly employed in the midst of the dead and dying and had hurried to St. Albert, where the fathers were stricken with the epidemic, so that there was not a priest to assist the sick, he at once set out

to help him. On his way in a camp of the infidel Indians who were suffering from the contagion he stopped to console, succor, instruct and baptize them. He met a young man from St. Albert who was fleeing from that plague-stricken place, but whom death pursued and struck down, for on his return he discovered that the wolves had devoured his remains. The epidemic had ravaged the whole country, carrying off more than three thousand of the Crees and Blackfeet. The desert already contained three improvised cemeteries. The Metis and Indian converts cared for their sick; the pagans abandoned them. The Bishop's and missionaries' heroism astonished unbelievers, strengthened the Christians in the faith and gave a marvelous impetus to the progress of Catholicism.

When in 1869 the Northwest was annexed to Canada, the Government paying the Hudson's Bay Company 7,500,000 francs for an immense domain of two million square miles, Monsignor Grandin viewed with some anxiety the future, fearing that Canada and the States would pour into that fertile land the scum of their populations, and he had already reason to bewail the moral and physical degeneracy which followed the advent of many of the fur traders. Since his arrival at St. Albert his thoughts were centred on the Christianizing of the Indians of the prairies. His first visit to the camp of the Blackfeet inspired him with great hopes of their conversion, but he had great difficulty in persuading them and other tribes to give up polygamy, for they regarded women like horses, as beasts of burden. The Assiniboines and Iroquois, who lived by hunting in the defiles of the Rocky Mountains, listened eagerly to the missionaries, their readiness to receive instruction compensating him for the fatigue he had undergone in a very toilsome journey.

On September 22, 1871, the bulls erecting the ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface were signed in Rome, and Monsignor Grandin, who did not hear of it until April 2, 1872, exchanged the position of Coadjutor for that of Bishop of St. Albert. On the first Sunday of Easter he took possession of his see, which he consecrated to the Immaculate Heart under the invocation of Our Lady of Victories in his new cathedral, designed by a lay Brother and raised by the joint labor of Bishop, priests, novices and Brothers. Even in its unfinished state this church was an object of admiration to the Indians, to whom it seemed a masterpiece, and who made a several days' march to see it. Father Grouard, who was to become Vicar Apostolic of Athabasca, decorated the sanctuary with some paintings in very good taste. "And to say that in this very country there would come later on men who would talk of the laziness and wealth of the monks!" comments Father Jonquet.

One of his chief solitudes was the forming of Christians from

childhood, looking upon the Catholic school as the vestibule of the Church. It was at this time that the great railroad, the Canadian Pacific, which now crosses the continent and connects two oceans, was projected, and he foresaw the immense changes which would follow, the great flood of immigration that would flow westward from the St. Lawrence to Vancouver and the crowding out of the Indians and halfbreeds. "If we could educate the children," he said, "it would be the resurrection of their various tribes. We should have nurseries of Christian Indians." With that end in view he wished to found in Canada, on the model of similar work in the East, a work of the schools of the Northwest, and appealed to Père Lacombe, who gave his earnest coöperation, in a letter which Louis Veuillot said was "a page worthy of the greatest ages of the Church." But lest it might injure the work of the Propagation of the Faith, he was induced to give up the project, to him, so zealous to extend the kingdom of God on earth, a great sacrifice. But his zeal never lacked scope for its expansion. He replaced the famous Blackrobe Voyageur in the Christianization of the Crees and toured Europe in aid of the Propagation of the Faith, speaking in twenty-three cathedrals and in numerous parish churches, seminaries, colleges, boarding schools and Catholic clubs, with marvelous results. The appeals of this missionary-Bishop were not studied discourses; he spoke of what he had seen and felt and realized from direct intimate knowledge; he spoke from the heart, a heart full of the love of God and of souls, and he touched the hearts of his hearers. His zeal and enthusiasm were contagious. He not only preached, but he wrote appealingly for subjects to all the seminaries and communities. Far from depicting missionary work in a financial and alluring aspect, he did not conceal the hardships it involved. To the superior of one seminary he said: "Give us young men animated with the apostolic spirit, of ardent faith and abnegation. I promise them in my diocese numberless privations, and therefore many merits." He took back with him seventeen new missionaries, including his own nephew, the Abbé Henri Grandin. Though the cathedral was finished, the habitation left much to be desired; with increased numbers there was not increased accommodation; the fathers and brothers were crowded into cells with beds like those on board ship or like library shelves. The winter of 1874-75 was very severe, the thermometer descending to 45 degrees centigrade. One of the servants, a Canadian named Louis Dazé, who was a lay Brother without the vows, and who had rendered great services to the mission, was frozen to death.

Monsignor Grandin was consoled by the progress of religion at Ile à la Crosse. At the close of a retreat in 1875 he records:

"Seventeen years ago we raised a cross in the same place, and we are happy to state now that since that time our holy religion has made progress in the country which we really could not have ventured to hope for then. One can say that now all the Indians are Christians and Catholics, and generally good Christians and good Catholics. May God forever be blessed for it!" During his return to St. Albert he had to camp on wet grass, which brought on a malady of the ears from which he suffered much up to his death, with intervals of relief. The heroism of the Bishop of St. Albert and other Oblate missionaries drew from Mr. J. M. Mackay, a Protestant, this generous tribute: "In unexplored prairies, in labyrinthine forests, in marshes and torrents, under the rays of a burning sun, in rain or Arctic cold, here on horseback, there on foot, at one time carrying his frail bark canoe, at another marching over the snow, drawing after him from hut to hut the sledge that carries his meagre food and the symbols of his faith; visiting the sick stricken with fever or smallpox, the Oblate missionary bears the banner of his Master and the lights of Christian civilization into the most remote regions of the West. For him no auditors applaud his words, no press eulogizes his works; the consciousness of duty and devotedness to his fellow-creatures alone animates him. Worthy successor of those illustrious apostles and martyrs of the faith, the Brebœufs, the Hennepins and the Marquettes, he fears neither cold nor hunger nor the savage's arrow; on the contrary, he seems to seek the martyr's palm which many others of his order have gathered. Assuredly, this century cannot point to anything nobler, grander than the figure of the Oblate missionary. We may differ from him in doctrine, but we should not deny him the tribute of our sympathy and our respect." These words, creditable alike to him who spoke them and to those they were spoken of, were uttered in a conference on the English possessions in North America. A Catholic publicist wrote of these missionaries: "We read in history that General Kleber, commanding in Africa, said to his soldiers: 'To be a soldier is to be fatigued and march, to be hungry and not eat, to be thirsty and not drink, to be unable to bear up and to bear others.' Let us put the Oblate in place of the soldier, let us add to hunger and fatigue the labors of the ministry and we shall have an idea of the life of our missionaries in the American Northwest."

He was much preoccupied with the need of a seminary for the formation of a native clergy, foreseeing that the immense solitudes were going to be peopled and that he might not be able to count upon the mother country. A start was made with a small group of young Metis, over whom his nephew, Father Grandin, was

placed; this was the nucleus of the future seminary of St. Albert. But here, as in other phases of his work, he was faced with formidable opposition. Under the new order of things, when it was no longer dangerous to go among the tribes in the wilds of the interior when they had not, as the Catholic missionaries had, to take their lives in their hands and run the risk of martyrdom, the Protestant ministers followed in the wake of the rapidly increasing immigration and ordained native proselytes, who were not called upon to take the vow of celibacy and undergo a prolonged, exacting and ascetical preparation for the ministry. This gave them readier access to the Indians, who, like many of the whites, preferred the easier way. Besides, they had illimitable wealth at their back and could entice the Indians by bribes, by free gifts of clothing, tobacco and "fire-water," with which the fur traders used to drive profitable bargains with them in exchange for their much more valuable furs. In addition to this, it was very difficult for the missionaries to get the young Indians, accustomed to the free, roaming life of the prairies, to submit to discipline and the ordered life of a seminary. Then the Hudson's Bay Company, although it had rendered some services to the missionaries, as when Mr. J. W. Christie, the agent at Fort Edmonton, built a chapel and a house for the priest, it had in its employment others who threw every obstacle they could in their way. But no obstacles could deter or discourage Monsignor Grandin, who, when offered the Coadjutorship of a French see, declined it, saying: "My mission in the North will only end with my death. If I knew I was to die in a month, I would go back immediately to have the consolation of dying at my post." Struck by his simplicity and abnegation, the Abbé Lebreton, vicar general of Seez, who for twenty-five years had observed his eminent virtues, at the close of a confirmation administered by the Bishop of St. Albert, spoke from the pulpit a glowing eulogium of his apostolic life and work. "Monsignor Grandin," he said, "has made himself an Indian in the fullest sense of the word, living the life of the Indians, feeding on their more than coarse food, clothed with the skins of beasts like the Indians, living in their tents of hides, sleeping alongside them in the open air, letting himself be devoured by their vermin—and all that to gain souls to Jesus Christ, to lead them to heaven, and procure for these wretched people a better way of living here. You see," he concluded, addressing the Bishop, "all these priests ranged round your throne. They and I have formed the design of kissing your feet before parting with you. They are beautiful, those feet which have traversed the forests of America, which have journeyed so much over snows and frozen ponds! *Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium!* Now fatigued, they

can hardly support your worn-out body. It is just that we should pay them honor. We shall kiss your feet in our own name, in the name of all the priests and faithful of our diocese who have had the happiness of receiving your visit." Then they suited the action to the word. The pious prelate was deeply moved as thirty priests prostrated themselves in turn at his feet, including his eldest brother, the Abbé Jean Grandin, while he, to preserve himself in humility, silently recited the *Miserere*.

His activity was unceasing, notwithstanding that he was a continual prey to physical suffering. He scoured the seminaries of France and Belgium in search of subjects not only for his own congregation, but for other orders. Very exacting on the subject of vocations, he said: "We may, indeed, in our Northern missions die of hunger and cold, but we have no chance of dying martyrs. Our poor missions have not even that poetic aspect. Our life is a long martyrdom, but one of the most prosaic martyrdoms, known to God alone and him who suffers. It is a martyrdom little appreciated. What awaits you in the apostolate is a real, long, daily martyrdom, the martyrdom of deprivations, isolation, illness, insults, outrages, calumnies. Examine if God calls you. If you are only drawn by the allurements of a frivolous imagination, by the attraction of curiosity, if you only seek an outlet for the eager activity of your youth in dangerous enterprises, remain at home, but if you hunger and thirst for suffering, if you wish to sanctify yourself by the sacrifice of your whole being, come, you will find in our missions the means of making yourself useful for the glory of God and the salvation of souls." This view of the missionary apostolate as a martyrdom, though not always a martyrdom by blood-shedding, had evidently been suggested by Pius IX., who had addressed to him these soul-stirring words: "In China they have the true martyrdom of the blood, a glorious martyrdom, in some sort a poetical martyrdom; you, my children, in those icy, savage regions, if you have not the glorious martyrdom by blood-shedding with its poetry, you are none the less martyrs in the eyes of the Lord. You have all the reality of martyrdom in the daily sacrifices of your painful apostolate, and the martyrdom, which is endured every day and every moment, can it merit for you a less beautiful crown in heaven?"

He not only spent himself, but everything he had upon the Indians. His greatest delight was in instructing the children and the poor, preference being given to the most bereft. Out of his poverty he contrived to give sixty meals to the poor savages in 1881. After the epidemic referred to the number of orphans increased. He took old men, strangers to the country, some of them Protestants,

into his house. Suffering in any form appealed to his charity, which recognized in mankind of every class, creed and country his brethren. "My establishment at St. Albert," he wrote to a French Bishop, "is nothing less than a large orphanage and a model farm. I would want twenty or thirty establishments of this kind in my diocese, and I have only three."

In a lengthy letter to the Bishop of Laval he describes very graphically a confirmation tour which lasted six months, during which time he did not meet as many priests as he saw in one day at Laval; how he was in posts and encampments where there was no priest; how he sometimes said Mass in a poor hut, and oftenest in a little canvas tent he took with him on his summer journeys, he being alone inside while the congregation were outside; how he rose one morning at 6, and while his two Indian companions slept made the fire, melted the ice to get water, made his toilette, performed his exercise and then said Mass. "If your good diocesans," he said, "could see my caravan they wouldn't think it was a Bishop on a confirmation circuit, but a poor peasant removing." The *Standard*, a Montreal paper, graphically portrayed this missionary-Bishop, entitling him "a hero of the Northwest." "For several days," it said, "the various Parliamentary bureaux at Ottawa have been somewhat surprised by frequent visits from an unknown one who should not be unknown. Still young, he already wears a glorious crown of white hair, walks painfully and seems to have suffered much. His features breathe the peace of a pure conscience, his voice gives mild expression to true and sincere sentiments, his heart is upright and disinterested—all rare things, it must be admitted, in the cold regions of politics. So, surprised and caught unawares at first, soon all, Protestants as well as Catholics, bow as he passes on and seek in his frank and clear glances relief from the crafty and even false looks which they daily witness. What he seeks at the cost of visits a hundred times more painful than the hardest labors he tells everybody with a conviction and a noble simplicity which seduce, capture and captivate you. When the barbarians overran the Roman Empire they made many ruins; they would have made more if Popes and Bishops had not opposed them, in the name of God, with words of peace and mercy. Cross in hand, they protected their persecutors of yesterday and assured them a tranquil life. To-day in the Northwest it is no longer barbarism, but what it is agreed to call civilization, which drives back more and more the savage tribes. They take from them their hunting ground; they force them, by famine, to change their manners and habits of life; sometimes even, despite the Governor, they bring them, along with immorality, injustices against which they cry out.

Who will come to plead their cause? Who will intercede for them? Who will make their too just complaints heard? Who if not still the Bishop, the missionary-martyr? For twenty-seven years he has suffered like the Indians; he has wept with them; he has followed them in their summer hunts; visited them in their winter camps. He was there when they were still scalping, and if they do it no longer it is thanks to the words of charity to which he has made them listen. Why should his heart not become like that of a father for them; how should it not beat in unison with theirs and feel as keenly their privations, their wants and their anxieties? Let us hope that our Ministers will understand these sentiments, that in this regard they will continue the glorious traditions of our fathers and that they will give the Bishop-missioner more than hopes: acts marked with the double seal of justice and sympathy. Moreover, if they have really at heart the rapid and safe colonization of the Northwest, and if they do not bring themselves to the shameful necessity of exterminating the Indians, as our neighbors do, they cannot do better than favor the Catholic missions."

On January 1, 1883, he appealed so forcibly on their behalf to the assembled prelates of the Province of Quebec that a collective letter signed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Quebec and all the Canadian Bishops was issued recommending an annual quest in favor of the schools of the Northwest and the Bishop of St. Albert and his work to the Federal Government. And when that Government sent land surveyors into the Northwest to parcel out lands in the colony of St. Albert, most of which had been in the possession of the people before the annexation of the territories to Canada, and nothing less was talked of but armed resistance, it was Mon-signor Grandin who prevented the colonists' rights being infringed.

In 1883, when he celebrated his episcopal silver jubilee, not only were forty missionary Oblates present, but his prestige was such that the Protestant Bishop, accompanied by his wife and a numerous suite, came to offer his congratulations to the jubilarian. It was this prestige which enabled him and another famous Oblate missionary, Père Lacombe, to restore order out of the chaos created by the rising of the halfbreeds under Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont, when two of their Oblate brethren, Fathers Marchand and Fafard, were killed by the Indians. The work of years had meanwhile been destroyed, and ruins, burned houses and churches and pillaged presbyteries along with untilled fields met his saddened gaze. His grief was great. "Since my voyage to Europe," he said, "I have lost eight missionaries; of this number only two died in their beds; the others died frozen, drowned or massacred by the Indians." With buildings to be rebuilt, orphans to be fed and

schools to be maintained, it was a question of life or death for the mission. Although ill, he begged Canada for the children of his flock, suffering from hunger all the way from McLeod to Calgary. "We tried," he said, "to deceive our stomachs by going to sleep, but it is useless to say 'he who sleeps dines;' we did not so realize it." He was worn out with fatigue, pierced with cold, and still ill when, travel-stained, he returned to St. Albert. He traveled much in the years 1886, 1887 and 1888 in Canada, the United States and Europe, although suffering from various maladies, preaching daily and often several times in the day. Begging was a great burden to him; it needed all his love for souls to overcome his repugnance for the self-imposed task. He took part in the Provincial Council of St. Boniface, composed exclusively of Oblates, an epoch-making event.

Eighty years before that there was not a single priest in the whole vast province. In all the region of the Northwest in 1845 there were only one Bishop, six priests serving five residences and three schools attended by 120 children. In 1886 there were six Bishops, 127 priests, 168 churches, 132 schools and 4,618 pupils. This council divided the Diocese of St. Albert at the instance of Monsignor Grandin, whose increasing infirmities made it impossible for him to attend to the spiritual and material requirements of missions situated at great distances from each other in his immense see. Still, the progress the Catholic religion had made was most satisfactory. In 1868 the Vicariate of Saskatchewan only counted seven stations served by eight priests; twenty years afterwards, when it was erected into the Diocese of St. Albert, it had thirty-two stations and forty-six Oblate missionaries, besides forty-four nuns looking after orphanages and schools, the hope of the future of Catholicism in the Northwest. All this had been accomplished despite many obstacles; despite the influx of mixed races and creeds; despite civilized barbarism, despite Orange persecution open and covert; despite aggressive Protestantism, which spread its snares to entrap the unwary children of the plains, its Bishops and ministers adopting high ritualism, which Disraeli called "the Mass in masquerade," to throw dust in their eyes, the better to foist upon them the semblance for the reality of sacerdotalism.

The whole eastern and northeastern portion of the Diocese of St. Albert was detached to form the new Vicariate Apostolic of Saskatchewan, of which Monsignor Pascal, O. M. I., was made vicar, with the title of Bishop of Mosinopolis. What, however, remained under the jurisdiction of Monsignor Grandin was as large as France. At the same time Monsignor Grouard was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Athabasca-Mackenzie and titular Bishop of Ibora.

St. Albert was no longer a remote mission, lost in the midst of the woods and marshes, but well organized and progressively prosperous, with its church, its solemn ceremonies, its schools, hospice and orphanages, and a Catholic population of twelve hundred living under the shadow of its cathedral. To counterbalance the Protestant invasion of his diocese he strove to promote Catholic immigration, with the help of Père Lacombe, and succeeded in forming several embryo settlements. "Who knows," said Monsignor Grandin, "but the equilibrium will be displaced to the advantage of the more fertile and Christian race." This was very germane to the school and language questions which have long agitated and still agitate Catholic Canada ever since the Government, impelled by Orange bigotry, adopted the blind policy of strangling the Catholic schools by drawing tighter and tighter round them a string of successive enactments in direct contravention of the constitutional compact of 1870. Monsignor Grandin, who followed the movement with an attentive eye and sad forebodings, protested in an open letter to the Canadian Archbishops and Bishops. His attitude was uncompromising resistance. "I am the servant of a Master they could not shut up in a tomb," he said. "A Bishop's front should be harder than the front of a cuirassier, *frontem adamantem, durior frontibus eorum.*"

The dread of being an obstacle to good tortured the soul of this good Bishop, who all the time was accomplishing a great deal of good. An exaggerated criticism of his administration by a self-satisfied theorist greatly troubled him. "I have never risen to the height of my responsibilities, now less than ever," he humbly notes in his journal. "The work of God is suffering in my hands. For the first time to-day I asked God to remove me from this world. I can indeed conscientiously make this request for His greater glory and the good of the diocese."

The idea of placing his resignation in the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff finds expression in several letters. He begged Father Soulier, the superior general, to have pity on him and permit him to do so, "Your moralist," replies Father Soulier, "has not a monopoly of religious orthodoxy. We know you, we see your work as Bishop for over thirty years. We pay homage to the uprightness of your intentions, to the wisdom of your acts, to your unchangeable devotedness, to the delicacy of your conscience as a Bishop and a religious. One may bear witness that from the very viewpoint of doctrine you have figured very well in presence of the princes of the Church and of literature. We wish your critics had as much prudence in the conduct of affairs, your courage in difficulties, your

spirit of faith and your piety in bad as in good fortune." When a serious malady took hold of him, the fear of becoming a useless servant troubled him more than physical suffering. "I am under no illusion," he wrote. "I am stricken with a malady which will lead me to the tomb, I fear, before very long. Am I not going to be a charge on the diocese? My great trouble is to have the responsibility of a large diocese at a time when it will need a great development of activity and to be enervated by sickness and the obligation of taking care of myself." When he reached his sixty-third year, on February 8, 1892, he notes: "My life has been longer than I could hope. Ah! if I had employed it better! In reparation for my faults I accept beforehand, with the greatest submission to the will of God, my death, when, where and as He shall wish. The only grace I ask of Him is to die in His love, that He will give me a successor according to His own Heart, who shall repair my faults and do the good I have not done." The coadjutor and ultimate successor given him in the sequel was Monsignor Emile Joseph Legal, consecrated as titular Bishop of Pogle, who for sixteen years had been a zealous missionary among the Blackfeet in the southwestern parts of Alberta. The pioneer missionary-Bishops were giving place to new men and new methods in the changing conditions in which the Church in the Northwest found itself. Monsignor Taché—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—had meanwhile passed away and been succeeded by the late Monsignor Langevin in the Archbishopric of St. Boniface. Monsignor Grandin himself was slowing into the terminus which ends life's journey, having undergone a critical operation in Paris. When, before Monsignor Langevin's nomination, it was proposed to translate him to the metropolitan see, he said: "I have been thirty-seven years in the episcopate; the only translation I can ambition and even accept is to heaven." Besides, he was greatly attached to the see, which was his episcopal first love. "The Diocese of St. Albert," he wrote to the general, "is entirely the work of the congregation, of your sons whom you have sent there. From the least lay Brother up to the Bishop, we can all say to you: It is the Pope who erected this young Church, but it is we who have laid the foundations, who have made it increase and grow. I see the action of Providence in the foundations of our dear congregation in Belgium, in Holland, in Germany and elsewhere. It is there preparing the necessary missionaries, pending the time when the Church of St. Albert can, like the young ducks on our lakes, live by itself."

The cross of bodily suffering weighed heavily upon him. Pain-

ful maladies were fast shortening his days. "For a long time," he wrote, "the Holy Ghost by different voices warns me that I shall soon have to render my account, *quia mors mea prope est in januis*. Already death makes itself felt powerfully. I accept it, O my God, as a well deserved punishment for my sins." Notwithstanding that he was suffering acutely from stone, neuralgia, rheumatism, violent irritation of the coatings of the stomach, intolerable twitchings of the muscles, etc., he continued to administer his diocese with unwearied zeal, though relieved by his coadjutor of the most burdensome work.

Consequent on alluring prospects held out to them, the rural populations of Galicia were emigrating in large numbers to North America, nearly twenty thousand, later increasing to forty or fifty thousand, having scattered themselves over the Northwest, chiefly in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Their dialect was what is called Little Russian. Although Catholics, they mostly belonged to the Greco-Ruthenian rite. When they landed in America they were without pastors and the religious succor they needed. Priests of the Latin rite, not understanding them and having no faculties to exercise the sacred ministry according to their ritual and in their language, found their efforts paralyzed. For these Galicians to abandon their rite, so identified with their religion, their race and their whole history, seemed apostasy. Protestants were trying to proselytize these new colonists by mixed marriages, and some Galician children were already going to their schools. The danger was imminent. The Oblates saved the situation. Two of their missionaries, of Polish origin, were already ministering to the Ruthenian Galicians in and around Winnipeg. At the instance of Bishop Grandin and the other Bishops of the Northwest and with the help of Père Lacombe, the Archbishop of Lemberg sent to Manitoba his own secretary, Father Zoldach, and some time afterwards the Reformed Basilian Fathers to minister to their fellow-countrymen.

His biographer, in tracing a pen-portrait of Monsignor Grandin, does not overlook the shadows when picturing the lights. This is at once truthful and artistic. It is judicious shading in a painting which throws the high lights into full relief. Père Jonquet implies that he was somewhat touchy, but qualifies it by the remark that it was when the glory of God or the Church or the honor of the priesthood or of his congregation was in question that he was quickly aroused. When it concerned individuals he promptly made amends for his hastiness by a visit, a letter, an excuse, a genial smile or a friendly gift. A certain charm of manner was his

dominant characteristic. "What an amiable and good man," observed a Protestant minister; "if I was long in his company he would win me to his side." He was a real "fisher of men." Père Jonquet says quaintly that he had a talent for "harpooning of souls." He had also the gift of healing wounds and soothing sufferings. He inspired and invited confidence. "He entwined you in a web of affection and you did not know how to get out of it," observes the writer quoted. His subjects loved him and he them. He had a special affection for the lay Brothers and liked to join them in recreation. When his missionaries fell ill his solicitude was boundless. Suffering himself, he cared and consoled the sufferer, cheering him with pleasant stories or snatches of song. He was tender-hearted and had the gift of tears, a gift that comes from nature or from grace and refreshes the spirit or the soul. When his missionaries returned from their painful labors his comforting words, says Père Jonquet, were like a refreshing breeze. Though he suffered much from ingratitude, it left behind it no rankling resentment. He was affectionate by nature, his affection for his kindred detracting nothing from his affection for his spiritual family. He had the sanctification of his missionaries much at heart. To one of them he wrote: "Have a horror, my dear friend, of that wretched mediocrity which deprives us of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. We are few, but at least we have great souls. Our virtues ought to make up for our number. Let us always say yes to grace, no to nature." To another, who thought he was misunderstood by his superiors, he said: "Don't complain; it is a stroke of the pencil which completes your resemblance to our Divine Saviour. Let us strive during the short time our Lord leaves us to obliterate all that can spoil the picture, the true resemblance to the model we should copy. False strokes of the pencil may come from our impatience." To a father who had asked to be changed on account of incompatibility of character with his confreres and with whose request he complied, he wrote: "However, dear friend, don't be deluded. For you and me the time of illusions is past. Happiness is not of this world. and you'll not find it even in your new situation. There, too, you'll find men, and as holy as I suppose them they'll not be without experiencing the weaknesses of humanity. On the other hand, like me, I think even more than me, you have the talent of increasing the troubles you encounter on your way, and even of creating new ones for yourself. *In hic positi sumus*, we are destined for heaven, and we can only reach it by way of the Cross. We find the Cross everywhere—and we are ourselves our heaviest cross." When he

had to deal with any serious lapses, which moved him to tears, he joined mildness to firmness. "I would love you less," he wrote to such a one, "if I caressed your wounds." In portioning out work he always took the lion's share. "How could I send others into the firing line," he said, "if I did not go there myself?"

He never ceased to be, to regard himself and to regulate his life as an Oblate religious. "The axiom, *episcopatus solvit monachum*," observes Père Jonquet, "was not true in Monsignor Grandin's case. The virtues of poverty and even of obedience were practiced by him with courage and cheerfulness. He was aroused to holy indignation when it was said in his presence that Oblate Bishops were only honorary Oblates. He called to mind the words of Monsignor de Mazenod and affirmed that Pius IX., when consulted, replied that the Oblate, on becoming a Bishop, did not cease to be an Oblate, and that he was to adhere to his rules and vows in so far as they were not opposed to episcopal obligations." Every year, on the 1st of January, the anniversary of his profession, he renewed in writing his religious vows, wrote them on his knees, signed them and sent them to the superior general. Thus, on January 1, 1862, he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod, not being yet aware that the founder had passed away: "Beloved father, my heart gives you no other title this morning. However far I may be from the family centre, I don't wish to leave it to my brethren more favored than I am. The heart knows neither distances nor obstacles," and he concludes with these words: "May I die a worthy Oblate!" At the opening of 1902 he notes in his journal: "This day, 1st January, 1902, is the forty-ninth anniversary of my religious profession, a serious step if there ever was one, and which I have never regretted." A great lover of poverty, he practiced that virtue in the spirit and in the letter. "Poverty is not a dishonor," he often said; "otherwise our Lord would not have willed to be born, live and die poor." His humility was closely allied to his spirit of poverty: the higher he rose in men's estimation, the lower he sank in his own.

To a missioner who wrote flatteringly to him, calling him a saint, he replied: "My poor friend, of two things, one—either you wish to make game of me or you've become mad. In the first case, I forgive you for once; in the second, I pity you." In January, 1901, the community at St. Albert offered him a plaster bust of himself. He could not refuse it for fear of offending his missioners, but he relieves his mind in his journal, in which, after recording the incident, he adds: "It was already a good deal to have had me painted on canvas after all sorts of photographs, but it is superfluous to have

wanted this best. It is well for great celebrities, for great Bishops, of which there are many, but for a poor Bishop like me, known under the name of *l'Evêque pouilloux* and who am, in fact, a begging Bishop, the thing becomes an irony."

His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was what might be expected in so saintly a soul. Every morning when the community assembled for meditation in common they found him on his knees at the foot of the altar. At the close of the day his adoration of the Real Presence was prolonged until an advanced hour of the night. Before the community arrived he had already performed the Stations of the Cross. When physical exhaustion prevented him from rising, he was often seen dragging himself on his knees from station to station. Speaking of another Bishop of imposing presence and bearing, the Metis said: "One sees that he is proud to be a Bishop. Ah! it's not like Monsignor Grandin; he is humble even with the mitre." As a member of an order consecrated to our Lady Immaculate, it is not surprising to read that the rosary was one of his favorite devotions, and that it is to the pious use of the beads, earnestly recommended by him, the Indian and Metis converts owe their steadfastness in the faith. In the long, sleepless nights during his last illness he made the Way of the Cross and multiplied his rosaries. That illness, a prolonged agony, lasted for four months with intermittent rallies and crises until, on June 3, 1902, death released him from his sufferings, and the venerable prelate, the doyen of the Canadian episcopate, entered into "the joy of the Lord."

Dublin, Ireland.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN AT PARAY-LE-MONIAL

AMONG the welcome surprises which await the client of the Sacred Heart on visiting his much-loved Paray-le-Monial none perhaps will give him more intense joy than to learn—as possibly he may do for the first time—that for centuries before the devotion to the Sacred Heart was given to the world—in fact, almost from apostolic times—the district in which this little town is now situated was a very citadel of devotion to the Mother of God; that it possesses a shrine of Our Lady of extraordinary historic interest, which for centuries has been the goal of thousands of pious pilgrims, and that the image of Our Lady, still to be seen there, “Notre Dame de Romay,” is a veritable jewel of antiquity and the admiration of all archaeologists. In a word, Paray-le-Monial is not merely a landmark in the history of devotion to the Sacred Heart; it is a conspicuous illustration of a truth every Catholic knows by experience and never tires of hearing over and over again, that persevering devotion to the Mother of God opens infallibly the flood-gates of God’s most precious blessings.

We may conveniently begin our story with the arrival of the monks in the second half of the tenth century. History records that a certain pious Count Lambert of Chalon, with his wife, Adelaide, of the illustrious line of Charlemagne, came to Paray in 973, and there, under the direction of their friend, Mayeul of Cluny, founded the celebrated Benedictine priory which gave the place its present name, Paray-le-Monial (*Paredum Monachorum*). The first document or charter which tells of the establishment of this monastery in the valley, “le val d’or,” states that its foundation was laid “near to a very ancient church” (*antiquissimum templum*) which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Such designation presupposes centuries of existence. The church was situated on a hill where the town cemetery now stands, the mortuary chapel of which occupies the identical site and has been built on its ruins. It was in the very centre of the ancient district of Paray as the monks found it, and there were sufficient inhabitants to form a straggling village, which after 990 enjoyed the unique privilege of being exempt from payment of the royal taxes, the first instance of a community being so freed, as the generous movement of emancipation did not begin in France till the following century.

On settling down at Paray these Cluniac monks, maintaining the good old tradition of the locality, proclaimed at once the royal sov-

ereignty of Mary, and little by little the peasant folk of old Paray drew nigh to the priory, only too happy, as they expressed it, "to live beneath the Cross." Naturally they brought with them the time-honored devotion to the Queen of Heaven, whose praises were ever on their lips, whose image was graven on their hearts, and each succeeding chapter in the history of Paray-le-Monial is marked by the erection of some monument or sanctuary in Mary's honor.

First came a small building—a sort of chapel-of-ease, put up at the foot of the hill and placed under the patronage of Our Lady. Only a portion of this structure is to be seen to-day, but sufficient with the "rue Notre Dame," which still retains its name, to link us up after nearly a thousand years with that same ancient devotion to the Blessed Mother of God; and when in due course the monks built their majestic basilica—a replica though on smaller lines of St. Peter's at Cluny—they took care to honor the cherished feelings of the people by dedicating it to "the glorious Virgin Mary," a striking feature in the building being a large painting which was executed on the vaulted ceiling, representing the "Coronation," while another displayed with all the grace of pictorial art her queenly dignity in heaven and maternal solicitude for her clients here on earth.

When this little chapel became too small for its purpose, a new one was built on much larger lines about the year 1504, with St. Nicolas-de-Myre as its patron, a change due to the fact that the relics of this saint had just then been brought to Paray. The high altar, however, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, so as to preserve continuity with the "title" of the original chapel, to which the inhabitants had become particularly attached, and a very ancient society or college of priests at Paray, known as the "Mépart de Notre Dame," seems to have had the special custodianship of this altar. It was in this church that in after years the glories of Mary were extolled by Père de la Colombière.

Several other evidences of devotion to the Mother of God are to be found still in Paray-le-Monial. For instance, quite near the old church just mentioned is a handsome and unique Renaissance structure which to-day serves as the Hotel de Ville. The façade is rich in statuary and medallions of persons of note in the history of France. Prominent in the centre of these is a statue carved in stone of the Mother of God. Its beauty was not destined to remain intact through the iconoclastic period of the Revolution, and to the beholder of to-day it is little more than a mutilated fragment; but fortunately the Eucharistic Museum close by has preserved a pre-Revolution model of the original front, from which it is clear that the idea of the architect—acting no doubt on behalf of his patron—

was to represent Mary as the Queen of heaven and of earth too, for she is enthroned in much splendor and the entourage of her court is a brilliant assemblage of kings and queens and the great ones of earth.

Not far from this now historic building there is a quaint old Gothic niche in the corner of the street where the Madonna is represented as the New Eve. This image is crowned with a royal diadem, and the Infant, quite unclad, is receiving from His Mother the fatal fruit of the Garden of Eden. The symbolism of this portraiture is well understood, for Christ as the second Adam and Mary as the second Eve is a subject the fathers seemed to take a special delight in. This question will have to come up again when dealing with the antiquity of the statue of Notre Dame at Romain-la-Pierre; so here one need only point out the fact that the Paroissiens had been well instructed in the office of the Redeemer and the place of His Blessed Mother in the work of Redemption. The unclad figure of the new Adam was a constant reminder of the utter destitution of the human race as a result of the defection of the first Adam; the first Eve had handed to the first Adam the "pomus noxialis," the death-dealing fruit of the forbidden tree; Mary, on the contrary, has brought into the world and presented to us the life-giving Bread of immortality; wherefore a queenly diadem decks her brow, and in company with her Son she rules over all. Never during the darkest days, whether of war, or famine, or pestilence, or heresy, did the sun set upon the devotion of the pious folk of Paray to the Mother of God; and their reward has been great. Paray has been blessed indeed. The sons of St. Ignatius—nominally the Company of Jesus, but in reality also most fervent exponents of the love of His Sacred Mother—found their way under Providence to this hallowed locality, though the great work which God had in store for them in regard to devotion to the Sacred Heart was as yet in the womb of the future; shortly afterwards another great blessing accrued to the town in the arrival of the "Daughters" of St. Francis of Sales; while yet another grace was added in the same generation when the Ursuline nuns also brought to Paray the rich glow of their radiant sanctity. Of their devotion to the Mother of God nothing need be said except perhaps that they, too, fell into line with the old tradition of dedicating their chapels to Mary—the "Visitandines" under the title of the Visitation, the Ursulines under that of the Assumption. Here the "Little Office" of Our Lady blended with the "Marian" harmonies of bygone centuries, the river of song widened out as it neared the ocean, unseen as yet. But the fullness of time was come; God was

satisfied with the preparations that had been going on for centuries; the aurora must needs melt into day; and surely how else should we regard the unbroken tradition of devotion to Mary in this particular spot but as the aurora which preceded the day of "devotion to the Sacred Heart?"

We have mentioned in passing the celebrated statue known as "Notre Dame de Romay," and we have deferred the consideration of this item of quite unusual interest partly because it is not really in Paray-le-Monial, and partly because it takes us back to a period in the history of the town anterior to the arrival of the monks when we have to deal with theories and probabilities as well as bona fide historical records. Nevertheless, we find much that will rejoice the hearts of Mary's devout clients.

Romay is a picturesque little hamlet not more than half an hour's walk from the town of Paray. The road leads down a magnificent avenue with a double row of gigantic plane trees, said to be one of the most beautiful in the world. At the end of a somewhat narrow road which leads off the avenue is a cluster of trees and a few straggling homesteads, in the centre of which is a simple wayside chapel with no pretensions to architectural beauty; and close by it is a fountain, a kind of holy-well, the waters of which are reputed to have wonderful curative efficacy. Few chapters in the history of devotion to the Mother of God record such a wealth of interesting detail as is enshrined within the four walls of that humble little chapel. How it came to be there at all is most curious, and owing to its antiquity we may expect to find a certain amount of legend mixed up with the story, though the main facts are clear.

We have already seen how in 973 a colony of Benedictine monks from Cluny came into the district. Whence were they to obtain the stone for their church and priory? Legend has it that "a couple of blind oxen were yoked together and let wander at will; that immediately they went in an almost direct line to the solitary valley in which the village of Romay is now situate; that the first strokes of the pick revealed a considerable quantity of lime and stone hitherto unknown to the inhabitants, and thus did God show His approval of the holy project. The work of building was then immediately begun. A deep-rooted tradition in the locality maintains further that: "In course of quarrying at this newly found spot the workmen dug up an ancient statue of the Madonna which had been hidden there and lost sight of for centuries." In face of this wonderful and unexpected discovery, which as we shall see has much in its favor besides the tradition, it is not unnatural to

suppose that partly as a votive offering and partly for the workmen's use the good monks would have built a chapel in honor of Our Lady, and this little chapel of Romany seems to have been the one; internal evidence as well as tradition both point that way. Interest, however, centres rather in the statue, for whatever be thought of the alleged circumstances of its finding, it is undoubtedly one of the oldest statues of Our Lady in existence. A great deal of time and trouble have been spent in getting the very best expert opinion as to the approximate age of this venerable image. Some put it in the tenth century, coinciding therefore with the time of the foundation of the monastery at Paray. Others will have it to be of a much earlier date than this. They connect it with the period anterior to the monks, when there existed the "Antiquissimum templum" dedicated to Mary, of which we have already made mention, and certainly the antiquarians who hold this view make out an exceptionally good case. In the first place, they make it clear that the statue is not an importation, as the stone of which it is made is the same as that found in the neighborhood, and they call attention to the following important points from which almost certain conclusions may be legitimately drawn:

The Blessed Virgin is represented carrying the Divine Infant on the *right* arm, which is regarded as an artistic anomaly. He holds in His two hands a well-carved apple, reminiscent of the Garden of Eden. Mary is surrounded by the attributes of royalty, and is clad in full coronation robes; the borders of her long-flowing mantle are decorated with Asiatic ornamentations. On her brow is the imperial diadem with the fleur-de-lis worked in, such as has been found in old Celtic monuments of which authentic fac-similes exist. The Child, by way of contrast, is clothed in the simplest robes, and there is practically nothing in the way of ornamentation on the head. On the pedestal of the statue can still be seen two initial capital letters of the Greek alphabet separated by a carved torch, and experts say that these letters are cut in the stone in a way which is exclusively characteristic of Greek and Roman inscriptions and never found so cut in monuments which belong to either the Romanesque or Gothic periods. The two letters are phi and beta. The carefully studied opinion of the most learned members of the Archæological Society of Arles and of the director of the Egyptian Museum at Alexandria, to whom the whole question was submitted, is as follows: They confidently state that we have here "a very original work bearing characteristics which belong both to East and West, and that the date must be *between the second and fourth centuries.*"

In confirmation of this view it is relevant to remark that precisely at that epoch in this part of the country Christian art extensively employed Greek capitals for inscriptions. One famous instance of such inscription, dating back to the end of the second century, was discovered a short time ago at Autun by Cardinal Pitra, and it mentions the mystery of the Holy Eucharist and—shall we say prophetically—even the Heart of Jesus.

Yet further considerations go far to justify these confident conclusions of antiquarian and archæologist. At the very early period to which they agree in dating back the statue St. Irenæus was Bishop of Lyons, and this part of the country was therefore in his diocese. He came from Asia Minor and had seen and heard St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of St. John the Evangelist; so he may be regarded as belonging almost to the apostolic age. He is one of the earliest fathers to work out the idea of Mary as the second Eve. "If the whole human race," he writes in his erudite work, "*Adversus haereses*," "was lost through Eve while yet a virgin, to-day we see it saved through another Virgin,"¹ and whereas death was our heritage from the first Adam, "it is the body and blood of Jesus Christ which confers upon us the gift of eternal life."² Here, then, we have practically the subject-matter of this image. But more than this. The writings of this great missionary-Bishop—the originals of which were of course in Greek—bear copious testimony to the thoroughness with which he must have studied the Gospels, and especially that of St. John. Christ as the "Life" and the "Light" was the theme running through much of his work, against heretics who had strangely perverted ideas on the mystery of life, and St. Irenæus meets them by unfolding the hidden treasures that lay under the words of the beloved disciple, "In Him was the Life and the Life was the Light of men."³ In the course of his missionary labors it is only reasonable to suppose that the saint would endeavor to leave the impress of his own mind on the minds of his flock. They would assimilate his ideas, his methods of thought, his illustrations, all of which would have a certain Græco-Asiatic coloring. It is this line of thought which has suggested the explanation of the inscription on the pedestal. The symbolic significance of the torch in the centre is obvious. Christ is the Light; and the Greek word for light is "phos," so that not improbably this is the meaning of the Greek capital (phi) which accompanies the torch on one side. The Palestine Explora-

¹ Lib. V., c. 19.

² Lib. V., c. 2.

³ Ib., c. 8.

tion Society recently discovered an old Byzantine lamp at Gezer which bore the inscription "phos Christou;" at least, that is how it was deciphered by the aid of clearer ones in the museum at Jerusalem, so the idea of the experts in making the "phi" stand for the word "phos" need not be regarded as altogether fanciful, especially when taken in conjunction with the whole composition which embodies a thought so frequently set forth in Greek patristics generally and in the writings of St. Irenæus in particular. The other Greek capital "B" is not so clear. It is suggested that it may stand for "bios," the Greek word for "life." Where Christ is spoken of as the Life, however, it is not "bios" which is used, but "zoe," so the conjecture would not appear to be a very solid one, though it has this in its favor, that the heretics against whom Irenæus wrote were always propounding heterodox views under cover of this very word "zoe," as the saint himself complained more than once.⁴ This, however, is only a side issue. The main point that stands out clearly enough is that this Madonna is, if one might venture the figure, a piece of theology in stone; that the ideas it embodies were prevalent in the East at a very early period and that this district was evangelized by one who not only came from the East, but who shows by his writings that his ideas coincided exactly with those set forth in the statue.

Reference has been made also to the fact that this "group of Romay," as it is sometimes called, bears Western characteristics of a very early date. These are interesting, too, as showing indirectly the type of religion that Christianity had to supplant in these parts. Druidism was still flourishing at the period we are contemplating, and especially does this apply to the southern portion of Gaul. At Dijon, at Autun and at Chartres a most curious and apparently recognized formula has been found, "*Virgini pariturae Druides*," and there can be no doubt that in pre-Christian times the ancient prophecy of "the Virgin that should conceive" had secured a fixed place in Druidic lore, though the sense of the prophecy had become obscured. It was not a difficult task to graft the doctrine of the *Virgin-Mother* on an existing idea so much akin to it, and so to prepare the way for the further progress of Christianity; but even when the conquest of Druidism was complete it does not follow that all the old manners and customs, tastes and ideas would automatically vanish. There would be a rigid weeding out of all that was idolatrous or obnoxious, but at the same time a tactful and judicious retention of all that was good. It is on this principle that we find pre-Christian Celtic ornamentation on this

⁴ Op. cit., "Proem," and Lib. I., c. 15.

Christian image, a fact which serves to justify the hypothesis attributing such an early date to it. For an image to portray Oriental characteristics would not of itself be proof of ancient origin; but one gets very near to certainty when such early Celtic traits are found to be introduced into the same composition. The possibility, of course, remains that this particular statue may be only a copy of an earlier one, reproduced maybe by the monks in memory of the devotion of the people of bygone days. But this would in no way militate against our main contention, that from the earliest times Paray-le-Monial was blessed with the knowledge of and devotion towards the Mother of God. The "Antiquissimum Templum" was there long before the monks; Mary's image, therefore, must have been in evidence, considering that this ancient church was dedicated to her; the first Bishop of the diocese was St. Pothinus, sent to Gaul by St. Polycarp as early as the middle of the second century; following him immediately comes St. Irenæus, with his outpourings of eloquence in praise of the Second Eve—Irenæus who had listened with rapt attention to the aged Prophet of Patmos, and who has been styled by St. Jerome and St. Epiphanius "the true register of the Apostles' actions."⁸

The arguments advanced by the savants in favor of the sub-apostolic antiquity of the Madonna "Notre Dame de Romay" may or may not prove their hypothesis, but the historic fact stands out with fascinating brilliance. The long years which preceded the promulgation of devotion to the Sacred Heart from Paray-le-Monial were marked with an unbroken continuity of devotion to her who first knew the beatings of the Sacred Heart. More than this, the "Beloved Apostle" who at the Last Supper laid his head upon his Master's breast, who had the divinely given custody of the sorrowing Mother, who told us of the lance that opened the Saviour's side, had himself unfolded to the first Christian missionaries at Paray the secrets of the light and love that radiate from the Sacred Heart of the "Word made Flesh." Thus is Paray-le-Monial in a most remarkable way linked up with Calvary. Providence orders all things sweetly; some of its ordinances are deeply mysterious, others not altogether unfathomable; but whatever may have been its gracious designs in regard to this "Oppidum Deo gratissimum," as it was called by the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII., Paray-le-Monial will stand for ever before the world as a Garden of Paradise which heralds forth the twin glory of the Second Adam and the Second Eve.

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⁸ Ep. Haer., c. 24; Ter. in cap., 36, Ezech.

THE WORKS OF FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD.

NOVELS are written by various people with varied intentions. There is the man who seeks to present and solve the complex problems of our life. There is the man who seeks to depict the actualities of a humdrum existence in a vivid and sometimes startling realism. There is the man who takes as his subject some princess from far off enchanted isles and dreams away the hours in unrealities. And, lastly, there is the man who aims at entertainment by finding the glamor of romance in the corners of modern and ancient experience.

According to Francis Marion Crawford's own definition, the novel is a marketable commodity of the class termed intellectual artistic luxuries. Its chief purpose is to amuse and interest. By amusing and interesting it becomes a marketable commodity. Nor does our author have much patience with the reformer who uses fiction as his means. "Does any artist," he says, "think of any admonishing or revolutionary effect of his work when he is painting, or a sculptor when modeling? . . . I could not write at all if I did not delight in such employment." He has no use for the writers who take themselves too seriously and involve their works in a bourgeois morality. It were far better to think of enjoyment for himself and for his readers, the result being a lightness of touch, a diverting tendency to digress into little philosophic whimsicalities. Then he goes on to say: "It is good to make people laugh; it is sometimes salutary to make them shed tears; it is best of all to make our readers think—not too serious thoughts, nor such as to require an intimate knowledge of science and philosophy to be called thoughts at all—but to think, and, thinking, to see before them characters whom they might really like to resemble, acting in scenes in which they themselves would like to take part." Thus it happens that we have in his works neither problems nor types, but on almost every page the traces of romance and evidences of a varied personality. Reading down the long list of his books we gain a view of life that enjoys itself and takes delight in little things and value in the big things.

In order to accomplish such results, it is necessary for an author to have a wide experience, to be versatile in an active way as well as in judgment of character. So we find that this American novelist, Francis Marion Crawford (1854-1909), born at Bagin di Lucca, in Italy, son of Thomas Crawford, sculptor, who did the statue of "Liberty" on the Capitol at Washington, and nephew of Julia Ward Howe—we find that he by training and experience was

fitted to be such a novelist. He studied at St. Paul's, in Concord, N. H.; at Cambridge, at Heidelberg and in Rome. In 1879 he went to India to learn Sanskrit more thoroughly, and from that year his literary career really dates. He had a special facility for languages, was thoroughly conversant with French, German, Italian, Latin and Greek. It has been reported that he re-read all of Pindar just before he died—as an intellectual exercise. And we are at once reminded of dear old Dr. Johnson, who used to amuse himself by translating verses from the Greek Anthology before breakfast, and also of the dictum of Professor Charles Brander Matthews that “to be a gentleman it is necessary at least to have forgotten your Greek.” But this matter of learning languages was especially useful to a man who wished to write of foreign persons and places. For instance, when collecting local color for “The Witch of Prague,” he learned Bohemian in eight weeks, so as to understand the people better, and learned it well.

His special versatility likewise stood him in good stead in other respects. For example, the casual reader of “Casa Braccio,” which he considered his best novel, rarely dreams that the bootmaking there described was learned by actual experience, and that while Crawford was preparing for Cambridge at Hatfield Regis he got acquainted with an old shoemaker and made a pair, just to learn how it was done. Nor would we necessarily know, unless we were told, that our novelist became thoroughly skilled in silver chiseling before he came to describe it in “Marzio's Crucifix.” He seemed to become adept, in a Yankee fashion, at anything to which he wished to turn his hand. In other words he was an artist and did everything with interest and enthusiasm. When he wished new American plumbing put into the Villa Crawford at Sorrento, that charming place, looking across the bay at Naples towards Vesuvius, he did the work himself with the aid of unskilled Italian laborers. Again, when he wanted a sail-boat and found what he wanted in an old New York pilot boat of forty tons, he studied seamanship, took the requisite examinations, received a master's certificate and sailed the Alda himself from one side of the Atlantic to the other. Another interesting incident concerns the Alda. The crew came on board fighting drunk, one time in the Azores, and the mate and Crawford, who had been the best boxer at Cambridge, together beat them into obedience. And thus he went about in intimate contact with the world gathering experience for the profession which he did not yet know was to be his.

Like Edward Eggleston and Bret Harte and E. P. Roe, Marion Crawford owed his introduction into the profession of authorship

to the element of chance. Like many others, he did not start on the road from the beginning and deliberately. His uncle caused the change. In 1879, while in India, Crawford was in difficult straits, was even on the point of enlisting as a trooper in an English cavalry regiment when a place was offered him on the Allahabad *Indian Herald*. There he sat in a sub-editor's chair, amid the scorching heat of an Indian sun, and gathered the material which went to make up "Mr. Isaacs." Returning disheartened and discouraged, he was asked by his uncle why he did not write up his adventures in the East. "Mr. Isaacs" was the result. It struck the world in 1882, before the vogue of Kipling, and swept lightly across the fantasies of theosophy, bringing him fame and popularity at home and abroad. A long line of successful novels—of which only one, "Khaled," returned to Oriental scenes—followed afterwards and led his readers over a large variety of scenes and themes. He displayed such a versatility and a rich cosmopolitanism that seemed to preclude the possibility of ever writing himself out.

Versatility was at once as apparent in his literary work as it has been seen to have been in his active life. We have already mentioned "The Witch of Prague" and "Khaled" and "Mr. Isaacs." He could deal with the viewpoint of a young American in "The Three Fates," with Bar Harbor life in "Love in Idleness," with New Yorkers in "Marion Darche," with Parisian operatic life in "Fair Margaret"—which may be interesting compared with Monsignor Benson's "Loneliness?"—with Biblical times in "Via Crucis," which we all know, with modern Rome in "Cecilia," with Constantinople in the age of the Paleologi in "Arethusa," with Madrid when in his book, "In the Palace of the King," he tells what happened in the old Alcazar during one exciting single night, with the Senators of sixteenth century Venice in "Stradella," with the Murano glass-makers and the famous Council of Ten in "Marietta," with modern Italy again in "The White Sister," the wild melodrama of an army officer and a novitiate with Thibet in "Diva's Ruby," and with the mystery and the ideals of present day life in "The Little City of Hope." And then Munich is made the scene of "A Cigarette Maker's Romance." It makes little difference what the scene or who the people, Crawford finds romance in all places and—with all his fondness for melodramatic speed and thirty-six hour action—he is able to find the romance which lurks around every corner or which springs from every heart. He introduces "A Cigarette Maker's Romance" as follows:

"The inner room of a tobacconist's shop is not perhaps the spot which a writer of fiction would naturally choose as the theatre of

his play, nor does the inventor of pleasant romances, of stirring incident, or moving love-tales feel himself inclined to turn to Munich as to the city of his dreams. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that, if the choice of a stage for our performance were offered to the most contented among us, we should be satisfied to speak our parts and go through our actor's business upon the boards of this world. Some would prefer to take their properties, their players' crowns and robes, their aspiring expressions and their finely expressed aspirations before the audience of a larger planet; others, perhaps the majority, would choose, with more humility as well as with more common sense, the shadowy scenery, the softer footlights and the less exigent public of a modest asteroid, beyond the reach of our earthly haste, of our noisy and unclean highroads to honor, of our furious chariot races round the goals of fame, and especially beyond the reach of competition."

Thus in all these books Marion Crawford has succeeded in producing a marketable commodity because he has amused and interested people with a knowledge and a feeling for the things people would like to do, for the people they could imagine themselves to be. Whether it be breaking into a prison to release a king or rolling cigarettes in Munich with a quondam Russian prince, defying the Emperor Charles or worrying over financial obligations in New York—into all these situations his readers have been able to throw themselves and live and think the thoughts of the characters which he has represented, be they simple or great.

Yet it sometimes seems as if all this talk about the versatility, the cosmopolitanism and the varied subject-matter of Marion Crawford were somewhat out of place, for his reputation coincides with his declared intention, which, for convenience, we take from the preface to "*Saracinesca*": "My business is with Rome and not with Europe at large." Essentially Crawford is known for his use of Rome as a background both serious and frivolous in character, Rome where gossip is luxury to youth and a necessity to age, where varying degrees of peace and war have reigned in turn, where liberalism has fought with conservatism in politics and society and in armed combat. It is a background which has proved attractive to Hawthorne, Marie Corelli and Hall Caine. In the first of the "*Saracinesca*" stories he begins in such a way as to give an introduction not only to these novels, but a very large portion of his other works:

"In the year 1865 Rome was still, in a great measure, its old self. It had not then acquired that modern air which is now beginning to pervade it. The *Corso* had not been widened and white-washed; the Villa Aldobrandini had not been cut through to make

the Via Nazionale; the south wing of the Palazzo Colonna still looked upon a narrow lane through which men hesitated to pass after dark; the Tiber's course had not then been corrected below the Farnesina; the Farnesina itself was but just under repair; the iron bridge at the Ripetta was not dreamed of, and the Prati di Castello were still, as their name implies, a series of waste meadows. At the southern extremity of the city the space between the fountain of Moses and the newly erected railway station, running past the Baths of Diocletian, was still an exercising ground for the French cavalry. Even the people in the streets then presented an appearance very different from that which is now observed by the visitors and foreigners who come to Rome in the winter. French dragoons and hussars, French infantry and French officers were everywhere to be seen in great numbers, mingled with a goodly sprinkling of the Papal Zouaves, whose gray Turco uniforms with bright red facings, red sashes and short yellow gaiters gave color to any crowd. A fine corps of men they were, too, counting hundreds of gentlemen in France and Austria. In those days also were to be seen the great coaches of the Cardinals, with their gorgeous footmen and magnificent black horses, the huge red umbrellas lying upon the top, while from the open windows the stately princes of the Church from time to time returned the salutations of the pedestrians in the street. And often in the afternoon there was heard the tramp of horses as a detachment of the noble guards trotted down the Corso on their great chargers, escorting the Holy Father himself, while all who met him dropped on one knee and uncovered their heads to receive the benediction of the mild-eyed old man with the beautiful features, the head of Church and State. Many a time, too, Pius IX. would descend from his coach and walk upon the Pincio, all clothed in white, stopping sometimes to talk with those who accompanied him, or to lay his gentle hand on the fair curls of some little English child that paused from its play in awe and admiration as the Pope went by. . . .

It was not the dress of the period which gave to the streets of Rome their distinctive features. It would be hard to say, now that so much is changed, wherein the peculiar charm of the oldtime city consisted; but it was there, nevertheless, and made itself felt so distinctly beyond the charm of any other place. that the very fascination of Rome was proverbial. Perhaps no spot in Europe has ever possessed such an attractive individuality. In those days there were many foreigners, too, as there are to-day, both residents and visitors; but they seemed to belong to a different class of humanity. They seemed less inharmonious to their surroundings

then than now, less offensive to the general air of antiquity. Probably they were more in earnest; they came to Rome with the intention of liking the place rather than of abusing the cookery in the hotels. They came with a certain knowledge of the history, the literature and the manners of the ancients, derived from an education which in those days taught more through the classics and less through handy text books and shallow treatises concerning the Renaissance. They came with preconceived notions which were often strongly dashed with old-fashioned prejudice, but which did not lack originality; they come now with no genuine beliefs, but covered with exceeding thick varnish. Old gentlemen then visited the sights in the morning, and quoted Horace to each other, and in the evening endeavored by associating with Romans to understand something of Rome; young gentlemen now spend one or two mornings in finding fault with the architecture of Bramante, and "in the evening," like David's enemies, "they grin like a dog and run about the city;" young women were content to find much beauty in the galleries and in the museums, and were simple enough to admire what they liked; young ladies of the present day can find nothing to admire except their own perspicacity in detecting faults in Raphael's drawing or Michael Angelo's coloring.

In such an appreciative and keenly analytical vein does Marion Crawford go at his work, quietly dropping little epigrams or indulging in little philosophical disquisitions somewhat after the manner of Thackeray. But he never fails to put a proper value on things worth while. His estimate of the man for whom Cardinal Antonelli stands is succinct and just, "the most capable and the most hated man in Europe, who never replies to accusations or to slander." He depicts in the midst of flippant repartee the really earnest and sincere soul of the French painter Gouache, who ceased to argue as soon as he came to certain convictions and who simply obeyed an impulse to go into a zouave recruiting office and write down his name. He sensed the thoroughbred aristocrat in Jacopo Contarini, with blood and training behind him, who in the fire of his blood and the richness of his garments stood forth like a young god, an incarnation of the magnificent city of Venice, "a century before the rest of all Italy in luxury, in extravagance, in the art of wasteful trifling with great things which is a rich man's way of loving art itself." In many of his books Crawford has shown the spirit of the artisan who delights in his work, be it chiseling marble, making boots, rolling cigarettes, or dashing color on a canvas. But better depicted, probably, than any, is the love of Forzi, the worker of Murano, for glass of which he could make light things.

in good design, colored air and gossamer, and silk and lace. He was only a simple artisan; he could be moved to say in words what all true artisans must feel: "It is all I know, it is my art, I live in it, I feel in it, I dream in it. To my thoughts and eyes and hands it is what the love of a fair woman is to the heart. While I can work and shape the things I see when I close my eyes, the sun does not move, the day has no time, winter no clouds and summer no heat. When I am hindered I am in exile and in prison and alone."

But mere appreciation never makes a good writer, else the writing would result in mere enthusiastic verbiage. It is insight which counts, and insight not only into the character and the point of view of a man, but also into the psychological reactions, into the shortcomings of human actions. In this way we can find and evaluate the real skill of our cosmopolitan novelist. For this purpose we shall select three significant passages out of many that might be found, and the three shall be selected from two of Crawford's most successful books, which can easily be looked up and further investigated if any one desires.

First, we find in "Saracinesca" a remarkable scene in which Corona Astrardente, a young woman in love, and Padre Filippo, a monk, discuss Corona's affection for a very earnest and a very resolute young man. For many reasons a mutual attachment openly declared would be undesirable, and it is the function of the monk, acting as spiritual adviser, to check Corona's growing passion. He quickly divined, though he could never know the name of the man, exactly how things stood; he knew as she did not know, that she was coming to him, not as formerly for religious counsel, but with a craving for human sympathy. He understood her, out of his long experience with people in grief and anguish, as she did not understand herself. He saw that it was her pride that had brought her to him rather than to an intimate friend. And so, with an astuteness that might seem remarkable to those who do not understand the training gained from hearing thousands of confessions, he used the unexpected weapon he found in his hands and used his knowledge that of all things a good woman hates to know that where she has placed her heart there is no response. Her strong character responded to his touch, as he had expected; she resolved never to reveal her love; her tears ceased to flow, and her scorn rose haughtily against herself. And in this little scene Marion Crawford showed himself a master at interpreting the essentials of character development—or perhaps we should say, of character betrayal.

To turn next to the novel, "In the Palace of the King," we discover the subtlest use of Inez, the blind sister of Maria Dolores de Mendoza. Not the king, nor Don Polen, nor old Mendoza himself—none of these is so effectively and so convincingly handled in action. It is easy to characterize a person, but it is difficult to make that person actually fulfill and justify the character. Marion Crawford shows such a subtle use of the qualities of a person in this blind girl. He makes her, in a great emergency, utilize the remarkable sense of touch with which lack of eyesight has endowed her to dress her sister and fix her sister's hair in the dark, when Maria Dolores, who dared not strike a light, could not have done these things properly herself. Darkness meant nothing to Inez, and Marion Crawford was quick to realize the fact. He was also quick to realize that light meant nothing either, for he has her when suddenly surprised in the corridor of the Alcazar, hide from the person whose approaching footsteps her quick ear hears and pathetically and blindly—in all the meaning of that word—hide in a niche which is flooded with moonlight. This is quick perception of the capabilities and of the limitations which surround the character he has introduced.

The third illustration will be set forth in the form of an excerpt quoted from the same novel, "In the Palace of the King." It is a fine analysis of Don John of Austria and what the warrior stood for of whom a Pope is supposed to have remarked: "There was a man sent from God whose name was John."

"The man she loved was Don John of Austria, the son of the great dead Emperor Charles the Fifth, the uncle of dead Don Carlos and the half brother of King Philip of Spain—the man who won glory by land and sea, who won back Granada a second time from the Moors, as bravely as his great-grandfather Ferdinand had won it, but less cruelly; who won Lepanto, his brother's hatred and a death by poison, the foulest stain in Spanish history. . . ."

The young prince's loyalty was simple, unaffected and without exaggeration. He never drew his sword and kissed the blade, and swore by the Blessed Virgin to give his last drop of blood for his sovereign and his country. He never made vows to accomplish ends that looked impossible. But when the charge sounded he pressed his steel cap a little lower upon his brow and settled himself in the saddle without any words and rode at death like the devil incarnate; and then men followed him, and the impossible was done and that was all. Or he could wait and watch and manœuvre for weeks, until he had his foe in his hand, with a patience that would

have failed his officers and his men had they not seen him always ready and cheerful and fully sure that although he might fail twenty times to drive the foe into the pen, he should most certainly succeed in the end—as he always did.”

Such is the skill of the writer. His work was varied and cosmopolitan. He pictured Rome and he pictured the world; he pictured people and he pictured persons. The chief business of a novelist, according to his own definition, is to amuse and interest; and throughout his long career as a writer of fiction, this born story teller amused and interested the people of England and America. Versatile in his tastes, versatile in his abilities, romantic in his character, romantic in his picturesque art, he knew and represented life in facets of many colors. He was cosmopolitan. In quality he was now up, now down, in skill. Some of his work is good; some is very good, and no man can say until it has endured the trial of changing tastes and changing generations whether any or all of it has that universality of appeal which is the guarantee of greatness. He had a deftness in portraiture, a scenic gift for the essentials of a dramatic setting, and a pen that pierced to the heart of human nature in a few vigorous strokes. We may well imagine one of his readers thinking of him in the same phrases in which *Corona Astrardente* expresses her estimate of *Don Giovanni Sarcinesca*:

“He never used the old worn subjects that the others harped on. She would not have found it easy to say what he talked about, for he talked indifferently about many subjects. She reflected that he was not so brilliant as many men she knew, only that she preferred his face above all faces and his voice beyond all voices.”

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

Book Reviews

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By *Thomas Hughes*, of the same Society. Text, Vol. 2. From 1645 till 1773. Pp. xxv.—734, with Maps. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

This volume of Jesuit history covers more than a century of missionary activity in North America. It extends from the time of Cromwellian disturbances in the middle of the seventeenth century to the period of the American Revolution in the eighteenth century. At this latter date, French Canada had come under British rule; the Society of Jesus was temporarily suppressed, and revolution severed the English colonies from Great Britain.

In the growing settlements which were destined to become the United States of America, the history of Jesuits was that of the nascent Catholic Church. No other body of Catholic clergy, secular or regular, appeared on the ground till more than a decade of years had passed after the American Revolution. The field of missionary labor during colonial times comprised Maryland, Virginia, New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The operation of many cramping agencies, which were at work to stop the growth of Popery and to restrain Jesuits, imparted to this story of religious development a form peculiar to the colonies. It was not that of a missionary body founding institutions, expanding them, and enjoying the breath of popular sympathy or the favor which Government showed to certain religious societies. The conditions of existence for Catholic missionaries were those of being scarcely able to obtain a footing, or of being suffered to breathe.

One word of those times, "anti-Popery," conveyed the limitations of the Catholic Church in the British colonies. It designated a permanent fact in being and a policy in action which appear throughout this volume in the words of the people who acted and who left their deeds on record. The force of anti-Popery lay in causes of too deep a significance, and was executed by means of laws too many, too universal and fundamental to admit of any such superficial explanation as that the anti-Catholic sentiment was a thing casual, local or a mere access of transient emotion. The steady sequence and manifold connections of law, public policy and public sentiment, stand out clearly in the body of documents. And since all available aids have been now pressed into service, we rest under the assurance that no further research will add any material circumstance, in the near, middle or remote distance of the picture, to change the expression and significance of the scenes. To the relative documents, critically gauged, the whole narrative has been vigor-

ously attacked; for, unhampered by likes and dislikes, and acknowledging no obligations of human respect for persons and traditions, sober records are not unworthy of having history indentured to them.

This is history. Father Hughes brings to the work learning, zeal, enthusiasm, fearlessness, knowledge of sources and their relative values, tirelessness. The result is a work that has a great permanent value that can hardly be exaggerated. It is the story of a great band of missionaries extending over an important period in the history of North America; it is the history of the growth and development of the Church in this country during that period; it is the record of the contest between the true Church of Christ and her enemies which he foretold and which is one of her credentials as it was one of his.

In part it is not a pleasant story for some persons, and they would rather it were not told truthfully. But, as they have already told it from time to time untruthfully and continue to do so, the learned author rightly concluded that it should be told fully and rightly.

Already two volumes of Documents have appeared and one volume of Text. A third volume of Text is in preparation. Father Hughes has been savagely attacked when the former volumes appeared, but in the most complimentary manner, though not intended in that way. Not a word was said against the documents themselves which he brought out, but ever so much against the man who brought them out and against the manner—incisive or decisive—in which he applied them, without regard to consequences. Of course, the effect of these attacks has been exactly the opposite to the one intended. His answer to his critics is couched in the following words: "Since we do in this volume the very same thing as before, citing chapter and verse for everything, we should, indeed, prefer that if the reaction sets in anew, it were directed against the chapter and verse of the documents which happen to offend."

All true students will wait anxiously for the final volume of a history which covers the subject so completely and finally as to make it a court of last resort.

THE WORK OF ST. OPTATUS, BISHOP OF MILEVIS, AGAINST THE DONATISTS. Translated into English with Notes Critical, Explanatory, Theological and Historical. By Rev. O. R. Nassall-Phillips, B. A., Balliol College, Oxford, Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. 8vo., pp. xxxiv., 438, with Index. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

In Butler's "Lives of the Saints" we read:

"This father (St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis) was an African, and an illustrious champion of the Church of Christ in the fourth age. He was educated an idolator, and St. Austin names him with

St. Cyprian and St. Hilary. among those who had passed from the dark shades of paganism to the light of faith and carried into the Church the spoils of Egypt, that is, human science and eloquence. In another place he styles him a prelate of venerable memory, who was by his virtue an ornament to the Catholic Church. St. Fulgentius honors him with the title of saint and places him in the same rank with St. Austin and St. Ambrose. He was Bishop of Milevis, in Numidia, and the first Catholic prelate who undertook by writing to stem the tide of the Donatist schism in Africa. Parmenian, the third Bishop of that sect at Carthage, wrote five books in defense of his party, in which he declaimed in general against the Traditors, and proved what recoiled upon himself, that there can be but one church and one baptism. Against this Goliath, St. Optatus stepped forth, stripped him of the armor in which he trusted, and turned all his artillery against himself. This he did in his six books against Parmenian, to which, several years after, in the time of Pope St. Siricius, about the year 385, he added a seventh. In this work we admire the elegance and loftiness of the style, every page animated and ornamented with bold and noble figures and remarkable for a sententious energy and conciseness which distinguishes the best African writers from all others."

In view of this eulogy, it is hard to believe that St. Optatus is perhaps the least known of all the Fathers of the Church. This treatise against the Donatists, which was written about 370-375. the one work which he has left to posterity, was translated into French in 1561. Probably, with this exception, it has never appeared in any language other than Latin, and certainly it has never been rendered into English.

Until recently St. Optatus could hardly have been found, even in the original Latin, anywhere but in the original Latin published at Antwerp in 1702 and subsequently incorporated by Migne. It is hardly too much to say that the very name of Optatus is barely known to many students of theology and ecclesiastical history. He cannot be ignored with safety, for he has bequeathed to the Church material of no small value, both to the theologian and the ecclesiastical historian.

The work of St. Optatus is, therefore, of consequence not only from the point of view of history—he is *the* historian of Donatism in its origins, but also from that of doctrine—of conceptions and ideas. It derives special importance from the fact that here we find the first sustained argument from the Catholic side not merely against heresy (false doctrine), but also against schism (separation from the Church). The argument against heresy is necessarily specialized and multiform; the argument against schism is very

simple and admits of no substantial variation in its presentment. Consequently it never ceases to be of deep interest to follow the reasoning that has been employed by the champions of the Catholic Church, at any period of her history, on behalf of her exclusive and peremptory claim upon the spiritual allegiance of mankind. Upon this subject Optatus is perfectly explicit. Harnack says: "In this thought (of the Church as an institution) Catholicism was first complete. . . . But Augustine was not the first to declare it; he rather received it from tradition. The first representative of the new conception known to us, and St. Augustine also knew him, was Optatus."

While it must be noted that this "conception" was never really "new" in Christendom, and that Optatus did not invent it, but received it from tradition, as those before him did, it is perfectly true to say that Optatus is the first writer known to us who sets out in detail the Catholic conception of the one true Church of Christ. The opportunity came to him only with the Donatist schism. It will always be the great merit of Optatus to have seized the opportunity, and to have availed himself of it to such an extent that Augustine had but to broaden it out and illustrate it with his matchless genius. St. Augustine had only to fill in the picture which St. Optatus had already drawn in clear outline. To the end of time the Catholic theologian, preacher or controversialist desirous of showing the true nature of the Church and the obligation (binding everywhere, always, upon all persons and under all conceivable circumstances) of living within her visible unity will find everything that he needs ready to his hand in the writings of St. Optatus.

This important work is now brought within reach of all by this faithful and clear translation. The notes are extensive and informing. Father Phillips is to be warmly congratulated on having completed his task in such a scholarly manner.

THE HISTORY OF MOTHER SETON'S DAUGHTERS. The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1917. By *Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M. A.* Two Vols., 8vo., pp. xxvii.—336 and 334. Illustrated. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton was born September 5, 1774, and died January 4, 1821. She married in 1794, was the mother of five children, became a widow in 1803 and entered the Church in 1805. The members of her family thought they were disgraced when she became a Catholic, and they withdrew all support from her. She opened a private school in New York to support herself and her children, but it was not a success. She looked on this failure as providential afterwards, for it brought her in contact with Father

Dubourg, at whose earnest solicitation she went to Baltimore and there began what proved to be the foundation of the American Daughters of Charity and of the great Catholic school system. Her first school, opened in 1808, was successful at once. It drew pupils and teachers. After the death of her husband Mother Seton adopted a simple widow's costume and began to follow a rule of life which attracted other holy souls to her side, so that a community began to form about her without any deliberate effort on her part to organize it. Indeed nothing was farther from her purpose, because her humility forbade her to think about it, and the most that she hoped for was to be permitted to take the last place in some convent already existing. But Providence had other designs for her, and in 1809, when a wealthy man gave a sufficient sum to found a community at Emmitsburg, the little group from Baltimore took up residence there, and Mother Seton's Daughters began their community life under her direction and advanced in wisdom, age and grace before God and man, as did their Divine Master.

At this time the Bishop of Boston, afterwards Cardinal Cheverus, one of Mother Seton's spiritual directors, wrote to her: "How admirable is Divine Providence! I see already numerous choirs of virgins following you to the altar. I see your holy order diffusing itself in the different parts of the United States, spreading everywhere the good odor of Jesus Christ and teaching by their angelic lives and pious instruction how to serve God in purity and holiness. I have no doubt, my dear Sister, that He who has begun this work will bring it to perfection."

This prophecy was fulfilled, and in these two volumes we have the story of the fulfilment. It is told, as all history should be told, in simple language, but truthful, and founded principally on original documents. It is beautiful, edifying and valuable. It is not only the biography of a holy woman, but a record of current events during one of the most important periods of the history of this country, and therefore it is a very valuable contribution to history.

CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN IN SCIENCE. Third Series. Sketches of the Lives of Catholic Ecclesiastics Who Were Among the Great Founders in Science. By *James J. Walsh, K. C. St. G., M. D., Litt. D.* Crown Octavo. Pages x.—121. Price, \$1.00 net. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press.

This third volume of Catholic Churchmen who became distinguished in science follows the lines of the well-known author's first and second books of the series. Like Dr. James J. Walsh's other instructive and apologetical writings, the present volume answers in a telling fashion the oft-repeated question whether there is a real opposition between Religion and Science. The Middle Ages, the

Renaissance, the eighteenth and the twentieth century are represented in this volume by short lives of churchmen who found the time to do work in science that has made their names immortal in history. In every case their church affiliations proved a help, not a hindrance, to their scientific studies, in spite of the impression to the contrary that is prevalent in many minds in our time.

Probably the most interesting chapters of the book are the two that tell the story of the magnificent research work of the Abbé Breuil and Dr. Obermaier into the modes of thought and manner of life of the earliest ancestor of man in Europe.

Another chapter which is interesting from a human point of view, but still more significant because of the light that it throws on the real relations between the Church and science, is that which discusses laboratories at the Vatican and Papal scientists.

Roger Bacon is the subject of another chapter. This Franciscan friar, who lived in one of the supreme periods in the history of humanity, was called the "wonderful teacher," *Doctor Mirabilis*.

Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, another famous scholar and scientist, who came two hundred years after Roger Bacon, has a chapter all to himself. And coming nearer to our own days we have Abbé Spallanzani, a clerical precursor of Pasteur.

These three volumes mark a very important contribution to controversial and historical literature, and they should be read by students and thinking men generally.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. In thirteen volumes. *Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D.,* Editor. Vol. VI., Indian and Iranian; Vol. IX., Oceanic. Octavo: illustrated. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

It is gratifying to be able to state that this very pretentious work is progressing and that the publishers are living fully up to the high standard which they set in the beginning. This is worthy of note because the question may be asked by those who saw the prospectus or who are acquainted only with the first two volumes that were published. It may be said in answer that there is no diminution whatever in scholarship, in painstaking care, in letter-press and in all other details which in the beginning stamped the enterprise as exceptional.

Indian Mythology claims unique interest because of its unparalleled length of life. Its earliest record is contained in the "Rgveda," or "Hymn Veda," a series of ten books of hymns celebrating the chief Vedic gods. The rich variety of the mythology renders the task of concise exposition peculiarly difficult. For the mythology of the present day available material is enormous; there is also an abundance of ancient material. It has been neces-

sary, therefore, to circumscribe narrowly the scope of the subject by restricting the treatment to that mythology which is closely connected with religion, and which conveys to us a conception of the manner in which the Indian pictured to himself the origin of the world and life, the destiny of the universe and of the souls of men, the gods, and the evil spirits who supported or menaced his existence.

The ninth volume, which treats of Oceanic Mythology, covers a larger field, because it includes all island areas, great or small, from Easter Island to Sumatra, and from Hawaii to New Zealand. When we consider that the native peoples of these islands are almost as varied as their natural features and environment, we can easily understand the difficulty of anything like coördination. It must be remembered also that some of the islands furnish only scanty material.

In order to make clear the differences between the various portions of the area, each of the five subdivisions is considered by itself alone, and in its relation to the others, and then an attempt is made finally to sum up these results and point out their wider bearings.

The author wishes his readers to remember that at present the available material is still so imperfect that all conclusions must be accepted with reserve. Not only are there large areas from which no data whatever have been collected (and even some from which, owing either to the extinction of the population, or their greatly changed manner of life, none can be obtained), but very little, comparatively, of what has been gathered has been recorded in the language of the people themselves. Besides, a number of volumes containing material, probably of considerable value, were not to be found in the libraries of the United States, and disturbances consequent upon the European war have made it impossible to secure them. Gaps are also due to the fact that the author's insufficient knowledge of the Malay language prevented him from using some collections of tales published without translations.

LIFE OF MOTHER PAULINE VON MALLINCKRODT, Foundress of the Sisters of Christian Charity, Daughters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception. With an Introduction by the Most Rev. George W. Mundelein, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago. With Illustrations. 12mo., cloth, net, \$1.50. Postage, 15 cents extra. New York: Benziger Bros.

The subject of this new biography, Mother Pauline von Mallinckrodt, was one of those chosen souls whose life was radiant with the light of good works. Like the saints, whose example she imitated so successfully, she wished that her good deeds be told to no

one; but Providence had destined her for one great work which could not be hidden—the foundation of a religious community, one of those institutions which have ever been the pride and glory of the true Church.

The reading of this most excellent life will be quite as beneficial to lay people as to religious, for there are numerous interesting side lights on the affairs of Church and State, of school and fire-side, which are certain to fascinate and instruct the general reader. Catholics of every land will read the volume with intense interest, for not only does it bring home to them that "God's flowers bloom in every clime," but it emphasizes again those fundamental truths of human life concerning the priceless value of healthy surroundings, of clean social life, of the inspiring influence of a noble teacher. Few will read it without taking to heart the lesson of social service so beautifully exemplified in the life of this gifted woman—that true love is the mainspring of true and lasting beneficence.

But perhaps the greatest good of this book will be wrought in the hearts of the young. To them it will be like a seed wafted by the spirit that blows where it will. To some, indeed, it will be no more than the medium and the incentive of a noble thought or a charitable impulse, though even this is a signal grace; to others, however, it will be the germ of a new life.

GOD AND MYSELF: An Inquiry Into the True Religion. A Clear, Practical and Understandable Investigation with a Reasonable Conclusion. By *Martin J. Scott, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 182. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

The author says: "This is a little book for those seeking a right understanding of the true religion. It is written in a simple and, it is hoped, friendly manner. It is an attempt to look at things in the ordinary common-sense way. The religion of God is for all people. It should appeal to the simple as well as to the learned. In these days even learned people are too busy to read long or learned treatises. This is short. It is not written in a theological way, but as a plain statement, which, it is hoped, will carry conviction. It takes nothing for granted. It begins with the beginning. Although it deals with the sublimest matters that can effect mankind, there is an endeavor to use the simplest language."

This quotation not only states the purpose of the book, but it also gives a fair specimen of the author's style. Throughout the volume we find the same simplicity, the same clearness, the same conciseness—so that it may be truthfully said here is the briefest, clearest, simplest, yet most complete statement of the subject which has been published. Given that every man is interested in the

subject, that every man is bound in conscience to study it, we may add here is the book to place in every man's hand.

LUCKY BOB. By *Rev. F. J. Finn, S. J.* With Frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, \$1.00 retail; 80 cents net to Priests and Religious. New York: Benziger Bros.

The great charm of this delightful new book by Father Finn is in the characterization of the hero, Bob Ryan. There is a certain bigness, a jovial, wholesome atmosphere about him that will at once assure him an enthusiastic welcome in the hearts of Father Finn's readers.

Bob is veritably thrown into life. Cast off by his father on a lonely country road, with fifty dollars in his pocket, he is told that he must make his own way in the world. And he does—most efficiently. The account of his adventures while doing it makes a most absorbing and edifying tale. His acquaintances are varied, but all of them seem to fall under the spell of Bob's amazingly magnetic personality. And no wonder, for never was there such a boy. With a disposition so radiant that every one he meets likes him at once, and with an influence over animals and birds that is little short of marvelous, he has but to step into the scene and he gets the centre of the stage at once.

DARK ROSALEEN. A Story of Ireland To-day. By *M. E. Francis* (Mrs. Francis Blundell). 12mo., cloth, colored jacket. Net, \$1.35. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

No novel since "My New Curate" is more deserving of consideration by thoughtful people of Irish birth and extraction than Mrs. Blundell's powerful story of the social and religious forces in Ireland to-day. "Dark Rosaleen" depicts, and most vividly, the tragic events in two households of different religious beliefs. The action and interest are splendidly sustained by characters who impress the reader with their strong convictions and virile personalities, while the construction of the story is a work of art and marks the author as a master in literary craftsmanship.

THE RUBY CROSS. By *Mary Wallace.* With Three Illustrations. 12mo., cloth, net, \$1.25. (Postage, 10 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Bros.

This new novel centres around the Beresford family, at the head of which is the Honorable Luke Beresford, a stern, unbending jurist. David Beresford, his younger brother, a black sheep among the

aristocracy, who is at heart a scoundrel, has married for money, but discovering his wife to be poor, has deserted her. Anne Holloway, a relative of the judge's wife and the heroine of the story, finds this out and determines to aid the neglected wife. She discovers that the stock of the Buena Vista Copper Mine, a large block of which David's wife holds, which was thought to be worthless, has become very valuable.

From this beginning the author has constructed a powerful novel. The unscrupulous David uses every endeavor to obtain the stock certificates, but is thwarted at every turn by Anne. The struggle between the two is carried on with velvet gloves, so to speak, until David risks all on a desperate chance and brings matters to a climax. Just how things turn out we shall have to leave the reader to discover.

IN SPITE OF ALL. By *Edith Stanforth*. With Three Illustrations. 12mo., cloth, net, \$1.25. (Postage, 10 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Bros.

When Eleanor Roche and her sister Mary came to Wharton on the squire's invitation, the hosts were scarcely prepared for the advent of a matchless beauty. But that is exactly what Eleanor was, and when she caught sight of Sir Philip Leigh she made up her mind to marry him. The fact that he was engaged to Sissy Wharton, the squire's granddaughter, did not affect her decision one particle. So the battle was on between Sissy, a pure, unselfish, lovable girl, and the heartless woman of wondrous beauty. The beauty won, as might be expected, but that, although it was enough to indicate the inconsistency of the masculine heart, was but the rising of the curtain on a drama that searched the very souls of its characters.

"In Spite of All" is a robust and vigorous story, quick with sentiment, yet tempered throughout with the leaven of a deep, practical Catholicity.

THE REST HOUSE. By *Isabel O. Clarke*. Octavo, cloth, net, \$1.35. Postage, 10 cents extra. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This new novel of Miss Clarke's revolves around Peggy Metcalfe, the daughter of a wealthy family. Through what trials she goes, from definite opposition and attempts to "marry her off" on the part of her family, to discouragement and coldness on the part of those whom she most desires to help her, until finally she chooses what seems to her to be the pathway of poverty and privation rather than lose the pearl of great price, must be left to the reader

to discover. It is very probable that the delicate golden thread of romance which arises early in the book and finally enwraps Peggy in its folds will become evident to the reader before the heroine knows of its existence—which is another way of saying that the story is written with consummate art.

MANNA OF THE SOUL. By *Rev. F. X. Lasance*. 384 pages. Oblong 32mo. Size, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

"Manna of the Soul" was compiled by the author at the request of a number of his friends with a view to pleasing men and women, young and old, of the household of the faith, who want but a little book of prayer, a "vade mecum" that will not be cumbersome on the way to church. It is composed largely of prayers and devotions from "The Raccolta" and the liturgical books of the Church.

Doubtless the best prayers are contained in the liturgy of the Church, and our favorite devotions are certainly commendable if they bear the stamp of the Church's approval. Price, 40c—\$2.

AT THE FOOT OF THE SAND-HILLS. By *Rev H. S. Spalding, S. J.* With Illustrations. 12mo., cloth, \$1.00 retail; 80 cents net to Priests and Religious. New York: Benziger Bros.

This latest book from Father Spalding's pen is a wholesome and lively outdoor story for boys, in which a Chicago youngster, Walter Blakestone, goes out into the breezy prairies of Nebraska to visit Dr. Murt, a bosom friend of the family. The doctor is an enthusiastic hunter, as well as something of a natural scientist, so that Walter is treated to enough hunting to last him the rest of his life. At the same time he learns a great deal about the physical characteristics of the State.

CATHOLIC HOME ANNUAL FOR 1918. 4to, \$0.25; per dozen, \$2.00. New York: Benziger Bros.

"The Catholic Home Annual" has been joyously welcomed into thousands of Catholic homes year after year. Indeed, it becomes indispensable when once introduced into the home circle, for it brings the warm sunlight and cheery fireside atmosphere along with it. Each year it brings special articles, all written by authors gifted with a style that carries the reader along to the end, and stories by Catholic authors whose names stand in the foremost rank of story-writers.

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